THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF EDUCATION
IN THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

THESIS

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By

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CHAPTER I

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FACTORS WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO
THE CREATION OF THE C.C.C.

Because of the social and economic flux out of which
the C.C.C. came into being, and because of the chaotic
character of the education of the C.C.C. which grew out
of this condition, there has long been a need for a study
which attempts to draw all the loose ends of C.C.C. edu-
cational effort into one comprehensive whole. There has
long been a need for a study which shows the economic and
social implications of the three-fold program of education
in the C.C.C. Because of this need, the purpose of this
study will be to picture the three-fold aspect of the
C.C.C. educational program. This will be done in five
chapters. This, the first chapter, will describe the con-
ditions leading up to the creation of the C.C.C. It will
show how education became the prime motivation of the
whole C.C.C. And it will show how the permanency of the
C.C.C. depends on the type of education that is evolved.
Then, chapters two, three, and four will analyze the three
phases of C.C.C. education. These chapters will be con-
cerned with (1) leisure time activities, (2) vocational
education, and (3) academic education. The final chapter
will deal with the social and economic results of the
three-fold educational program in the C.C.C. Through the
entire study there will be a definite attempt to establish
certain results and to evaluate them according to the gains
that have been made in C.C.C. education since the beginning
in 1933. To do this, we shall attempt to answer certain
questions which will be attacked in their broad rather than
in their narrow implications. From the case established in
the main body of the study, we hope to be able to suggest
certain courses of improvement in the three-fold program.

These end results of our findings will rest upon au-
thorities whose association with the C.C.C. makes their
testimony unimpeachable. Also, the writer will draw upon
his own experiences when he acted as educational adviser
in two camps of the Southwest; namely, Company 1856 at
Balmorhea, Texas, and Company 3353 at Animas, New Mexico.
These experiences will be substantiated with records the
writer kept while on duty as adviser during the years 1938
and 1939.

Remote Factors

From the time the English first planted a permanent
colony in the New World until the turn of the century, 1900,
there was the endless West to which men could flee during
times of misfortune. And so it was that every time disas-
ter struck, men moved West, over the Appalachians into the
Ohio Valley, down the Mississippi into the Middle West, and
over the Rockies into the fertile valleys of the Pacific Coast. Disaster, in the form of panics and depressions, came often, and the young men of 1819, 1837, 1857, 1873, and 1893 went West to make their lives anew. But the West came to an end. The frontier closed. W. Thacher Winslow sees in this a tragedy for our youth:

From that time on, the course of the United States has been primarily controlled by industrial forces. Its farflung geographical frontiers, which were not rounded out until the end of the nineteenth century, did, however, act as an absorber of much of the shock caused by the cyclical depressions that began to occur on an unprecedentedly serious scale. And largely because the unemployed could usually migrate from the home communities to more prosperous regions during hard times, the United States did not come to grips with the problem of unemployment until 1930-1935, though Germany and Great Britain, for example, had inaugurated social security systems many years previously.

With the close of the agricultural and geographical frontier, America recognized a new frontier. It was to be the frontier of machinery, the frontier of vast business enterprise, the frontier of mass production. For a time it is true that industry did in a real sense serve as a frontier, for during the early years of the century there was no aggravated employment problem among youth. The fact of the business is that the American industrialists were importing millions of Southern Europeans from the period 1880 to the World War. To be sure, there were certain rumblings

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2. Youth A World Problem, p. 79
of things to come. Much was said about absentee ownership in certain quarters.\(^3\) In other quarters, a vigorous campaign was waged against business in the form of "Trust Busting." Still, things were expanding; industry was on the march, and there was a demand for the vigor of youth. And though wages were low and conditions of labor were in many instances despicable, the young man of the pre-war era did not suffer for employment.

But out of the flux of growth and industrial expansion, there was evolving certain social and economic problems affecting our youth directly since they were problems which did pursue and overtake him in due time. Mass production and centralization of industry brought with it attendant ills. These had to do with centralizations of populations and the growth of urbanization. Centralization resulted in slums and their affiliated evils; which are: crowding in tenement houses, malnutrition, lack of proper play facilities for children, and the contributing evils of the slums in general. Too, cyclical and seasonal unemployment in the various industries resulted in competitive bargaining in the labor field; and, at this time, the unions were weak. They were, like Eugene V. Debs, greatly persecuted.\(^4\)

And as these basic ills began to spread through the economic system, sentiments were voiced from time to time

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\(^3\)T. Veblen, Absentee Ownership, pp. 1-75.

concerning our social needs and the needs of our youth in the way of job getting and job preparation. There was some such discussion connected with President Wilson's "New Freedom," but the boom in industry which accompanied the World War caused such discussion to become purely academic.  

And from the time of the war until the depression of 1921, industry was in the saddle and all was right with the world. The youth problem had not reached the pertinent problem stage.

Still, the short depression of 1921 did not affect the youth of our land to an appreciable extent, for the depression of that year was agricultural. That is to say, it did not affect youth in such a way as to make it noticeable to the masses of Americans. (What matters it whether a youth works for his father on his father's farm or on a tenant farm.) Youth on the farm was still employed regardless of his condition, and his condition was bad when one considers that "three hundred thousand farmers lost their land through mortgage foreclosures." This is described by Arthur F. Raper who says:

The collapse of the Black Belt plantation system is a preface to peasantry. While the plantation is flourishing, the owners dominate the region and the workers are really sub-peasants, without property, self-direction, or hope of either. As the plantation crumbles, the owners tend to leave the land the workers tend to become "peasants"—independent renters or small owners.

5W. Thacker Winslow, Youth A World Problem, p. 76.
7Preface To Peasantry, p. i.
Yet, even with the stigma of agricultural disintegration in the nostrils of the Republican regime, everything was considered in excellent condition, and there were those who were ushering in the Golden Age. "From 1920 to 1929 the superficial signs of prosperity made people blind to the reality that there were never less than one and one-half million unemployed persons during the period." Still, our youth in the industrial sections were not suffering perceptibly. This was due to the fact that somewhere, somehow, they could get the necessities of life. Someone in practically every family was employed. With such conditions the youth problem did not present itself, for youth was either idle, in school, or at work. Family incomes on the average were such as to keep young men in school. The age of employment was extended to twenty-five. Thus, the gap between leaving secondary schools and employment was not noticed. At the same time, however, that gap existed and became a most serious problem when the situation was uncovered.

Recent Causes

The stock market boom from 1927 to 1929 saw America riding for a fall, a fall that was to hurl her youth into immobility and inaction. America was headed toward the era

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8T. N. Carver, Principles of Economy, pp. 3-14.
9W. Thacker Winslow, op. cit., p. 79.
10Homer P. Rainey, How Fare American Youth, p. 37.
of the "Lost Generation". How this fall came about is ably
told by W. E. Woodward:

In 1929 the stock exchange firms of New York had
on their books more than half a million margin ac-
counts, besides nearly a million more customers who
bought and sold cash. It was the wildest speculative orgy in all history. As a form of collective in-
sanity it went far beyond the tulip craze in Holland
and the English South Sea Bubble of two hundred years
ago. The craze was country-wide. In every town and
village-- even in the smallest communities-- people
were dabbling in stock speculation. In September,
1929, the outstanding loans of New York brokers made
for the purpose of carrying their customers' accounts
had run up to the unheard-of total of eight billion
five hundred million dollars. The money and credit
supply of the country was being diverted in wholesale
fashion from its useful purpose to the financing of
this huge gamble.

The big crash occurred October 29, 1929. The
topheavy structure of stock prices simply collapsed,
like a fifty-story building erected on a foundation
of slithery mud. Within a few days the total quoted
value of listed stocks on the New York Stock Exchange
dropped from eighty-seven billions to fifty-seven bil-

With these assets wiped out, production came to a vir-
tual standstill. Though warehouses were full, consumption
fell off. Great numbers were out of work. America had
reached the darkest period in her history.

It was not until the number of unemployed in-
creased from 2 million in 1929 to 12 million in
1932, that the majority of the people could no
longer avoid facing the fact that the days of rugged
individualism and of dependence upon private charity
for the care of the needy were coming to an end. 12

Thus, the great depression set in with repercussions so

11 A New American History, p. 873.

12 W. Thatcher Winslow, op. cit., p. 79.
far-reaching as to cause everyone to suffer. Yet, on the whole, none suffered as did youth, for the condition under which they had patiently suffered was brought to the surface.

The social and economic pressure on American youth as a consequence of the depression was as varied and as unyielding as it was far-reaching. In a scheme of things where countless families were destitute, in a social arrangement where entire family groups had to lower their dignity and solicit private charity, in an economic order where all members of the family had to forego the privilege of working, the youth is doubly cursed; this is true in the sense that he becomes both a social and a family curse, a liability. Thus, every child of those families became unadjusted; he could not remain in the same surroundings and retain his budding dignity, his sense of propriety. There was only one result to be expected: homes broken. The generation of "The Boys Of The Road" was ushered in; 4,700,000 strong, they "hit the road." W. Thatcher Winslow has called it an unusual occurrence:

In 1932 a new depression phenomenon grew to such proportions that it received much public attention—the transit unemployed. Most of this group consisted of young people between 17 and 35 years of age—two-thirds of the unattached transients and one-half of the married transients falling within this age group. A study by Wayne McMillen for the Children's Bureau revealed the life led by these young people who were "bumming" their way around the country in search of jobs, risking their lives on freight trains, sleeping in unbelievably crowded shelters and jails, forming "jungles" of their own and gradually absorbing the demoralizing philosophy of the hobo.

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14 Winslow, op. cit. p. 85.
Winslow continues:

Within 3½ months, for example, the Volunteers of America in Phoenix, Arizona, fed and lodged 1,529 different boys under 21. "Social workers, police, and railroad men who are in constant touch with these transient boys," Mr. McMillen's study stated, "assert their belief that the overwhelming majority of them would normally be in school or at work; that they are 'on the road' because there is nothing else to do; that they are, on the whole, not of the habitual 'hobo' or criminal type."

With our youth on the highways, in hobo jungles, or living in crowded tenements or apartments where several families had been herded in order to cut down expenses, his problem was made manifest for the first time. It showed itself in the inability of youth to find himself, for there were no jobs. As far as a solution to his problems was concerned, schools had closed their doors in his face, and his faith was destroyed culminating in a major psychological problem.

Perhaps this youth dilemma was pictured best in the gap in employment from the time he left school until he could secure employment. An analysis of unemployment by single years of age gives percentages much higher for youth still in the teens. Of 24,000 youth in New York City (a figure which represents nearly four-fifths of unemployed youth 16 years old) none have been able to find work. It is not until youth has reached the age of twenty that he subsides to the level of all of the unemployed. Thus, one can see that for the boy who leaves school there is little hope in getting a job.

15Ibid.
16Homer P. Rainey, How Fare American Youth?, p. 35.
There can be little doubt that among youth of younger ages the greater part of those seeking work have never been regularly employed since leaving school. For example, of 200,000 Pennsylvania youth under 20 who were seeking work in 1934, 71 per cent have never been employed. There exists, then, a gap between school and the first job which is so extensive that it constitutes a major problem in the welfare of the youth. 17

The following figure shows how extensive this gap was during the heart of the depression:

![Chart showing the gap between school and job]

Fig. 1. --The gap between the school and job; per cent of unemployment of out-of-school youth 16-24 by single years of age, 13 communities, 1935.

Beyond the fact that youth was unemployed during the depression, he was not receiving a share of the available work proportionate to his numbers. In 1930, youth numbered

17 Ibid.
a third of all the unemployed. Of this number, forty per cent had never been able to find work. Homer Rainey says that "there is no doubt that in recent years the ratio of employed youth to all employed persons has been less than what the size of the 'employable' youth groups would suggest is a fair figure." The following table, based on information gathered in three states where unemployment census have been taken since 1930, brings this fact out clearly.

**TABLE 1**

**PROPORTION WHICH YOUTH CONSTITUTED OF ALL EMPLOYABLES AND ALL EMPLOYED, THREE STATES, 1934**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Age of Youth Group</th>
<th>Proportion of Employable Youth to all Employables</th>
<th>Proportion of Employed Youth to all Employed</th>
<th>Variance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mass.</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>1/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mich.</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>1/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penn.</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>1/5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In all fairness, however, we must add that, though youth is not priviledged to work for his living on the same ratio as adults, industry could not be blamed for wanting to hire more experienced workers.

Homer P. Rainey says:

Many of the youth listed by census takers as 'employable' have in fact hardly any qualifications for employment except a willingness to accept it. The question, nevertheless, presents itself whether, aside from any measures that may be taken to increase employment, it is socially sound to allow the continuance of the present unequal distribution of job opportunities between young and older workers. Ways must be found to make young persons employable in the wider sense, and we must give them such assistance that they will be able to compete on equal terms for opportunities that do exist. 19

Other aspects of the youth problem brought to light with the advent of the depression are: Evil effects of small earning power, proportion of youth in slums as a result of urbanization paralleling the depression, and evil effects of youth accepting work and seeking work they do not like and are not fitted for. Concerning the first point, it is hardly necessary to enlarge on the evil effects of insufficient spending money as a result of malincome among youth. The feeling of frustration because of an inability to participate in the various functions of youth is evident. In particular, the recreational field is narrowed because of lack of money. On this point, a Detroit survey has noted:

It practically eliminates the movies, which appear to be one of the most popular forms of entertainment among youth. It restricts social activities where clothes frequently are an all-important consideration to young people. It limits or eliminates the use of automobiles, either as a means of recreation or as a means of transportation to parks, playgrounds, and the country where recreational opportunities would be available. 20

19 Ibid., p. 25.
20 Ibid., pp. 33-34.
The second point, that of the proportion of youth in the slums and the evil effect of urbanization on this problem is aptly told by Rainey:

The youth population of the future will be increasingly urban. That is to say, there will be relatively fewer youth living on farms and in villages of less than 2,500. For many years there has been a steady drift away from country life, and in spite of the setback caused by the depression, there is no convincing reason to suppose that it has ceased or is likely soon to cease.21

In some states the proportion of urban youth to rural youth is very high. Rhode Island, for instance, had 93 per cent urban youth population in 1930.22 This high percentage of urban life has brought with it an attendant ill; that of increase in the slum dwellers and the ratio of youth in the slums compared to the number in the slums in the past. One estimate places the number of babies born to families on relief in the state of Michigan at 50 per cent of the babies born.23 Some foreboding suggestions are pointed out:

It also suggests that the class to which democracy looks for its leaders is headed towards self-extinction and the efforts made to educate it and afford it opportunities above the common level are poorly repaid, since they seem to have created a tendency for the class itself to disappear. It is certainly true that a deplorably large proportion of our population is found on the lowest economic level and that under a system of government which gives every adult a vote its ignorance and its lack of educational opportunities make it a ready prey for the political charlatan and constitute a real menace to democracy.24

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21 Ibid., p. 9.  
22 Ibid.  
24 Ibid., p. 13.
If the depression has brought out anything, it has proved that during times of distress, youth, since he is on the bottom of the economic heap, must accept work that does not suit him, work that he does not like, work for which he has had no training. Statistical evidence, what there is of it, indicates that the above impression is well founded. "Of 3,000 out-of-school youth, 12-22, in Houston, who were asked what effect the depression had had upon them, 42 per cent said it had caused them to take work which they would not otherwise have considered." Most youth of this group do work of an unskilled nature. The truth of the business seems to be that they are not properly trained for the type of work they are expected to accept when they can find work.

Thus, realizing that the youth problem was among one of the pertinent ones, President Roosevelt, when he first took office in 1933, turned to the business of youth legislation as one of the first of his administrative duties. President Roosevelt realized that if, as Dorothy Thompson so aptly put it, "a society ( . . . ) does not need its youth it will be destroyed by that youth." The New Deal knew that the continuation of democracy depends upon the training and the caring for youth. There was the forward looking realization that youth, to be content; youth, to be a boon to the society in which it lives, must be given hope. The profound social sense that planning rather than depending on the lackadaisical

workings of rugged individualism, which is apt to become ragged, is needed in connection with youth and his problems; the discouragement of a depression is not the best breeding ground for citizenship. Therefore, something was done about it, and a youth movement definitely took shape which culminated in the creation of the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Creation of the C.C.C.

After calling in all the experts available, after reviewing all the expediencies used by other countries in connection with the youth problem, President Roosevelt finally came to the conclusion that the safest, and the most worthwhile method of getting at the problem would be to provide for our out-of-school and out-of-work youth by creating youth camps somewhat comparable to the European youth camps in which our young men could get the necessities of life, be given an opportunity to have a hand in the recreation of America, and make a living all at the same time. Out of this decision grew certain questions which would have to be clarified. Foremost in the minds of the administration was the question of whether the camps were to be military or civilian. When this question was answered in favor of civilian camps, the objectives of the future camps were settled. Thus, the objectives might be said to be two-fold: The conservation of human resources and the conservation of depleted natural resources.27

Concerning his intention to inaugurate these camps, President Roosevelt said on March 21, 1933, in a message to Congress:

I propose to create a Civilian Conservation Corps to be used in simple work, not interfering with normal employment, and confining itself to forestry, the prevention of soil erosion, flood control, and similar projects. I call your attention to the fact that this type of work is of definite, practical value, not only through the prevention of great present financial loss, but also as a means of creating future national wealth.28

Thus, the purpose of the Civilian Conservation Corps was very clear to the Nation when on March 31, 1933, the act was passed authorizing the enrollment of 250,000 young men from families on relief rolls to be placed in forestry, park, and soil erosion camps throughout the country.29

Organization of the C.C.C.

Out of all this milieu of plans and objectives had to be devised an organization that would provide efficiently and economically for the equipping and caring for the 250,000 boys in the camps. First, there had to be a directing brain, an administrative head. This was provided when by executive order President Roosevelt, on April 5, 1933, named Robert Fechner Director of Emergency Conservation Work.30

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28 Robert Fechner, Foreword, Youth In European Labor Camps, pp. ix-xi.
29 W. Thacher Winslow, Youth A World Problem, p. 86.
30 Ibid., p. 87.
with Fechner, the executive order provided for the cooperation of various departments in setting up and operating the program.

Thus, under the direction of the Director, the Labor Department selects the 'juniors'; the War Department enrolls them and is responsible for physical examinations, transportation of enrollees, equipment, camp construction, command, supply, administration, sanitation, medical care, hospitalization, pay, welfare, and education; the Departments of Interior and Agriculture recommended work programs, supervise all projects except those flood control projects which are under the War Department, and enroll the men in territories under their charge; the Veteran's Administration passes on applications for enrollment of war veterans.31

Further than this, there are other subdivisions which have to do with the Army control of the various local camps. For matters of convenience, it was deemed advisable to place the camps in the various regions of the country under the Corps Areas where they happened to be. Thus, camps in Texas and New Mexico are under the auspices of the Eighth Corps Area whose offices are at Fort Sam Houston located in the city of San Antonio, Texas. Further, the C.C.C. in the Areas is divided into districts. In Texas there is only one district with offices at Fort Bliss in El Paso. All of the camps in the Area are under the direction, as far as camp affairs go, of the Commanding General of the Area. District affairs are under the administration of an Army officer, usually a major or a colonel attached to the fort. His personnel and the personnel of the local camps is under the supervision of

31 Ibid., p. 89.
reserve officers of both the Navy and the Army. The district is divided into subdistricts which are under the supervision of a reserve captain, and which contain six to eight camps.  

The local or individual camp has a somewhat complex organization when one considers that so many factors are involved. The evolution of the C.C.C. has been such, though, as to provide for the least friction in so far as machinery is concerned. The only friction that might occur is outside of the provision of government, and has to do with human relationships. The local camp might be said to have two directors who preside over two different spheres of activity. First of these is the Army, and the second is the Technical Service. Between them, these two services provide for the life of the boys in the camps.

The Army organization in the camp is quite extensive and involved; this, however, is necessary when one considers that it is responsible for so many things. The administrative officer is called the commanding officer. He is a reserve officer of the rank of first lieutenant or captain. Under him is his assistant or junior officer who holds the rank of second lieutenant in the reserve, a medical officer, an educational adviser (when education was formally inaugurated), and a group of rated enrolled men. These latter consist of top sergeant, supply clerk, company clerk, cooks,

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32 *War Department Regulations, Civilian Conservation Corps, 1938.*
and orderlies. It is the duty of these enrolled rated men to keep the camp records and run the camp under the direction of the commanding officer.

The commanding officer has a very responsible position in the camp. He keeps records, answers correspondence with the district offices, controls discipline, and directs the work of the camp in general. His junior officer has two main duties: He keeps the mess records and provides for the meals of the enrollees, and he keeps the records of the canteen or company store. Besides this, he is very often responsible for camp construction and the projects within the camp areas which are deemed necessary by the commanding officers. The duties of the educational adviser will be taken up in a later place in connection with the advent of education in the camps.

The Technical Service organization in the camps parallels the work of the Army in that it is the duty of the Technical Service to provide field work or project work for the boys in the surrounding community. Thus, during the day, when the boys are working on some project, they are under the auspices of the Technical Service and are responsible to them; they do not fall under the Army jurisdiction again until they are delivered to the camp in the evenings. Under the direction of the superintendent of the Technical Service, the boys work 40 hours a week on some project evolved and blueprinted by the superintendent.33 Thus, the superintendent in his

33 W. Thatcher Winslow, op. cit., p. 89.
sphere of work is comparable to the commanding officer. He is assisted by foremen and rated men. The duties of the foremen are to carry out the plans of the superintendent in regards to the work in hand. The foremen in turn are assisted by straw bosses among the enrollees who are rated according to their abilities.

Education Takes the Lead

Up to now, we have pointed out the extenuatory factors which have caused the C.C.C. as a youth organization to come into being. These were remote causes seeping far back into the national development; these had to do with the gradual lessening of opportunities for youth. Later events, involving the most pitiable conditions youth has ever confronted in this country, brought into the limelight the problems of a generation of youth who could not find employment, and who, for all practical purposes were not wanted. We have pictured how the C.C.C. was organized, and the objectives which motivated the C.C.C. have been discussed. All of this was done so as to show the inevitableness of a youth movement such as has gripped the hearts and the imagination of the people. Everywhere, one hears the statement, regardless of one's opinion of the New Deal in general, that the C.C.C. is the major achievement of the New Deal.

Just as the C.C.C. was inevitable in a world which for years had no place for youth, it was inevitable that the C.C.C. in itself would not be sufficient. It is not enough to take youth off the road, out of box cars, out of jungles
merely to clothe and feed him. It is necessary to give him these things, of course, but they are only emergency steps; they are not enough in the long run. We have found that it is not only necessary to provide for the physical wants of youth, but that it is also necessary to rehabilitate youth in a truer sense than we have realized since the turn of the century. Where we had the youth problem in varying degrees in the past and did nothing about it, we now realize that something must be done about the gap in employment, the maltraining of youth, and the fact that youth is forced to leave school before his training period is over. What better place is there to fill this gap, to provide this training, to take up where the public schools left off, than in the C.C.C.? And, just as sure as there were numerous social and economic forces working to create the C.C.C., there were equally numerous forces at work creating, out of the necessities of the times, an education such as was evolved in the C.C.C.

As has been mentioned before, when the C.C.C. was inaugurated in the Spring of 1933, it had two main objectives; one dealing with conservation of natural resources, the other dealing with conservation of human resources. During the first summer that the Corps was in operation, Robert Fechner went about visiting camps in an effort to see if the second of these objectives was being cared for.34 He

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found that the company commanders had been forced to resort
to school teaching in order to carry out this objective.

During the summer, I discussed the educational situation in the CCC with the officials of the Office of Education, educators, practical business men, and the labor leaders of my acquaintance as well as with the officers in the camps. It was decided that something of an educational nature should be attempted. I took the matter up with President Roosevelt and found him enthusiastic over the idea of improving the employability of enrollees. The present educational program with its emphasis on training on the job and the thorough grounding of enrollees in elementary subjects, with special attention paid to the elimination of illiteracy has developed from these early conferences. 35

It was not until December, 1933, however, that C.C.C. education was placed on an organized basis, under the administration of the War Department with the advisory assistance of the Office of Education. 36 At that time, an organization was established which has carried the educational program through its vast development to this day. The national organization is headed by the Director of Education whose duty is to formulate a program, conceive a basic philosophy of education, and coordinate the program with the Army in the camps. There has been two Directors of C.C.C. education since its inception; they are, C. S. Marsh, and Howard W. Oxley. Under these men, the Corps Area Directors function as regional heads. The

35 Ibid.
36 H. W. Oxley, "Growth And Accomplishments Of CCC Ed.," Phi Delta Kappan, XIX (1937), 513.
Director of the Eighth Corps Area is L. W. Rogers. Following the Army setup, there is a District Educational Adviser in each of the divisions of the Corps Area. The person under whom the writer served as educational adviser during the year 1938-39, was R. A. Davis, District Educational Adviser, New Mexico District. Immediately under the last named official is the local adviser who does the real work of education in the field; he is the camp educational adviser.

It is the duty of the camp adviser to cooperate with and to advise the commanding officer in the camp as to a workable educational program for the boys in the particular situation at hand. In this effort, the adviser has the assistance of an enrolled man who is called the assistant educational adviser. To carry out his work, the educational adviser must possess such a personality as to get the cooperation of the Army and the Technical Service in carrying out his program. Too, he must be capable of interesting the enrollees in his program, for the program is not compulsory. Cooperation with the Army and the Technical staff is obtained through the Camp Educational Committee Meeting which is conference between the members of these groups. He secures the cooperation of the enrollees by engaging them in interviews.37

And with the creation of educational facilities and

37 Handbook of Education, New Mexico District, CCC, 1938.
opportunities in the C.C.C., and with the creation of an organization for the better working of the effort, the C.C.C. and the youth problem in general in the United States entered a new stage. We have seen clearly that bread alone is not enough, and we have done something about it. Too, as time has gone by since the inception of the C.C.C. education, we have seen that the permanency of the C.C.C. itself depends upon the success of its educational program. This was indicated in an editorial which read:

There is some indication that the CCC ultimately may be established on a permanent basis. The responsibility is definitely at hand to help plan the work and activities of the camps so that they will be closely integrated with American life. They are to help close the gap between the school and the job and to prepare for the broader responsibility of adult life. In order to be more effective in rendering these services, the camps ultimately should be classified according to the educational needs of the boys. 38

38 "The CCC; A Permanent Institution," Phi Delta Kappan, XIX (1937), 297.
CHAPTER II

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES IN THE C.C.C.

Concept of Informal Activities

When the whole concept of education in the C.C.C. was new, when the founders knew nothing about what education in the camps should be, there was at least one notion which held precedence; namely, that it was necessary that 200 healthy, eager, vigorous boys must be kept contented in the various camps. There could be no allowing them to give in to homesickness, and the various gregarious drives of adolescence such as would cause the boys to "go over the hill."\(^1\) Keep the morale up became the watchword. Thus, the first admonition of the newly created department of C.C.C. education to its advisers in the field was to keep the boys occupied to the extent that they would enjoy staying in the camps. It was not enough merely to attempt to teach the enrollees the three R's. This was pointed out in 1934, when C. S. Marsh read a paper before the Twentieth National Recreational Congress in which he said:

"In the C.C.C. educational program particularly we take very seriously our obligation to do vocational counseling and to teach subjects ordinarily found in some curriculum. That is fine. But one of our dominant aims is "To develop in each man his powers of self expression, self entertainment, and self culture."\(^2\)

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\(^1\) This is an expression used in the C.C.C. meaning to desert.

As a result, it became necessary to furnish enrollees things to do during their leisure time so that they would be adequately and properly occupied. This was accomplished through the "leisure time activities" program.

Compared with Public Schools

However, when the idea of leisure time activities was first considered, there arose the same question in the minds of the educational advisers in the camps that arises in the minds of the formal school men of our public schools; and that is, "Where does the formal education leave off, and where does leisure time activities begin?" Perhaps the more modern school man would say with Merton Hasse, that the activity program in the public schools was once called an extracurricular program.

However, the recent trend is to fuse this program with the academic curriculum. This seems entirely justifiable, since the old distinction between extracurricular activity and academic work is dissolving. Undoubtedly, classroom work should demand pupil activity.3

There was, though, no such well defined or well orientated philosophy worked out for the educational adviser in the camps. Each adviser found it necessary to evolve his own conception of the meaning and the scope of activities, as such, in the camps. His conception of the enterprise had to be conditioned by the facilities and the equipment at hand with which to motivate a program of activities; and

the scope of the program had to be conditioned by the aptitudes, the environmental backgrounds, and the desires of the particular group of boys that happened to be in a camp at a certain time. For example, boys in New Mexico would most certainly enjoy and work at different activities from boys reared in Maine.

Facilities for Activities

The individual camps are provided with a certain amount of facilities for working out a worthwhile leisure time program, and the physical accouterments are such as to make a program at least possible. Foremost of these facilities, of course, is the equipment provided by the recreation hall in each camp. Here, the enrollees can entertain themselves with pool, ping-pong, checkers, dominoes, cards, and other indoor pastimes. The hall is likewise equipped with a piano which makes possible group singing. The educational building contains such facilities as looms for rug weaving, wood carving sets, kits for sign and oil painting, tools for stone cutting, certain dramatics equipment, and a multigraph machine for the newspaper. It also has a library containing much good fiction and many current magazines.  

Other than these, there are certain out-of-doors facilities. Of these, the athletic field with its basketball court, baseball diamond, horseshoe pits, and tennis courts

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is the most popular. In some camps there is a stream or a pool near-by which makes swimming possible. These facilities, however, are not adequate in general; and, in order that all might participate, the educational adviser must be continually devising activities which require little equipment or physical accouterments; or else, he must exercise his ingenuity in procuring these necessities.

Kinds of Activities

The activity program in the various camps, like the formal educational arrangement itself differs in every camp; and, like the formal program, is conditioned by the environment of the camp and the desires and the aptitudes of the enrolled personnel. In fact, the activity program might be said to grow out of the spontaneous expression of the boys. This involves their desires, their grooves of expression, their folkways, for no boy is forced to participate; and, each enjoys and receives some aesthetic benefits from his leisure time activities as befits his level of ability and appreciation.5

Thus, from what has gone before, one can see that the types of activities practiced in the camps could be and are as numerous and divergent as there are camps. There are, however, certain activities which might be called representative of all of the activities carried on in the C.C.C. We

will name and discuss each of these in comparative detail; after which, some of the problems entailed in an activity program in C.C.C. camps will be outlined; and, more constructively, the benefits derived from the program will be enumerated. For purpose of clarity, the activities will be divided into five groups: (1) creative activities, (2) athletic activities, (3) social activities, (4) entertaining activities of a cultural nature, and (5) group activities of administrative nature.

Creative Activities

Of all the camp activities, the camp newspaper is perhaps more important than any; and this, not only from the creative standpoint when so many talents are called upon, but also from the standpoint of constructive advertising of the C.C.C., and the work it is doing. As a medium of fostering good relationships between government agency and the public, it cannot be excelled any more than a school newspaper can be excelled as a medium of advertising the school and its program to the community. As a usual thing, the camp newspaper is under the direction of the camp educational adviser who performs the function of adviser only. The staff, which is made up of the enrollees, forms the policy of the paper, and the entire production is the work of the boys themselves and reveals their constructive efforts. The staff is composed of an editor-in-chief, who ramrods the work of getting the paper out on time, and the
various other editors of departments; as, art editor, editorial editor, general news editor, sports editor, humor editor, literary editor, overhead (composed of the leaders of the enrollees) editor, society editor, and make-up editor.6

It is the duty of the art editor of the newspaper to prepare the front page and the cartoons; and, since the paper is run off on a mimeograph machine, this requires special abilities and tools. As a general thing, the art editor has had experience in drawing in a formal high school, in correspondence courses in art, or in drawing for a small town newspaper. Most camps have some such individual; if not, one can usually be developed. The art editor in the camp at Animas, New Mexico, was a boy who had taken art in a high school in Pennsylvania.7 He was exceptionally competent. And the art editor at the Balmorhea, Texas, camp was a Mexican who had picked up the technique of cartooning on his own initiative.8 The tools that the art editor uses in drawing his cartoons and lettering on mimeograph paper is of course furnished by the educational department of the C.C.C. and consists of the usual stylus and copy-glass.9 The other editors gather and submit the news of the camp to the make-up

7Cumulative Record Card, Robert Standard, Company 3355, Animas, New Mexico, February, 1939.
8Cumulative Record Card, Jose Gonzallas, Company 1856, Balmorhea, Texas, November, 1938.
officer who likes to experiment with speech arts, an outsider such as a W.P.A. teacher, or a person from some local college who wants experience in education. Because of the restricted equipment in the camps, the dramatics and speech activities are also, of necessity, restricted as to scope. As a result, debates and extemporaneous speeches are popular, and some sub-disticts have debate meets and extemporaneous speech meets. An example of the debates held in the Carlsbad Sub-district, was one held in the spring of 1939 on the question, "Resolved: that the C.C.C. inaugurate military training." Minstrels, because of the fact that little equipment is required, are popular; and there is hardly a camp that has not had one at sometime or other. Too, vaudeville is popular, as is exemplified by the camp at Animas, New Mexico, where Roy Minett, mess sergeant, wrote and directed a vaudeville to which the ranchers of the surrounding community were invited on the sixth anniversary of the establishment of the C.C.C. The group performed before an overflowing house, and such interest was manifested that the experiment was repeated several times after that. But, regardless of the lack of facilities, there have been some camps in the history of the C.C.C. which have put on major shows of a heavy dramatic nature. Perhaps one of the most

11 Form Six Educational Report, Company 1856, Jan., 1939.
12 Form Six Educational Report, Company 3353, April, 1939.
widely advertised of these efforts is the one announced by Kenneth Holland in which a camp in Maine "produced 'Journey's End' with gratifying results."\(^{13}\)

In the same article as that quoted above, Kenneth Holland stated that "Music plays an important part in raising the morale of the men."\(^{14}\) This is so thoroughly recognized in most instances, that group singing is considered one of the most potent methods of introducing social cement into the camp situation. The chaplains who frequent the camps and lecture to the boys on religious and moral questions intersperse their speaking with singsongs. One chaplain, Garrett, in the New Mexico District found a boy in one of the camps who could play the piano so well that he took the boy about with him and carried on a singing program as a regular part of his service.\(^{15}\) And, in addition to this aid, Garrett had a slide projector with which he could project the words of a song on the screen in the recreation hall. In this manner, a bit of group singing could be held with little trouble. In some of the camps, where persons with ability and equipment are available, choral clubs have been organized.\(^{16}\)

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\(^{13}\) Kenneth Holland, "Arts And Crafts In The C.C.C.," School Life, XXII (1936), 186.

\(^{14}\) Ibid., p. 187.

\(^{15}\) Cumulative Record Card, Tony Sebiski, Company 3353, Animas, New Mexico, April, 1939.

\(^{16}\) Chaplain's Report, Captain Garrett, Silver City Sub-District, Ft. Bliss, Texas, May, 1939.
and was composed of the following instruments: two saxophones, two trumpets, one piano, one drum set, and a banjo. They were very adept at playing swing music.

An idea of how the bands are financed might be secured by writing for information about a twelve piece group the writer organized at the Balmorhea, Texas, camp in the fall of 1938. A number of Mexican boys in that camp expressed a desire to learn to play musical instruments. After calling them in for an interview, the writer found that each one of them was willing to pay four or five dollars of his five dollar monthly allowance on an instrument if he could get one on terms at a reasonable price. We contacted the Charles Parker Music Company of Houston, Texas, and found that we could get secondhand instruments at an average price of $20.00; they could be paid out on time. Thus, acting as surety, the writer ordered the instruments. In course of time, the instruments were paid out, and the boys learned to play them fairly well. Still another example is that of "a Kiwanis Club in New Jersey (who) a few months ago donated several musical instruments and other equipment to a local camp."  

Another of the muses given a great amount of attention in the activity program of the C.C.C. is art. Perhaps the five most popular of the art activities are: drawing, rock work, weaving, wood and metal work, and leather work. But

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numerous signs about the camp, signs which range anywhere from the huge board at the entrance gate, giving statistics on the camp to passers-by, to the numeral plaques over the doorways of the barracks.

Then, when facilities and interest warrant, there is an oil painting group. Of this group in a Mexican camp in New Mexico, one person was selected to do oils which were to be used in public relations work. This young man was especially adept in doing copies of famous drawings. One of his works, a huge copy of Cruse's, "The Painter," hangs in the District office. In almost every camp, one will find the walls of the recreation hall decorated with murals which are thematic of the adjacent country. In New Mexico, Geronimo is a favorite subject of these murals, and the number of horses, Indians, and cowboys in general are countless. The best of these murals that I know anything about are to be found in the Animas, and the Deming, New Mexico, camps. And, in the Deming, the local color idea is carried out to the extent that the whole recreational hall is decorated with relics of the area.

In the Spanish speaking camps of the Southwest, especially, finished products carved from the soft stones of the Davis Mountains have a quaint Mexican touch which is hard for souvenir collectors to resist. In camps about the Fort Stockton, Ysleta, the Big Bend, and Alpine, one will find countless examples of this type of art. (And, as far as that is concerned, the writer has seen examples of stone
carving all along the Mexican border to California.) The most prevalent by far, however, are picture frames, carved from a striped stone, figured and varnished, which make an ideal receptacle for pictures. Other than this, small articles which clutter the usual Mexican household—vases, cigarette boxes, pin boxes, etc.

In the shop, which is usually located in the rear of the educational building, most of the rug weaving, wood, and leather work takes place. Metal designing is of course relegated to the blacksmithing shop. Rug weaving is especially popular in the Southwest where the precedence is set by the Navahos. In New Mexico and Arizona a lucrative trade is carried on by the boys in the camps. Since frames and a supply of wool cloth are all that is needed in the way of supplies, the boys can realize a neat profit from their efforts. At the Las Cruces camp, however, an intricate rug weaving loom is housed in the educational building. Rugs of a more complex nature can be made on this machine; but, according to the adviser there, it is used for little more than "eyewash." With but the aid of simple hand looms, over half of the enrollees of Company 3353 at Animas, New Mexico, engaged in the art of rug weaving in 1939. This practice became a fad, and many of the boys were able to realize profits from their venture.

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25 Interview with Adviser Cramer on October 7, 1938.
26 Form Six Educational Report, Company 3353, April, 1939.
editors who type the copy on mimeograph carbons and run it off on the mimeograph machine and clip it together into individual papers. There is usually a dead line connected with the submitting of news.

In some camps which are in close proximity to towns, the camp paper has an advertising editor who collects advertisements from the businesses of the town. This money goes into the company fund and is used to buy things for the pleasure and benefit of the enrolled personnel. Though some company commanders frown upon this practice, stating as their reason the fact that the Corps is not in business, many commanders give their consent to the project so that the boys may have more funds with which to entertain themselves.

Other than the camp newspaper which is mimeographed, there are in some camps newspapers which are contracted by local printers and, as such, are neater and perhaps more enjoyed by the boys as a whole. Still, such papers do not represent as much effort on the part of the enrollees, and are not given the sanction of the educational adviser in most cases. Too, the matter of financing such a paper is prohibitive in the eyes of many company commanders. Also, each camp in the Nation is furnished weekly with a printed paper "The Happy Days," which is representative of the entire Corps rather than any local situation, and is kept on file in the educational building of the various camps. This paper, in most instances, satisfies the urge for a printed sheet.

The dramatics and speech activities come under the direction of a talented member of the enrollees, a foreman or an
Vocal work is not the only phase of the musical activity program. Several of the camps have instigated instrumental music as a regular part of the educational program and as part of the informal activity program. The instrumental groups range anywhere from a motly collection of jew's-harps and mouth organs to well integrated bands both of the swing and the military varieties. Such bands as the latter are twenty-five pieces in some instances. This is exemplified by the organization at Company 334 of Luray, Virginia, which not only gives recreation and an aesthetic outlet to the participants, but also serves as a medium of pleasure to the whole camp and surrounding community with band concerts on Sunday afternoons and intraweekly programs in the recreational hall.\textsuperscript{17} A string band plus a trumpet and a saxophone, organized in the old Boyd, Texas, camp in 1934, was a regular attraction over station K.F.J.Z. This same station also sponsored a string band from the camp at Lake Worth.\textsuperscript{18} In 1939, a band of the string variety was one of the greatest pleasures in the camp at Sherman, Texas.\textsuperscript{19} And the camp at Las Cruces, New Mexico, had a swing band composed of enrollees from Pennsylvania who played for company dances and were engaged to play outside dances in the community.\textsuperscript{20} This group was directed by a W.P.A. teacher

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Happy Days}, March 30, 1940, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Form Six Educational Report}, Boyd, Texas, Camp, June, 1934.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Form Six Educational Report}, Sherman, Texas, Camp, Aug., 1938.

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Form Six Educational Report}, Las Cruces, New Mexico, Camp, November, 1938.
once more, the popularity of these pursuits depends on the environment of the camp and the background of the boys. This is exemplified by a camp in Pennsylvania which found its greatest pleasure in metal craft. The camp was located near a steel mill. Likewise, another camp in Arizona, which was located near the Mexican border and an Indian reservation, went in mostly for basket and rug weaving.

Of the art hobbies, drawing is the most diversified. It covers the full gamut between cartoon work on the camp paper to surrealistic murals on camp and headquarters' office walls. As has been mentioned, the art work on the newspapers is in many cases remarkable. Captain Bujac of the Carlsbad Sub-District once got a district position for a boy as the token for his ability to cut stencils. In some cases, drawing and carving art are combined to make money for enrollees. At the canteen in Fort Bliss, El Paso, Texas, a regular exchange for such articles is kept. An example of this art hangs in the officers' lounge at Company 1856, Balmorhea, Texas; it is a plaque about a foot long and ten inches wide. Its figures of a Mexican bullfight are in bas-relief and are highly colored in oils in the traditional Mexican manner.

Every camp has its quota of sign painters, and as a usual thing, there is a vigorous and interested group participating in the sign painter's class. As a result, there is no necessity to hire outside sign painters to do the

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24 Interview with Captain Bujac on October 15, 1938.
But let Kenneth Holland tell the story of the remainder of these shop activities:

The first craft introduced in the camps was the making of rustic furniture. It required few tools and the wood was obtained from the forests near-by. The enrollees showed considerable interest and often equipped the recreation hall and other rooms of the camp with furniture. In some cases the enrollees were able to sell furniture which they made. Tools and a limited supply of leather were then sent into 60 camps in the New England States so that leather work could be introduced. The results were gratifying for the enrollees showed great interest and began making key containers, wallets, belts, pocketbooks, book covers, and brief cases.

The third craft to be introduced was metal work and at the present time ash trays, bracelets, letter openers, bowls, lamps, and book ends are being made in many of the camps in New England. Copper, brass, pewter, aluminum, and wrought iron are the most popular metals. Since tools and materials for this craft are fairly expensive, metal work has not been fully developed.

Athletic Activities

Athletics in the C.C.C. are the most popular diversions of them all. That is to be expected where 200 hearty individuals of the outdoor type are brought together. As is the case in the formal schools of America, the boys in the camps follow the regular routine of sports in season: football, basketball, boxing, baseball, and swimming in that order. There are certain problems connected with the administration of these sports, however, which makes them


vary endlessly from Maine to California. For one thing, there are certain Corps Areas which will not allow football, save touch ball, to be played. The Eighth Corps Area is an example of this administrative ruling. Then, in some sections of the country, where distances are more than relative, intercamp engagements in sports are hard to schedule. This, of course, does not effect the intracamp sports activities which are usually interbarrack contests. Also, there is the matter of financing equipment which is purely an individual camp matter. There are no funds provided in educational financing with which to buy equipment. Thus, the equipment must be financed out of the company fund. This in turn is questionable, first, as to the attitude of the company commander; and, second, as to the desires of boys in the camp—since the company fund is equally contributed to by the boys, there is a question whether a group in the camp has the right to buy equipment for their lone enjoyment and recreation.

Aside from these problems which are settled locally, there is a regular inter and intracamp program of sports going on at all times. Most districts provide for district meets in basketball, boxing, hard and indoor ball, and swimming. During the basketball season of 1938-39, the writer travelled hundreds of miles each week-end from Balmorhea, Texas, to Carlsbad, Roswell, Artesia, and Dark Canyon, New Mexico. This travel was in an army truck, and
the speed was twenty-five miles per hour. This is a regulation established by the New Mexico District following a number of deaths in truck accidents.29

Perhaps the most colorful of the sports activities is the annual sub-district boxing meet which starts early one Saturday morning in March and continues one fight after the other until long after dark when the champions in each division are finally determined. Many of these champions go on into golden gloves contests and scratch their names deep on the scroll of amateurs' roll of fame.30

When camps are so located as to be near a lake, a river, or the sea, much recreation of an organized nature can be had. Many of these swimming and diving meets have culminated in courses in life saving. Too, at such camps as Elephant Butte, in New Mexico, and Balmorhea, in Texas, other water diversions such as boating and fishing are prevalent. At the Balmorhea camp, for instance, the world's largest outdoor swimming pool is located. This pool was built with C.C.C. labor from native stone over San Salome springs which turns out one million gallons of water per hour. The pool, large though it is, can hold the water, and a canal is provided for the water to run through the Pecos Valley and irrigate the fields as well as fill Lake Balmorhea. Here, the enrollees hold fish dinners often.

29 District Order, New Mexico District, November 23, 1938.
30 Happy Days, March 2, 1940, p. 13.
Social Activities

Of the social activities sponsored by the C.C.C. camps, the most widely held are dances, parties, and so-called parlor games. This does not include the various social events in which the boys might be engaged within nearby communities. Dances sponsored by the camp are given, on the average, no more than once or twice a year. Some camps never have such socials. In these extreme cases, though, there is usually some reason of an extenuating nature such as inaccessibility. For example, the Animas, New Mexico, camp is 35 miles out in the desert from Lordsburg. The Chisos Mountain's camp of Texas is located over 80 miles from the nearest town, Alpine. Other influences are; one, camps are unstationary and there is no chance for boys to get acquainted with local girls; two, no girls of the right type are available when white boys are stationed in a Mexican town; three, there are racial checks due to mixed camps.

When, however, everything is favorable from the environmental standpoint, there are still other problems in giving a dance. First, the camp must have the good will of the commanding officer. This is not always so hard to obtain if the officer is certain the boys will behave in an orderly manner. One commanding officer, after a wild party at the old Boyd, Texas, camp, a party during which a half dozen girls were deserted by their dates for other girls, and one that cost the company commander several hours of sleep, decided there were to be no more dances at Boyd.
The second problem other than environment, and perhaps the most important, is that of finances. A social attended by over 200 couples must be well planned and organized. There are two methods of raising the funds. They may be raised by subscription, say fifty cents or a dollar a man, or they may be raised by taking it out of the company fund. As a general rule, the company commander does not like to use company funds for dances; thus, subscription is the only way out. One does not hit too great a snag here if there are enough older enrollees in the camp to push the thing across, for fifty cents per man will raise one-hundred dollars. This should provide a good band and refreshments.

When a dance is decided on, the plans are made a month in advance so the boys can make arrangements with their dates. Too, the commanding officer or the educational adviser contacts the local Y.W.C.A. and invites the town girls out in order to insure an adequate number of girls. On the night of the dance, trucks are sent in to get the girls, and when the trucks rumble once more into camp, the dance is on.

There are a number of regularly scheduled parties during the year. Foremost, are New Years, Anniversary Day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, and Christmas. Such parties give the enrollee a holiday, good food, and a round of entertainment planned by the officers and the educational adviser. The dinner on such days is much more costly than the usual run of C.C.C. dinners, and as such, is lavishly put on.
Christmas dinner at Balmorhea, Texas, in 1938 cost over $150.00 and everything was provided from fruit, nuts, and candy to turkey and eggnog. The latter, of course, did not appear on the menu. After such a dinner, games are out of the question, and the result is an afternoon of siesta followed by a motion picture in the evening.

One party that the writer remembers especially well was one planned aside from a regular C.C.C. holiday. This was a beer and hamburger party one hot August night in 1938. Preparation for the party was in the commander's hands, and things were kept humming all day until the boys came in from the fields. The camp overhead built outdoor furnaces and gathered wood; the top sergeant took the truck and went for a load of cold beer; the cooks drove to Pecos and bought buns and meat. The party, a stag, started about six and ended at eleven. The group had an excellent time, and the spirit of good fellowship abounded. Since there were only two bottles of beer to the man, no one became drunk, and everyone felt good enough to sing and play his guitar.

Facilities for parlor games are placed in the recreational hall. Here, one will find three pool tables, one ping-pong table, and several tables for checkers and domino games. All of these facilities are in constant use.

thus attesting to the desire of the boys to be doing things, to be entertained. That such is the case is the desire of the commanding officer of the New Mexico District, who, in conversation with Ensign Albert Schlott, once said:

I want the boys to be kept in the camps. They get into far less trouble that way. The best means of keeping them in the camps is to make things attractive for them. This can best be done by making the recreational hall the social center of the camp.33

Thus, the recreational hall, in the light of the above statement, is the socially unifying force in the camp. But even so, the matter of finances in connection with the recreational hall maintenance is sometimes almost prohibitive. To provide for the upkeep of such expensive items as pool equipment, some camps charge the enrollees a certain fee per game of pool. This was true in the Animas, New Mexico, camp under the direction of Lieutenant Gardner.

Entertaining Activities

There is something of the social in what we have termed "entertaining activities." Still, what we mean to infer by its use is entertainment as a leisure time pursuit without social contacts. Under this type of activity we have listed motion pictures, the library, lectures, religious services, and recreational trips. Motion pictures are furnished the camps by a syndicate at the cost of fifty cents per enrollee per month. This entitles the camp to receive 8 sixteen millimeter films of a very low grade. Though most of the films

33 Interview with Colonel Richmond on October 26, 1938.
are talkies, they are so old and so low grade that the boys hoot at them rather than enjoy them. In nine months, the only worthwhile picture shown was "Spawn of the North." Yet, the boys would rather see these than see no films at all.

Still, one must admit that "no school has progressed further in the use of visual aids in a similar length of time than has the C.C.C." Nearly 900 of 1,500 camps had machines for the projection of pictures in 1937. In addition to those who have no machines, 33 per cent have film-strip projectors for educational purposes. "Today each corps area has a central film library which makes available to all the camps a large assortment of sound and silent motion-picture films and film strips."

Sometimes, there are speakers sent out from the government departments. These men show educational films and give lectures to the enrollees on the curse of soil erosion or the damage done to the forests by fires. The increase of educational films with lectures can be seen from the figures presented by Howard W. Oxley when he said that in the period from 1934 to 1936 the number of lectures of this type had increased from 817 a year to 6,075 per year.

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34 Educational Film Report, Company 3353, August-May, 1938-39.
36 Ibid., p. 16.
In 1937, this number was increased to 10,702 lectures delivered in the camps with a total attendance of 1,135,657. 38

Since the library and the religious services in the C.C.C. will be discussed in full in a later chapter, we will confine the remainder of our remarks on the entertaining activities to the recreational trips. Recreational trips are promised the enrollees at least once a week. This trip usually takes place on Saturday evening and is available to all the boys in the camp who wish to attend. Usually, the destination is the recreational center for the camp, which is the town or city in closest proximity of the camp. In the case of camps like the one at Denton, Texas, or the one at Sherman, Texas, the recreational center is only a few blocks from the camp. But in the case of the camps that use Lordsburg for the recreational center, trucks must travel long distances in order to get the men to town. In the case of the Animas camp, the trucks have to go thirty-five miles. Virden and Red Rock are over twenty-five miles from Lordsburg, New Mexico.

The purpose of these weekly trips, of course, is to give the boys a chance to get out of camp, breathe new air as it were, and attend some form of amusement in the near-by town. There is, however, another type of recreational trip which is not given regularly, and which is planned for the

38 Howard W. Oxley, Educational Activities In The CCC, p. 17.
boy's entertainment with definite cultural advantages in mind. One such trip was made by the boys in the Balmorhea camp while the writer was educational adviser there. This trip was made on a week-end to the Carlesbad Caverns. During the trip the boys saw the caverns, listened to a lecture concerning the history of the caverns, and were entertained while receiving the cultural advantages of seeing one of America's most unusual natural formations. While the writer was on duty at the Animas, New Mexico, camp, a recreational trip of the above mentioned nature was taken. This trip was made on a week-end, and took in Douglas, Arizona, and Agua Preta in Old Mexico. The trip proved instructional as well as entertaining to this group of Eastern boys who had never been in Arizona or Old Mexico before. On the way back from the recreational trip, there was much talk about Geronimo and certain Mexican phrases that the boys had picked up. There is no counting in dollars and cents the value that adventure and travel starved boys in the teens receive from such trips. The trips are numerous. "During a recent month, 4,471 field trips for enrollees were held to acquaint them with plant and animal life. More than 73,000 men took part in these instructional tours."

40 Form Six Educational Report, Company 3353, Apr., 1939.
Administrative Activities

Finally, there are those activities of an administrative nature. Among these we might list self-government, group assemblies, and clubs. These activities have been defined by the writer as "administrative" because they have to do with self-government and self-direction in the affairs of certain organizations of the boys in the camps. It is important in any scheme of things where schools are concerned that the students in these schools be taught the cardinal principle of self-direction. This is in itself an activity when one considers the educator's definition; too, it is good citizenship when one considers that self-choice and the ability to work out one's own destiny is the object of and the final implication of democracy. In this connection, Joel E. Nystrom, Director of Education in the First Corps Area has said:

Democratic organization of camp activities, within the limitations of army regulations, affords a broad avenue for citizenship training and personality development. The opportunity that the C.C.C. has taken to its very bosom, learned during the first year of its existence, is that the camps can constructively direct the enrollee in his camp community twenty-four hours a day. There are certain matters of hygiene, discipline, and camp routine which are subject to rigid "controls," just as in the civil community, but within these limitations is a vast opportunity for self-determination and free will which may be directed purposefully, but ideally is never regulated.

As we have already mentioned, self-government is one of

the outstanding examples of administrative activities.

Howard W. Oxley reports an unusual example of this type of activity:

It is my hope that instruction in the C.C.C. will be made just as practicable as possible. Already a good beginning has been made in this direction. For instance, the principles found in citizenship studies are being applied in Camp S-60, Chatsworth, New Jersey, whose members elect a mayor and city council.43

The assembly hours which the camps sponsor at least one night a week are composed of a variety of things and differ greatly as do the imaginations of the boys in the various camps in the country. For the most part, these "fun night" assemblies are prepared by the enrollees, and "not only do these nights promote good camp spirit, but they give all camp talent a chance to be heard."44 The assembly hour many times takes the more formal approach and becomes a discussion or forum hour in which to iron out certain camp problems or to discuss in forum style some of the problems confronting the national community. That this type of activity is of great importance can be deducted from the following extract:

The greatest opportunities for training in democracy lie in the numerous opportunities for self-expression and the discipline of respecting the ideas and the prerogatives of other group members.45


44Howard W. Oxley, "For Half Million Young Americans," School Life, XX (1935), 16.

45Joel E. Nystrom, op. cit., p. 348.
Clubs have also demonstrated the ability of the boys to organize and to carry on their own affairs. There are clubs of all varieties in the C.C.C. just as there are in the public schools. One can pick up any recognized text on the club activities in the public schools and get a list of the clubs in vogue. These clubs, for the most part, are the clubs one will find in the C.C.C. Concerning one of the outstanding clubs he came in contact with, C.S. Marsh says, "In one camp a fossil hunters club is almost the liveliest organization there. Those men are learning geology, biology, and history, while in friendly rivalry to see who can gather the best collection." 46

Conclusions

Hobby activities in the C.C.C. have increased from 4,471 in number in September 1934 to 13,611 in October 1935. "During the latter month there were 238,421 men engaged in such activities." 47 This information indicates the great increase in the popularity of the informal activities program since the inception of C.C.C. education in 1933. But, figures cannot impart the benefits of any program when these benefits are human. Thus, from all that has gone before, regardless of the figures involved, regardless of the problems attendant to the activities program, one can readily see that the

activity program has accrued many benefits for the enrollee. Outlets have been provided for those budding dreams of adolescence and young manhood, which otherwise would remain unexpressed. Pent up emotions, created by a hard day of work, by homesickness, by mental stagnation, have been relieved. Opportunities have been provided for those who wish to make more than a hobby of their leisure time pursuits. Camp disciplinary problems have been minimized by keeping otherwise idle minds busy. And, general culture has been broadened. These results in themselves have more than satisfied the expectations of the founders of C.C.C. education.
CHAPTER III

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN THE G.C.C.

Need of Vocational Education

As was pointed out in the first chapter, there has been a marked change in the techniques of industry since 1900. This period has witnessed the rise of mass production on an unprecedented scale. Mass production has brought with it the attendant uses of the assembly line, the speed up, and specialization. Mass production has in turn called upon the expenditure of a far different sort of labor than industry has ever known before. The speed up has called forth men of endurance both in muscles and nerves; the speed up has called for a raised standard of efficiency, which, bordering on the monotonous, has required that laborers be as alert at the end of eight hours as they were at the first. To fail in the matter of alertness brings with it dire results culminating in accidents and death. Also, specialization in industry has called upon skills and training that the imported laborer of the turn of the century did not know and did not need to know. This need of specialization in the type of training the laborer should get has been pointed out by Don Wharton. "There is a pressing demand for mechanics."¹

¹Don Wharton, "2,000,000 Men Wanted," American Magazine, CXXIX (1940), 15.
Since such demand exists, it is evident that specialization also exists:

This bears out the views of William S. Kundsen, president of General Motors, who in the June issue of *The American Magazine*, wrote: "If I were twenty-one I would be a mechanic," and backed this up with the statement: "Even with all our unemployment, the top-rank skilled mechanics are still the most independent and sought after men you can find."\(^2\)

This system of productive technique has been a challenge to our public schools for some time. Unfortunately, however, the public schools have done little to provide for the needs growing out of industrial demands on laborers. Too, even though the schools were to go into the matter of vocational training on the grand scale, there is such a lapse in the leaving of the secondary school and permanent industrial employment that the skills are either forgotten, or the youth has given up hope. Since this lapse extends over a period of three to five years after the average boy finishes secondary school, and since the youth who feed the industrial mill as laborers come from the lower strata of our society, there is little hope that our system of formal public schools will ever solve their problem. This is due to at least two reasons: (1) The future industrial laborer is not prepared to attend technical schools sponsored privately or publicly, for he is not sufficiently trained in the academic tools which are necessary for participation in

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\(^2\) Don Wharton, "2,000,000 Men Wanted," *American Magazine*, CXIX (1940), 15.
the routine of these schools. (2) The future industrial laborer, since he is from the lower strata of our society, does not have the means to support himself while attending school.

Thus, it is necessary for society, if the ends of human conservation and economic conservation are to be accomplished, to provide for the out-of-school, out-of-work youth of our land a type of training which can be acquired while earning a living. This need was recognized by the New Deal in establishing the Civilian Conservation Corps. Add to the fact that the schools of our nation are doing little to solve the youth vocational problem, the poignant and easily discernable truth that industry has also done little for our youth, and one has the true picture of youth's dilemma. In this connection, Charles Judd says:

Before the depression there was less constructive effort to correct the unemployment of young people than there was to change the curriculum of the schools. Industry was wholly oblivious of its obligations to young people, and certain sentimentalists were in charge of the campaign against child labor and were content to push the negative side of reform by taking young people out of industry but were doing nothing to see to it that suitable substitutes for employment were provided.3

With the establishment of the C.C.C. and the inauguration of an educational program in December, 1933, the great needs of the enrollees as regards vocational training was brought

to the foreground. Realizing this need, the fathers of the C.C.C. education recognized two prime objectives of the vocational program. The first of these objectives is to train youth in occupational skills of a practical nature; and the second is to create wholesome attitudes on the part of the boys toward work.\(^4\) Objective number one is, of course, conditioned by the length of the enrollee's stay in the camp. Since the average enrollment of boys in the C.C.C. is only eight months, the curriculum cannot be too long or too involved.\(^5\) Too, for the same reason, the courses cannot be exceptionally technical. Thus, for the most part, the educational advisers have instigated programs which deal with basic semi-skills such as truck driving, cooking, carpentry, concrete mixing, and wiring. Objective number two is subjective as far as the enrollee is concerned and grows out of the fact that many of them do not like to work because they have been idle for so long and because there has been no interest evolved in them because of lack of participation.\(^6\) It is the hope of the C.C.C. educators that interest and the proper attitudes can be instilled through participation in the program and through guidance.


\(^6\)Rogers, op. cit., p. 350.
Curriculum: A Dual Program

Out of the trial and error method of curriculum building of the educational advisers in the early days of C.C.C. education grew the present dual program. This program involves the very best in educational method in that it is a combination of classroom presentation and laboratory participation. The theoretical phase of the vocational curriculum is called: Off-the-job training. Conversely, the laboratory is known as: On-the-job training.

Since on-the-job training is dependent on the background of the worker, the job training idea in the C.C.C. goes beyond mere teaching the workmen how to perform a particular task. Enrollees are instructed in the broad general aspect of the project. They are taught why the work is done in a certain manner. They are told how the individual job is related to the finished project. And, they are also given instruction in related subjects.

This latter phase of training is not well adapted to on-the-job instruction. Hence, leisure time instruction is given. The program is usually arranged by the camp educational adviser. The instruction, however, is given by the supervisory personnel. Such subjects as forestry, general conservation, mathematics, and theoretical phases of job performance are taught in organized classes meeting one or two evenings a week.7

The off-the-job program at Company 1856, Balmorhea, Texas, was inaugurated by this writer with the cooperation

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7Fred Morrell, "Job Training In The C.C.C.," The Phi Delta Kappan, XIX (1937), 342-43.
of Captain Marshall, the commanding officer, and Digby Roberts, Superintendent of the Technical Service. It was arranged at a Camp Committee Meeting in November, 1938, that the foremen of the Technical Service would instruct in leisure time work five days a week. The foremen would instruct the same crews they had on-the-job, and would instruct them in the theoretical phases of the work they were doing on-the-job. The educational adviser was to prepare, with the help of the foremen, outline courses of study for the work. The success of the work can be judged from the fact that the off-the-job instruction had 100 percent participation for the months of December, January, and February.

The on-the-job training in the C.C.C. is dual in purpose. "First, it trains the worker to do well the job to which he is assigned. ( . . . ) Secondly, the enrollee is given training in practical jobs so that he becomes experienced and employable, and is fitted to take a job, often as a skilled workman, upon his leaving the Corps." These objectives are carried out just so far as the foremen are prepared to carry them out. In the case of the Division of Grazing Camp, Dg-43-N, located at Animas, New Mexico, the foremen first analyze the project to determine all jobs necessary to its completion. The jobs are then broken down into operations.

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8Camp Committee Meeting Report, Company 1856, Nov., 1938.
10Fred Morrell, "Job Training In The C.C.C.," The Phi Delta Kappan, XIX (1937), 342.
necessary to complete the jobs. When this has been done, the foremen follow the outline of Fred Morrell:

With a complete job analysis of the work being performed by his crew, the foreman instructs each man under his supervision in one phase of the work. When an enrollee has learned to do one job, he is given training in another one. This practice is followed insofar as it does not slow down production. For example, a foreman does not slow down his work on a road-building project in order that a green man may learn to operate a tractor. Training and production are coordinated so that project work moves forward without loss of efficiency.

Training and production in the Animas Camp is so well coordinated that many months there is as high as 50 percent turnover in crews due to switching to other jobs for the purpose of learning a new operation.

Since on-the-job training takes place "in the field," the work of necessity varies according to camps and the type of work that the camp is doing. For instance, the work of the forestry camp at Ratcliff, Texas, is planting trees, making forest trails, fighting forest fires, and building bridges. The soil conservation camp at Denton, Texas, is occupied with terracing the fields, building check dams, plowing, and checking erosion in all of its phases. The park camp at Balmorhea is interested in landscaping a State

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11 Ibd., 342.
13 This is an expression which means any activity that is carried on under the auspices of the Technical Service whether it be building a dam, bridge, terrace, or a cottage.
park, building permanent buildings, and constructing a giant swimming pool. The grazing camp at Animas, New Mexico, is concerned with building miles of fences, water tanks for cattle, and truck trails. The variety in the type of work done by each camp accounts for the divergence in the vocational program of the camps scattered all over the nation.

Fred Morrell states that "CCC enrollees may receive job instruction in 300 different jobs. Project work, however, is confined to training in about 40 occupations, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Air compressor operation</th>
<th>Road and trail construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auto mechanics</td>
<td>Road grader operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile servicing</td>
<td>Road maintenance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmithing</td>
<td>Sawmill operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blasting (use of powder)</td>
<td>Sign painting and sign making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridge construction</td>
<td>Steam shovel operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabin instruction</td>
<td>Stone masonry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpentry</td>
<td>Surveying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concrete construction</td>
<td>Telephone line construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diesel engine operation</td>
<td>(Forest Service)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drafting</td>
<td>Timber cruising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drainage construction</td>
<td>Tool sharpening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fence construction</td>
<td>Tractor operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest improvement</td>
<td>Treatment (Preservative) of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackhammer operation</td>
<td>timber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscaping</td>
<td>Tree planting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logging</td>
<td>Truck driving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map reading</td>
<td>Use of hand tools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursery work</td>
<td>Water system construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation of carry-all</td>
<td>and maintenance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scraper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant disease and insect</td>
<td>Welding&quot;14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>控制</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical engineering</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, it is well to mention the fact that in most camps there are other vocational courses, aside from the dual

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14"Job Training In The C.C.C.," The Phi Delta Kappan, XIX (1937), 345.
program of the Technical Service, which are offered. These courses are offered by Army officers, educational advisers, work supervisors and W.P.A. teachers.

This is instruction which is not related directly to the field work being done by the camp. For instance, courses may be given in agriculture, printing, surveying, or typewriting. Under the capable supervision of trained Army men, enrollees assigned to camp overhead duties receive training in such jobs as cooking, truck driving, first aid, typewriting, bookkeeping, and stationary engine operation.¹⁵

Facilities for Carrying on Vocational Work

Since the emphasis of O.C.C. education has now reached a stage where it is placed almost wholly on preparing youth for industrial life, the educational building is becoming more and more the center of camp life. Too, all things considered, the educational building has increased its facilities tremendously during the years education has been entertained at all. An example of the lack of educational facilities in the early days might be gotten from the educational setup of the Boyd, Texas, camp in 1934. During the summer, with an enrollment of 200, the company had no educational adviser. The adviser from Lake Worth commuted back and forth about twice a month. There was no educational building in the camp, and things educational moved along at a slow clip. What classes the assistant educational adviser could conjure were held in the Boyd High School. This was

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 343.
necessary since there was no educational building at the Boyd camp. Things educational were indeed bad in 1934, but these things have changed. The physical facilities for education report as of June 30, 1937, states:

Of the 1,900 camps in operation at the close of the fiscal year, 60 percent of the camps had school buildings of one kind or another. Thirty-nine percent of the camps had school buildings with more than a thousand square feet of floor space, and 9 percent had shops of this size. 16

Then during the last quarter of 1937-38, the greatest gains of the history were made in the matter of school buildings.

During this time, funds were made available for a construction program to increase space in the camps for educational use. There are at the present time (1938) 90.4 percent of the 1,500 camps (1,356) which have at least 1,600 square feet of floor space. 17

The fact is, the only camps which do not have educational buildings are temporary camps and camps which because of their seasonal nature are housed in tents for three months of the year.

To attempt to describe the model educational building from the standpoint of vocational equipment was once impossible, for everywhere the educational buildings and equipment differed according to the tastes of the personnel involved and according to the locality. Now, however, there is an increasing amount of uniformity as to vocational

16 H.W. Oxley, Educational Activities In The C.G.C., p.18.
equipment in the educational buildings. This is exemplified by the survey of November, 1938, made by the New Mexico District which was an attempt to standardize not only the buildings but also the equipment. Now, most of the camps, at least those in the New Mexico District, have a great deal of uniformity in vocational equipment.

One might say that the vocational equipment of the New Mexico District camps can be divided into three definite sections: (1) shop equipment, (2) the dark room, and (3) the office of the educational adviser and the class rooms. The shop houses are the most expensive items of the educational budget. Here one will find the power tools. Sixty-eight percent of the camps in the United States have adequate systems of lighting. This would mean that 68 percent of the camps can use electric units in their shops. The outlying thirty-two percent of the camps must use gasoline motors to motivate their power shafts. Thus, the Balmorhea camp uses electric current while the Animas camp, which sits over thirty miles out in the desert below Lordsburg, New Mexico, has to use a gasoline motor in its shop. The machines in the shop, whether driven by gasoline or electricity, are the same. An example of what most camps have in the way of power tools is the Las Cruces, New Mexico, camp which contains a rip saw, a jig saw, a band saw, a lathe, a punch, and a plane. 

18 Ibid., p. 15.
19 Tool list, Camp Las Cruces, New Mexico, 1938.
Some camps, such as the Demming, New Mexico, camp, have more than this equipment. This, however, is usually the result of combining with other camps and not the result of orders through the district headquarters. Other than the power tools, the shop contains hand tools for wood working and an occasional camp might have leather hand tools and a few metal tools.

The office of the educational adviser contains one or two typewriters which are used in typing classes. In the class rooms adjacent to the office, the instructional vocational classes are held. Here, classes in business English, business arithmetic, bookkeeping, foreman training, and leader training are held. What equipment the camp has for these courses in the way of books and workbooks is kept in these rooms.

For those who wish to know how to develop their own films, a dark room is provided. This room usually sits off in one corner of the shop and is complete with the utensils and the chemicals necessary for developing pictures.

Because of the extensive work of the Technical Service, it is necessary that a great amount of equipment be housed in the shops under its jurisdiction, and since the equipment is primarily for use in furthering the project program, it is necessary for the educational department in the camp to cooperate with the Technical Service in using the tools. This cooperation results in the use of the shops both as on-the-job and off-the-job courses. For instance, the auto
shop houses the machinery and tools for repairing the trucks of the camp. It is both a medium of progressing the work of the project, and one of educating the boys in auto mechanics. The blacksmith shop is a part of the Technical Service equipment, and is used on-the-job to mend tools, to forge fixtures for cottages, and to create tools that are not handy. It also is a laboratory for the educational department. The Technical Service has a carpentry shop in most camps, but because of the fine equipment in the educational building, it is used rarely as an educational medium. Aside from these aforesaid shops and their tools, the Technical Service maintains a tool shed which houses the light tools that are used on-the-job. The boys learn to use these from day to day.

And, finally, the Technical Service maintains certain heavy equipment which varies as to the work the camp is doing. This heavy equipment includes such items as tractors, trucks, graders, power sledges, scrapers, steam shovels, and the like.

As Rockwell A. Davis, District Educational Adviser, New Mexico District, once said, "The educative process can take place anywhere."20 This is doubly true in the C.C.C. where the equipment and the facilities of education are scattered over so much territory. Other than the logical centers of education in the camp such as those detailed above, there are certain other centers where the boys might meet in classes.

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20 Interview with R.A. Davis October 7, 1938.
of a vocational nature. A few of these are: The Technical Service office, the Army office, the supply shop, the kitchen, the recreational hall, the infirmary, the officer's quarters, and barracks. The Technical Service office has equipment which can be used in classes and laboratories in typing, blueprinting, record keeping, and mechanical drawing. It is also a laboratory in leadership training under the direction of the superintendent. The Army office is also a laboratory for clerical work and leadership. The supply shop is an excellent source of training in keeping records and in auditing equipment and supplies. In the kitchen one has excellent equipment for training in the art of cooking, dishwashing, waiting tables, and kindred scullery occupations. In the recreation hall, one will find the barber shop, the company store (the canteen), and the moving picture projector. This building alone offers job training in barbering, store keeping and auditing, and in the art of working a moving picture projector.

Nearly 900 of the 1,500 camps now own motion picture projectors. Some have 16-millimeter silent projectors (19.8 percent); some have 35-millimeter sound projectors (31 percent); and others have 35-millimeter silent or sound projectors (9 percent). The remainder of the 1,500 camps have access to the use of either 16- or 35-millimeter equipment. In addition, 35 percent of the camps have film-strip projectors; 8.6 percent have equipment for projecting slides or other material.21

Going further, the sixth miscellaneous source of vocational equipment, the infirmary, is a laboratory for practical training in first aid and nursing. The infirmary is, of course, in the charge of the Camp Surgeon, but the fact that the boys can use his material and study under him helps them greatly in a vocational way, for many industries will not hire workers who have not passed the first aid test. Lastly, the officer's quarters and the barracks might be called a laboratory in the field of custodial work and the general care of rooms. One boy in the Balmorhea, Texas, camp, a Mexican, secured a position with a hotel because of his experience as orderly in the officer's quarters.

The Teaching Staff for Vocational Studies

As regards vocational work, the duties of the educational adviser might be described as those of a liaison officer. This can best be explained by the experience of the writer when he was educational adviser at Company 1856, Balmorhea, Texas. For the three months of August, September, and October of 1938, the vocational education work of the camp was on a low ebb. The educational adviser could not secure the cooperation of the Technical Service in preparing or presenting vocational or courses off-the-job. This condition was due to the fact that the superintendent and the foremen were on the most unfriendly terms with the commanding officer who was an Americanized German given to defending the actions of Hitler during the Munich Crisis. The

22 Discharge Papers, Jose Martinez, December 18, 1938.
educational adviser could not get these factors of the camp to meet in a Camp Committee Meeting. The condition, however, was explained to the District Educational Adviser at an Educational Conference held in Las Cruces, New Mexico, in October, 1938. In November, the German officer was replaced by Captain Marshall, and a meeting was held immediately during which the commanding officer and the educational adviser secured the support of the Technical Service.

Other than securing the good will and the support of the Technical Service, the educational adviser is responsible as an educational leader for preparing, from consultations with the foremen, outlines of courses of study for use in the vocational classes. Too, because he is the coordinator and administrator of the camp program, the educational adviser does not teach any of the vocational subjects as a general rule, but arranges for the efficient running of the classes. This function he performs by seeing that space is provided for the classes, that there are no conflicts in the schedule, and that the equipment for carrying on the classes is available to the teachers.

As a general thing, the educational adviser has a rather wide range of persons available for use as teachers in the vocational program. Of these, the most common are the camp superintendent, the foremen, Army officers, the doctor, W.P.A. teachers, lecturers sent out from government departments, local public school teachers, and talented enrollees.

23 Camp Committee Meeting Report, Company 1856, Nov. 28, 1938.
Outside help, however, is small; this is exemplified by a report made by Howard W. Oxley:

The teaching staff in the CCC educational program is drawn largely from the personnel of each camp. For example, in January, 1937, there were 30,446 persons teaching in the camps. Of this number, 2,031 were educational advisers; 1,937 were the assistants to the educational advisers; 5,031 were Army personnel; 10,774 were technical personnel; 6,424 were enrollees; 1,856 were Emergency Education (W.P.A.) teachers; 246 were National Youth Administration personnel; 1,030 were regular school teachers; and 1,136 were citizens of nearby communities.

The number and type of persons offering instruction at the various intervals of the fiscal year might be ascertained from the table below:

**TABLE 2**

**NUMBER OF PERSONS OFFERING INSTRUCTION**
**JULY, 1936 TO JUNE, 1937**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instructors</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1937</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July</td>
<td>October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Educational Adviser</td>
<td>1,816</td>
<td>1,966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Assn. Ed. Adviser</td>
<td>1,884</td>
<td>1,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Military Staff</td>
<td>4,384</td>
<td>4,667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Technical Staff</td>
<td>10,123</td>
<td>9,876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Enrollees</td>
<td>6,755</td>
<td>6,973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. E.E.P. Teachers (WPA)</td>
<td>1,685</td>
<td>1,909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. N.Y.A. Teachers</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Regular Teachers</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>1,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Others</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>27,805</strong></td>
<td><strong>29,536</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


---

24*Educational Activities In The CCC*, p. 20.
The following table shows the number and type of instructors, the number of subjects per instructor, and the number of subjects per company as of 1938. Also, these same items are compared with the figures of 1939. The totals show a gain in the number of instructors over a years time with the number of subjects per instructor remaining about the same:

**TABLE 3**

NUMBER OF INSTRUCTORS AND SUBJECTS PER INSTRUCTOR
JANUARY, 1938 TO JANUARY, 1939*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>No. Instructors Per. Co.</th>
<th>No. Subjects Per Instructor</th>
<th>No. Subjects Per Company</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational Advisers</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>4.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assn. Ed. Advisers</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>2.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Staff</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Staff</td>
<td>6.56</td>
<td>6.92</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrollees</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.E.P. Teachers</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.Y.A. Teachers</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>1.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular Teachers</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total no. of instructors per company............ 15.39 17.32
Total no. of subjects per instructor............ 1.63 1.66

Because of the cut in expenditures for the C.C.C. during the years of 1938 and 1939, the average number of teachers has decreased.

In January 1939, 26,006 instructors were offering leisure-time instruction in the 1500 camps. Fourteen hundred and sixty-one of these instructors were camp educational advisers; 1,296, assistant leaders for education; 3,140, Army officers; 10,380, technical service personnel; 5,355, enrollees; 1,966, emergency education program and N.Y.A. teachers; 2,408, regular teachers and others.25

The information given above covers the situation on the total scale in the United States. An idea of the local camp situation might be gotten from the Balmorhea and the Animas camps. In both of these camps while the writer was educational adviser, it was impossible to get W.P.A. or N.Y.A. help. This was due to the fact that both of these agencies had spent all they could in those sectors and could not afford to add the burden of teachers for the camps. Aside from the camp personnel, in fact, it was impossible to secure the help of any outside teachers. The local school at Balmorhea had had some trouble with the camp and refused to help at all. At Animas, there was no school near enough to be of any assistance. There were at times, though, lecturers sent out from the State Forester's Office or the Park Department. This was the only help the camps received during 1938 and 1939, and it was necessary for the adviser to secure what help he could from among the enrollees.

Cooperation between the Camp and Other Agencies
In Vocational Work

Among the agencies which have contributed materially to the program of education in the C.C.C. camps are the vocational divisions of the State departments of education. This cooperation and interest has particularly grown during the school year of 1938-39. This help has been particularly noticed in the field of teacher training in the vocational field. Since fifty percent of the camp courses have a vocational objective, this help was evident. This cooperation has taken a variety of forms in the various States:

For example, in Massachusetts and in Georgia the division of vocational education in the State department has established a service to provide teacher-training to CCC instructors in every camp in the State. In Massachusetts, courses were conducted during the past school year in 25 camps for 2 hours each week over a 5-week period and certificates were awarded by the State department to those who successfully completed the courses. Since that time many camps have requested that 100-hour courses be provided during the coming year.26

In the Southwest, the A & M College at Las Cruces, New Mexico, and the Teacher's College at Silver City, New Mexico, are performing this function. "The State of Montana has designated each camp as a technical high school for the accrediting of the vocational training and related work. In Virginia, 14 vocational instructors were assigned to teach in the camps and at one time North Carolina had more than 40 vocational teachers assisting in the CCC program."27


27Ibid.
Cooperation with local schools depends upon the accessibility of the school to the camp. For instance, such camps as those at Denton, Texas, Sherman, Texas, Boyd, Texas, Las Cruces, New Mexico, and Carlsbad, New Mexico, sit within the city limits or within a mile of the town. Such camps as Dark Canyon, New Mexico, Animas, New Mexico, and Apache, New Mexico, are at least thirty miles from the nearest vocational department. Also, cooperation depends upon the facilities of the local school. There are two primary needs in this connection: A shop and a commercial department. Not all local schools have these. In such cases, the camp is as well equipped as the school.

Going further than merely allowing the local CCC camp to use the high school facilities, the local communities have reached the point in which they realize the CCC vocational program is an excellent opportunity for work and training for the local unemployed youth. Thus, communities, especially those in California, are lending material aid to the local camp program. An editorial in School Life explains this fully:

A number of local communities in California have opened the doors of their schools to enrollees to provide vocational education. Outstanding among these is the Santa Ynez Union High School which has designated the CCC camp at Los Pritos as a "branch" high school. The commission for vocational education of the State department approved a budget of approximately $11,000 for the coming year to be used for the education of the enrollees in this camp.28

28Ibid., p. 25.
In many cases, this vocational education cooperation between the local camp and the local school has led to the accrediting of courses in the camp and the issuing of high school diplomas by the State. It is hard for the camps in Texas to get this cooperation which leads to credit. At Balmorhea, every effort was made by the educational adviser in an attempt to work with the local school and the county school superintendent, and yet the machinery was such as to frustrate the adviser's plans. The situation, however, was much better in New Mexico, and the camps visited by this writer contained large numbers of eighth grade and high school graduates who had gotten their work in the camp with credit from the local school.

It has been truly said:

The conservation projects in which the enrollees are engaged contribute to the economic resources of the State and the community in which the camps are located. On the other hand, the experience gained in the camp jobs, coupled with the vocational training and general education offered during the leisure time, compose a program of practical value to any young man who needs to learn how to earn a livelihood.\[\text{29}\]

Not only is this true, but the time is coming rapidly when all the local educational institutions will realize what a golden opportunity for the combination of so many needs is in their midst. This realization will bring closer cooperation with what the government is trying to do in the way of vocational education in the camps.

\[\text{29Ibid.},\ p.\ 24.\]
include members of the C.C.C. Under this setup, the enrollees of the camps have received many benefits; namely, a new type of correspondence course in which directions are placed at the exact point to be useful in the development of the lesson, increasingly individualized lessons, the feature of process where the student has a definite relationship with the supervisor, and an opportunity to select from over 100 subjects. One might get an idea of the number receiving benefits from the following statement:

More than three hundred fifty students have been enrolled in high-school and college courses in Civilian Conservation Corps camps directly through the University of Nebraska. A greater and more important service than of conducting the instruction with students direct, has been that of providing the secondary courses to camps and to colleges and universities for use in the camps of their respective states. Since July 1, 1935, more than 3500 of these courses have been sold for such use. 31

Further, H. W. Oxley states in his report of 1937 that "Forty institutions granted enrollees reduced rates on correspondence courses, and 20, 325 men took advantage of them in 1937." 32 This, of course, is on the national scale.

An idea of the kind of courses the enrollees like best might be gotten from the courses listed by the Ninth Corps Area as the most popular. They are: Auto mechanics, diesel

31 A. A. Reed, "Correspondence Work Offered By The University Of Nebraska," The Phi Delta Kappan, XXX (1937), 364.
32 Howard W. Oxley, Educational Activities In CCC Camps, p. 21.
The excellent work of the colleges in cooperating with the C.C.C. camps is divided into three main functions which are; (1) correspondence courses, (2) extension work, (3) college center. In the field of correspondence work, certain of the colleges and the W.P.A. worked out a series of correspondence courses which were furnished to C.C.C. enrollees free of charge and which carried credit. Under the W.P.A. direction, the various producing centers specialized in the preparation of material of a certain kind.

Michigan specializes principally at the college level, and Nebraska at the high school level, and California has developed a strong program for CCC youth, and Oregon prepares material of a general noncredit nature. Servicing centers obtain the materials prepared by other centers, make them available to their own enrollees, and grade the papers which those enrollees submit as part of their work. Any State may borrow from the other; for example, Michigan produces its own college material, uses Nebraska's high school material, and grades the papers submitted by its enrollees in both fields.

Thus, in the Southwestern camps where most of the correspondence work is of the high school level, the college correspondence center is Nebraska University.

The University Extension Division of the University of Nebraska began offering correspondence study to Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees as early as April, 1935. The first aim of the work, which from the start was under the F.E.A., was to assist in conducting instruction by correspondence for unemployed adults. The plan was later enlarged to

30Doak S. Campbell, Frederick H. Bair, and Oswald L. Harvey, Educational Activities Of The WPA, p. 123.
engines, forestry, English grammar, photography, business English, blueprint reading, elementary surveying, and bookkeeping.\textsuperscript{33} The most popular course in the New Mexico camps in which this writer participated was typewriting. In these camps over a nine months period, there were six courses in progress.\textsuperscript{34}

In an over-all average, 15 of every 100 CCC enrollees have completed high school. Also, of this number, many have studied at colleges through the college center work of the CCC.

Last year 39 colleges and universities granted CCC scholarships, 35 offered NYA assistance and 18 agreed to make their loan funds and self-help jobs available to these men. In addition, college study camps were established at Bethel College, Tennessee, and at the University of New Mexico. By means of these various forms of assistance several hundred enrollees were enabled to pursue college work for credit during the past year and 39 were able to secure college diplomas.\textsuperscript{35}

The writer was personally acquainted with the adviser at the Las Cruces camp which is the college center camp for the University of New Mexico. Too, he was acquainted with the president of the college. On October 6, 1938, the president declared to the writer that the enrollees in the camp attend the evening college, can only take 9 hours credit per semester, and must keep up their camp work during the day as well. In April 1939, the writer visited the machine

\textsuperscript{33} J. W. Burke, "Correspondence Work In The Camps Of The Ninth Corps Area," The Phi Delta Kappan, XIX (1937), 362.

\textsuperscript{34} Form Six Educational Report, Company 1856, Jan., 1939.

shop course held at the evening college for enrollees. Here, twenty-seven enrollees were working intently on metal tools and receiving the instruction of an expert college teacher. The extent of the aid rendered the C.C.C. educational program in this manner might be gotten from the following:

Last year more than 200 colleges and universities in all parts of the country cooperated directly with the CCC educational program by creating scholarships and giving other financial aid, tendering correspondence and extension work at reduced cost, offering classroom and laboratory space and lending equipment. For the present school year the colleges are increasing the number of scholarships, loan funds, self-help jobs, and NYA assistance available for CCC men.

Results and Evaluation of Work

The results of any program are hard to get. This is especially true when one considers reducing them to cold figures. The results which are favorable are too many times those of the spirit or those involving psychological results which cannot be gauged. For instance, the type of industrial guidance that the C.C.C. educational program offers is such as to help the enrollee find himself. If the vocational program did no more than this, it would be worthwhile. The boys are learning to do things; perhaps this is the most important result of the program. We know they are, for so much construction has come from their efforts. Also, many man hours have been spent in an effort to learn more about vocational studies. This fact can be ascertained from the

Ibid.
following table. This table shows the number of enrollees in the C.C.C. during four months of 1936 and 1937. Also, it sets forth the number of enrollees taking vocational work. The percentage of attendance for these four months is given. From this chart, one can see that from 38 to 43 percent of the enrollees have taken vocational work over a two year period. Also, one can judge from the table that vocational education in the C.C.C. is on the upgrade.

**TABLE 4**

**ENROLLEE PARTICIPATION IN VOCATIONAL COURSES**

**JULY, 1936 TO JUNE, 1937**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1937</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Average CCC enrollment........</td>
<td>343,886</td>
<td>323,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. No. enrollees attending........</td>
<td>129,603</td>
<td>130,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Percentage attending...........</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*H. W. Oxley, Educational Activities In The CCC, p. 13.*

Perhaps the greatest result of the vocational program in the C.C.C. is the fact that so many of our youth are receiving vocational training who would not have received it otherwise. A recent study made by Boston University showed that out of 1,250 enrollees interviewed, only 136 had received vocational guidance in school. Another study made
by Columbia University showed that out of 848 enrollees interviewed, only 177 reported that they had received vocational guidance while in school. Another study by Ohio State University revealed that out of 600 enrollees interviewed, only 77 had received vocational guidance. In other words, out of a total of 2,698 enrollees interviewed by the three universities, only 390, or 14.5 per cent, had received vocational guidance while in school. This only serves to substantiate the thesis established in the first chapter when we said that the youth problem had been with us for some time and very little in the formal school had been done to give practical aid to the problem on a scale large enough to effect youth's efforts to earn a livelihood.

The evaluation of any program is intricately tied up with its results. There are, however, a number of things that might be well to mention aside from the results. In evaluating the vocational program, we cannot afford to overlook the fact that the average period of enrollment for the enrollee is only nine months. When we consider the number of things that demand the attention of enrollees while in camp these nine months, we must face the fact that not too much can be done for him in a vocational way. The fact of the business is, we can only teach him semiskills. We can create a desire and send him off on the right track.

37 Ibid., p. 10.
CHAPTER IV

ACADEMIC EDUCATION IN THE C.C.C.

Need for Academic Training

During the depression, our youth have been forced to leave school in great numbers before they have acquired the academic fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic sufficient to give them a background for vocational education. Of this group, the C.C.C. receives its quota, for as high as 25 percent in certain camps are illiterate. Too, there are many who have not finished the elementary school. Though these figures do not reach the alarming percentages quoted above, the following table gives one the educational level of enrollees in the C.C.C. during the four months quoted for the years 1936 and 1937:

TABLE 5
C.C.C. ENROLLEE EDUCATIONAL LEVELS
FOUR MONTHS, 1936 AND 1937*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Levels</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th></th>
<th>1937</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Percentage illit.</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Percentage elem.</td>
<td>39.2%</td>
<td>38.5%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>39.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Percentage h.s.</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
<td>47.3%</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
<td>46.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Percentage college</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Percentage col. grad.</td>
<td>.2%</td>
<td>.2%</td>
<td>.2%</td>
<td>.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*H.W. Oxley, Ed. Activities in CCC Camps, p.3
C. S. Marsh, the first Director of C.C.C. Education, writing in the Forum magazine, has drawn a most vivid picture of the above condition in some of the camps; and though these camps might not be representative of the condition as a whole, they at least require ingenuity and perspicacity on the part of those in command when an educational program is being worked out for them.

In one camp there were eighty illiterates, fine-looking native stock, from back in the hills. About twenty of them didn't know the capital of the United States. Four of them, when asked, guessed they were from five thousand to one hundred thousand miles away from their native hills. They were frantically religious but they drank hard, fought viciously. Some of them resented singing "She'll be Comin' Round the Mountain" as impious, for to the same tune in church they had sung: "It's the good old ship of Zion when she comes."¹

In a large number of our camps in the Southwest, there are many enrollees who cannot speak the English language. This, of course, is a result of the infiltration of the Spanish speaking people from across the Rio Grande. These people have settled along the border and form high percentages of the population of the border towns of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. When camps are formed in these regions, a high percentage of the enrollees are Mexican. Thus, the camps of Demming, Red Rock, and Douglas, all near the Mexican border, have their quota of illiterate Spanish speaking boys. Too, in certain of the companies sent out from Pennsylvania

in 1938 and 1939, there were large numbers of foreign born illiterates of Southern European stock. All of these boys present an academic problem to the C.C.C. schoolman; and all of them have a definite need as to learning the English language as a background for vocational training as well as for citizenship.

Other than the mere need of academic tools for the pursuance of vocational training with which one might earn a livelihood, the other great need of academic training in any one's life is to give them a broad background of knowledge and culture with which to enrich and make their life more meaningful. This last motive of academic training has been too long the sole impetus of public school training. Youth in too many cases cannot wait in the stiff, formal atmosphere of the regular school without a job, and without any attempt to learn how to get one, while he absorbs such cultural subjects as English, history, and biology. Thus, there is a poignant need for general education in the C.C.C. aside from the good it might do the enrollee in the field of vocational training and job preparation. Many educational advisers have interviewed boys about this problem, and they realize that few enrollees have a background of general knowledge. Furthermore, they have found that the boys do not know where to get information which they might have a desire to know. The advisers find that enrollees do not

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2 Form Six Educational Report, Company 3353, April, 1939.
have reading habits above the level of the Street and Smith "Western Story." Of 250 enrollees interviewed by the writer, over 200 of them, or 80 percent, admitted that they had not received enough general knowledge in the public schools and that they did not know how to get it. This was the basis used by the writer in building the academic curriculum at the Animas Camp in New Mexico.

Though we might recognize the general needs of the enrollee concerning his academic curriculum, there is only one sure way of determining his individual needs. This is through the use of the interview which from the very beginning of the C.C.C. educational program has been considered the major educational activity; "the dynamo generating motive power for all of the other activities." In a real sense, it determines the background of the enrollee and results in self-appraisal and self-choice which through the counseling of the adviser helps the individual find himself in regards to the whole educational program, especially that of general academic training which up to the time of the interview has been distasteful and remindful of the formal school experience. The interview sells the program to the enrollee.

3 Interview with 250 enrollees in Company 3353, March and April, 1939.

Howard W. Oxley in a statistical sense has pointed out the value of the interview:

The educational reports of the Army show that during the past fiscal year, 1,462,509 guidance interviews were held in the camps by the officers, members of the using services (Forestry Service, Soil Conservation Service, National and State Park Service etc.), and educational advisers. The training reports of the Forest Service show that during 3 months (April to June 1938), 34,227 interviews were held by the personnel of that agency alone. Similar activities were carried on by the personnel of the other using services.\(^5\)

Without going into detail as to the procedure of the interview, for procedures differ, it is well to point out that in all of the 1,462,509 interviews mentioned above none were more valuable than those used in directing the youth in the camps into the channels of academic training which they have not been able to get before entering the Corps.

Since the system of education in the C.C.C. is not compulsory, the enrollees only take courses that are practical and in which they see some interest. To some this might seem a bad practice; that is, allowing the desires of the boys to determine the curriculum. It might appear off hand that the boys will select only the courses of an academic nature which are interesting, easy, and appealing to them. This in itself could be a bad thing since it only fosters the thing the boy likes to do, the thing he probably does to some extent already, and does not push him further along in directions he has not already gone. The answer to these

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 17.
objections is forthcoming in the fact that the enrollees of the C.C.C. are boys who are disgusted with the public school, who could not get along in the public school, or who have been out of school so long as to have lost all contacts with study and the routine of thought itself. Thus, it is the duty of the adviser to recognize the needs of the enrollee from the type of courses he selects on his questionnaire blank when he first enters the camp. This is necessary, within bounds, so that the boy may become interested, and so that he will enter the C.C.C. educational program with a kindly attitude towards it.

One is astonished by the seriousness with which the boys determine what type of courses they wish to take. Perhaps the question which is asked the greatest number of times is, "Will this course help me get a job?" This was true, that in everyone of the writer's interviews, the boys wanted to know what bearing such and such an academic course would have on his future job getting in general. The consensus of opinion was that if the course did not help to prepare for a job, there was no use taking it. Thus, the ingenuity of the adviser called upon him to name his courses of an academic nature in such a manner that it would have vocational appeal. Therefore, under the name of business English, the writer taught grammar, and the enrollees liked it; they were learning how to prepare for a job.\(^5\) In a course termed "general business" the whole general range

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of the social sciences was covered in animated discussions and in outside reading. Thus, the needs of the enrollees are recognized in the type of courses they like and in the practicability of the course in regards to job training.

Objectives of Academic Program

Just as we realize the necessity of providing academic work for the purpose of providing a background for vocational work, we realize that one of the major objectives of the academic curriculum is to provide tools which will be of vocational value to the enrollee. Thus, the academic courses are selected with scrupulous carefulness. It is felt that the enrollee should be able to have a reading understanding of certain technical subjects; it is surprising how few of the boys can read intelligently. Too, the Technical Service expects the boys to be taught to compute arithmetic which is concerned with simple constructing and measuring.

Apart from the vocational angle, however, there is the objective of providing tools for written and spoken intercourse. Thus, in his speech to the boys of Company 1856, Captain Marshall told the assembly, "I want you to take advantage of the educational opportunities offered you in this camp. Especially do I want you to learn to write a letter, those of you who can't, and write home to your parents as often as you can. You owe this to them." As Howard Oxley

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8 Assembly speech, Company 1856, November 26, 1938.
once said, "One of the dominant aims of the educational pro-
gram in the Civilian Conservation Corps is to develop in
each man his powers of expression." 9

And the tool of reading as a means of self-entertain-
ment and self-education is considered one of the objectives
of the academic program. This was pointed out by Howard
Oxley in the same passage mentioned above, and the expres-
sion "self-culture" was added. 10 In this connection, it
might be well to mention that the academic program is con-
sidered an excellent medium of strengthening the enrollees
citizenship and his understanding of the workings of a de-
mocracy, "and to develop as far as practicable an under-
standing of the prevailing social and economic conditions
to the end that each individual may cooperate intelligently
in improving these conditions." 11

The academic program should create wholesome attitudes
toward learning. This objective was mentioned by J. Nystrom
in an article in which he pointed out that formal schools
too many times turn pupils of the type who enter the C.C.C.
away from their doors. The formal atmosphere of the formal
school has much to do with this. It is the duty of the ad-
viser in the C.C.C. to see that his academic program is not

10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
stilted and formalized. The attitude among the Corps Area Advisers is that the more progressive the program, the better the program.

The educational program of the CCC is progressive education. (No bouquets requested.) It's the only kind of education you could carry on anywhere under a voluntary set-up, and may heaven continue to protect us from the delusion of compulsory "education!" The individual is central, and so the program must be built upon guidance processes. Since standardized curricula are out of the question in such a plan, many of the standard courses of elementary, and high school level are conducted as informal projects and groups, with a maximum of self-determination under the direction of leaders rather than "schoolmasters."12

Academic Schedule in New Mexico District

On September 20, 1938, when the writer was first observed in his new assignment as educational adviser at Company 1856, Balmorhea, Texas, by the District Educational Adviser, R. A. Davis, he was informed that the schedule of academic work in the New Mexico District was essentially different to that of any other in the United States in that it was confined to morning classes.13 The writer was instructed to follow this precedent in building a daily schedule for academic courses. Thus, the morning schedule of the camp went something like this: The boys arose at six o'clock, stood reveille at six-thirty, and marched into the


13 Interview with R. A. Davis, September 20, 1938.
mess hall. After breakfast they spent some ten minutes in cleaning their barracks; after which, they reported to the school building for forty-five minutes of academic work before going to work in the fields.

In deciding on this time in which to hold the academic classes, R. A. Davis told the writer that he felt those in charge had acted in the best interest of the boys. This is due to the fact that boys are more alert in the mornings before reporting to work. This, then, was the deciding factor in favor of the morning schedule of the New Mexico District. It has proved very popular and has been most successful in trial in the District. Too, it has been found that the boys would rather go to these classes during the forty-five minute period than stay in their barracks. Something is going on, and they do not want to miss it.

Though the academic classes are, for all practical purposes, confined to the morning schedule in the New Mexico District; where conditions will not permit certain of the enrollees, such as cooks and orderlies, to attend these classes, evening classes of an academic nature are provided. However, as was pointed out in the chapter on vocational education, the afternoon period for the most part is spent in vocational and informal educational pursuits.

Academic Curriculum

Illiteracy has been variously defined, but the definition given by an editor is one of the most unique we have
contacted. He said that "an illiterate is defined as one who cannot read a newspaper or cannot write a letter."\textsuperscript{14}

It includes all those who for any reason cannot speak, read or write English; and as little as one might think about it, there are large numbers of illiterate Mexican enrollees who cannot speak a passable brand of English. In some camps this condition is so deplorable that the commanding officer has tried on occasions to force the use of English, so far as the boys knew how to use it, in the camp. This was tried in the Balmorhea camp by Ensign Albert Schlott, but with no apparent success since the Mexican population of the camp numbered over one-hundred.\textsuperscript{15}

The type of work arranged and provided for the illiterates is various and depends on the ingenuity of the adviser. Too, the cost of procuring such materials, even if they were available, makes them prohibitive to most of the educational budgets. Thus, the adviser prepares an outline course of study for the illiterates in his camp. Adviser Schrader of the Artesia, New Mexico, camp, has a comprehensive scheme of materials and devices worked out. While the writer was in his camp in December, 1938, Schrader explained his method of teaching enrollees on the illiteracy level. His method exemplifies one of the best illiteracy courses offered in the

\textsuperscript{14} "It May Interest You To Know," \textit{Phi Delta Kappan}, XIX (1937), 311.

\textsuperscript{15} Assembly speech, Company 1856, September 6, 1938.
New Mexico District. From a number of discarded magazines, Schrader had clipped a number of two, three, and four letter words. These small words he presented to the boys in their entirety, and told them what the words were and what they mean. It was his notion that they would learn the words better if they did not break them down into letters, but saw them as definite pictures; and this, of course, is in keeping with good primary methods in the public schools. From this beginning, he proceeded by putting a number of the words they had learned into an envelope and allowing them to construct sentences from the words.16

That the work which is being done is a success can be readily discerned from the following figures. C. S. Marsh reports that "65,000 CCC boys have been taught to read and write."17 Though the work is not compulsory, the total number attending classes for illiterates is between 87 and 96 per cent for any month in the year.18 In 1936 there were 1,385 groups or classes for illiterates in the C.C.C. camps of the United States. The average number of enrollees in each of these classes for that year was 7.76. And the total number of man hours of instruction for this group for the year was the astounding total of 95,163.19 On the whole

16 Interview with Adviser Schrader, December 12, 1938.
19 Ibid., p. 9.
the enrollees on the illiteracy level attend school twice as often and twice as diligently as the enrollees on the other levels. This is readily recognized from the figures of the month of January, 1937 which show that 96 per cent of those on the illiteracy attend school, 43 per cent on the elementary level attend, 35 per cent on the high school level attend, and only 8 per cent on the college level attend.20

The enrollee on the elementary level is defined as one who is not illiterate but has not completed the eighth grade. This does not parallel the formal school conception of what an elementary school pupil is, for the public school considers the first three grades part of the primary school; however, we must keep in mind that the C.C.C. enrollee is a physically grown boy who is only elementary because he has received but little training.21 As has been pointed out, around 38 per cent of the enrollees in a given camp are on this level; thus, over one third of the academic program must revolve about them. An idea of the number of elementary enrollees in the camps as a whole can be gotten from the figures of January 1937 which show that there were 129,198 on the level; of this number, 55,849 were attending academic courses. This group represented 43 per cent of those on the elementary level.22

20 Ibid.
21 H. W. Oxley, Ed. Activities In The CCC, p. 5.
22 Ibid., p. 8.
Popular courses are English, mathematics, physical sciences, and social sciences. In November of 1936, there were 3,020 English sections, 1,330 math sections, 68 physical science sections, and 700 social science sections. There were from 10 to 22 students in each of these sections, and the man hours of instruction for the year ranged from 189,497 in English to 6,229 in physical sciences. An idea of an individual camp elementary schedule might be gotten from the schedule the writer put into effect at Balmorhea, Texas. There were four levels within the elementary school; these consisted of those above the grade of illiteracy, and included those on the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh grade levels. Each level offered courses in English, arithmetic, history, citizenship or civics, and geography. These courses were selected out of the needs of the individual participants in the program and in no measure were they attempts to parallel the work being offered in the elementary division of the formal school systems. Questionnaires were given to the elementary enrollees in the camp. On these could be noted the subjects of an academic nature; from this questionnaire, the adviser was able to construct the course of study listed above.

As was mentioned above, however, the classes of the elementary school in the camp at Balmorhea were divided into

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23 Ibid., p. 9.
levels which parallel many schools from the fourth through the seventh grades. It might be well to point out that there is in the whole of the C.C.C. educational program, except in a few instances where the local camp is cooperating and affiliated with the local school, no attempt at promotions in the public school sense. Neither do students have to remain on a certain level for any given period of time. This is indeed progressive education. In this connection, the educational adviser, through testing and interviewing, retards, places back, or promotes the enrollee as he sees fit. In lieu of report cards and certificates of graduation, it has been the custom in the C.C.C. to give students, who have completed a specified number of man hours on some course, a certificate of excellence and approval. This certificate is printed in the federal printing offices, and it is signed by the camp commander, the superintendent of the Technical Service, and the educational adviser.  

The outstanding feature of the elementary program as carried on by most of the districts is that the enrollees are systematically drilled toward the time when they can take their eighth grade examination, which, if passed, entitles them to get the elementary school diploma. This is a C.C.C. feature, and is not part of the public school program. Like the certificates mentioned above, these diplomas

mean nothing more than a job well done. There are, however, some states which are cooperating with the C.C.C. in this respect; and in these states, the diplomas are held as valid by the schools. New Mexico is one of these states, and California is another. The records show that 5,176 boys earned their elementary diplomas in 1939. 26

Howard W. Oxley states that "those on high school level have completed the eighth grade and may or may not have entered high school and may or may not have entered college." 27 This phase of the academic work in the Corps parallels the public school more than any other, for its courses are intended to be the same as those of the high school, though, of course, the number of courses are not intended to be so many. The number of those on the high school level has from the time of the inception of the C.C.C. ranged about 47 percent of all levels. 28 This would indicate that the average enrollee has finished the elementary school and is between the eighth and ninth grades. Thus, under ordinary circumstances, the high school academic program would be the strongest of any in the camp. This is not the case, however, for the boys on the high school level are harder to persuade to enter the program and participate in classes. This is

27 H. W. Oxley, Ed. Activities In The CCC Camps, p. 5.
28 Ibid.
clearly seen from the fact that whereas the illiterates attend school to the amount of 96 per cent of their number, and the elementary enrollees attend to the extent of 43 per cent of their number, the high school enrollees attend to the extent of 35 per cent of their strength. Thus, one might conclude that the higher the enrollees have progressed in the public schools before entering the Corps, the less likely are they to enter into the educational program in the C.C.C. Conversely, we might conclude that the more advanced the enrollee, the less the C.C.C. has to offer him in an educational way!

There are three sources of supply for high school work in the C.C.C. These are (1) those offered in the camp, (2) those offered by correspondence from the various colleges, and (3) those offered by local high schools. The high school courses offered in the camps of the New Mexico District are morning classes, and are conducted by the educational adviser and his assistant. The most prevalent courses on this level are English, mathematics, physical sciences, social sciences, and languages. In November, 1936, the number of sections ranged all the way from 270 in languages to 1,573 in English. In each of these sections there were from 8 to 17 pupils, and the man hours for the year ranged from 104,545 in the sciences to 8,721 in languages.\footnote{Ibid., p. 9.} An average program is that of Adviser
Schoenoff of Camp Trenier. His courses include algebra, English, history, journalism, occupations, economics, and public speaking.30

Unlike the main body of the elementary work, the grade levels of the high school are the same as that of the public schools. The same rule applies, though, to the high school work as to that of the elementary school; there are no promotions in the public school sense. The enrollees merely take a course until they master it or get tired of it. Since it takes six months to complete a course, that is the number of months for which courses are planned. Thus, no credit is given except that received from certificates and awards of approval which are given on the same basis as those described for the elementary school. Just as was the case for the elementary school, however, there are some local schools and some states which affiliate with the C.C.C. camps in giving credit to enrollees who have done high school work. This enabled 1,048 enrollees to receive their high school diplomas in 1939.31

As was explained in chapter three, there are certain colleges and universities which are cooperating with the C.C.C. in offering correspondence courses at reduced rates to enrollees. This holds true for academic courses as well


as for vocational courses. In 1937 there were over five-
hundred courses of an academic nature in progress. These
correspondence courses ranged from 207 in mathematics to
1 in speech. Of these courses started, over thirty-
seven per cent are dropped before the course is finished.
In this connection, Fred Stevenson lists eight reasons
why such is the case:

1. The short enrollment period for the CCC.
   Enlistments are for periods of six months on Oc-
tober 1 and April 1.
2. Discharges of more competent enrollees to
   accept private employment.
3. Changes in the personnel affecting camp
   officers and educational advisers.
4. Difficulty of securing competent study
   supervisors certified for WPA employment.
5. Difficulty in providing adequate study
   room facilities in many camps, especially inade-
   quate lighting in those camps which are dependent
   upon their own generators for electric power.
6. Long hours of office work and other duties
   for the more competent enrollees, most of whom were
   assigned the certain leadership positions for which
   they received extra compensation, such as company
   clerks and assistant educational advisers.
7. Failure of the instruction office to return
   papers promptly, due to changes in the staff and the
   difficulty of securing competent instructors certi-
   fied by WPA to take the place of those who resign.
8. The difficulty of securing an adequate supply
   of reference books for collateral reading, and
   the high cost of textbooks when compared with the
   $5.00 monthly spending allowance of the enrollees.33

In the camps where the writer had experience, there
has been little of this type of work started. This of
course is due to the discouragement of the eight points

32F. G. Stevenson, "Michigan Supervised Correspondence
Study," Phi Delta Kappan, XIX (1937), 366.
33Ibid.
listed above. In the Balmorhea camp, during the fall of 1938, there was but one correspondence course in progress. This course was not completed. In the Animas camp there were no correspondence courses for the two years that were established by record. Correspondence study on the whole has not proved satisfactory when one considers the records. This, however, does not indicate that this type of study can never be productive of benefits, for as has been pointed out by A. A. Reed; "an adult of average intelligence having an elementary background of the third or fourth grade, if possessed of a desire for self-improvement and if willing to give several hours a week to the effort to advance himself, can accomplish wonders by proper correspondence study."

Cooperation with the local high school is best secured in the field of vocational work, though in some camps there is cooperation with the local schools in every phase of the program. The reason that there is little demand for help from the local high school in the academic program is that these courses call for less materials and aids than vocational work. Thus, when the adviser seeks help outside of the camp it is usually for the vocational program. However, there have been cases of cooperation in academic work. An outstanding example is that of certain communities in the

34 Cumulative Record Card, Franklin Edwards, Company 1856, Balmorhea, Texas, November, 1938.

35 Correspondence Work Offered By The University Of Nebraska For CCC," Phi Delta Kappan, XIX (1937), 365.
California area which are furnishing teachers and equipment for the local camps.36 And in Texas, the educational adviser of a certain camp had fifty boys attending the day school at a near-by town. Because of the fact that the boys were supposed to be at work, and because the educational adviser was teaching classes in the town school, the work was stopped by executive order.37

Like the high school academic work, there are three sources of securing college training in the camps; these are the local camp, correspondence work, and outside help known as college center work in the C.C.C. In reality, there is no college work in the camp. What is termed college work is in truth something else; it is called college training for convenience. The courses offered in the camp as college level might conceivably be of college thoroughness and college quality, but since it is not done in cooperation with a college does not get credit. The fact of the business, and the reason we use the term "convenience" in describing it, is that the usual college course in the camp is that of teacher training offered to the enrollee teachers.

In January, 1937, there were 40,495 enrollees of the college level; only 8 per cent were taking college work.38

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37 Personal Record, Grady Greer, Company 1856, Ju., 1937.
This would indicate, as was pointed out above, that the only college work being done is that of teacher training. This is inevitable, however, because the number on the college level are so few as to make it almost impossible for the educational adviser in his limited time to do anything for him. This is readily seen from the fact that only 2 per cent of those in the camp are of the college level. It is evident that the adviser's duty lies with those on lower levels. Too, there are few in the camp proper who are competent to instruct the college level enrollees. Also, because they are superior type boys, they are burdened with extra duties. It is, in fact, hard to get them for teaching assignments for this latter reason.

The correspondence work of the college level is received more favorably by the enrollees on that level, for they are allowed 30 hours credit toward their degree from this work. The extent of this kind of work has never been great, but some has been in progress at all times. In April, 1937, there were 190 enrollees taking college correspondence work. The majority of the courses attempted were in the fields of English, mathematics, and social sciences. Much has been written and said about the success or lack of success of

39 Ibid., p. 8.
40 "Correspondence Work In The CCC Camps," Phi Delta Kappan, XIX (1937), 366.
41 Ibid., p. 367.
this type of instruction. In this connection, F. Stevenson has said:

Our experience with these courses has convinced us that adequate instruction can be given by mail. While it is too early to judge the ultimate success of those who later attend college, the few who have entered college for the second semester, after completing first semester courses by correspondence, have been making good records. The majority of correspondence students, however, are not interested in attending college. Their sole opportunity for college instruction is through correspondence courses. Appraisal of the success of such instruction for them must, for the present, be largely a matter of the judgments and the opinions of students and instructors.

The college center type of instruction is the most successful of the three methods of securing college training for enrollees. From this type of work, 97 enrollees were able to receive college degrees in 1939. The college centers were established in 1938 at Bethel College in Tennessee and at the University of New Mexico at Las Cruces. Other camps not considered college centers are located near colleges and have graduated enrollees. This is true of the camp at Denton, Texas, where an enrollee graduated from North Texas Teachers College. Though Purdue University is not considered a college center, it furnished teachers and materials for a number of college courses in the camps.

In this connection, the C.C.C. is missing a good bet.

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42 Ibid.
This is due, no doubt, to the newness of the Corps and the lack of a well worked out plan. It seems to us that it would be far better to group the enrollees in camps according to their educational levels. In this way, the energies of the adviser would not be dissipated over so wide a range. When a camp is devoted to just one level of work, such as the college center camp at Las Cruces, the efficiency of the work is much better. That such a plan has not been worked out is indicative of the fact that there are too many factors governing the C.C.C. It has not been determined as to whether the natural or human resources will take the lead in the Corps. That some plan, other than the present one, can be worked out is clearly indicated by a university president who said in an open letter:

I am wondering if your office could work out some kind of a cooperative plan for CCC boys whereby these students may attend the university and work in the CCC camps alternately by quarters. Since the university is on a four quarter plan, I believe something along this line could be worked out which would be of value to the CCC boys. By such an arrangement they could attend the university two quarters out of the year and work in the CCC camps two quarters of each year. By grouping them in pairs, you could always have one boy in each camp and one boy at the university.\footnote{Ibid.}

The mere fact that nothing was done about this splendid offer from the president of the University of Tennessee indicates that the hands of the Director of the C.C.C. education are pretty well tied. The fact that his office is
defined as educational adviser to the Army indicates that the sole final say about education in the C.C.C. is left in the hands of a group of Army officers who know nothing about education. The only thing the Director has to fall back on in this respect is an act passed on June 28, 1937, which provides "that in the discretion of the Director continuous service by the enrollee during his period of enrollment shall not be required in any case where the enrollee attends an educational institution of his choice during his leave of absence." This act of course provides nothing for the boy, it gives the Director no pressure in the way of getting something for the boy; all that it does provide is that if the boy chances to get an opportunity to go to college, he will be given a leave of absence.

Facilities for Academic Work

As we have already discussed the general facilities for education rather fully under the chapter on vocational work in the C.C.C., there is no necessity here to go any further save to point out certain things that might be done to improve the physical set-up for education. At present, the educational building in the camp is an oblong wooden structure shaped like the barracks. Its very shape precludes the fact that there will be no more than eight schoolrooms in all. These, of course, are not sufficient to house all.

46 Ibid., p. 11.
the classes in progress at any time. This makes it necessary to use the barracks and the recreation hall for classes. Such crowding and such poor facilities as offered in these substitutes do not lend the proper atmosphere to the classroom procedure, and do not assist the educational adviser in selling his program to the enrollees. A solution to this problem might be found in the example of the camp at Santa Barbara, California, which erected a school building at Company 985.

Supervised by two foremen the C-men did most of the work on the building. The upper floor houses class rooms, a theater and a general assembly hall. The lower section contains shower rooms, storage space for athletic equipment and a dressing room for the camp athletics.47

The library is an essential part of the educational building. In 1937, it was estimated that the libraries of the C.C.C. camps contained 941,141 books not of the textbook variety. Counting the textbooks there were 1,555,477 books in the camps. At that time there were 1,571 camps, representing 83 per cent of the camps, which had reading rooms.48 Today, 1940, "each camp is given approximately a thousand volumes and about twenty-five magazines."49 To this might be added six daily newspapers and several weeklies.50

47**Happy Days, March 2, 1940, p. 1.**


the camps where there are libraries, "the library and reading rooms are well equipped with chairs and tables; the lighting facilities are adequate; and the increase in library space and facilities has increased the number of enrollees who constantly use them." The equipment for reference and supplementary work in the academic field is being strengthened constantly; and as time goes on, there will be more aids to the general academic work from the standpoint of books to use in this work.

Results and Evaluation

From the material compiled in the chapter, we can see that the academic work being done in the C.C.C. has resulted in certain definite advances. These advances have to do with human resources and if enumerated would number at least eight. They are: The academic program in the C.C.C. has done much to help close the gap between the leaving of formal public school and employment. The academic program has wiped out large amounts of illiteracy which otherwise would not have been touched at all. A large number of C.C.C. enrollees have graduated from the elementary school as a result of the academic program in the C.C.C. Many have received their high school diploma as a result of the academic program in the C.C.C. Many have received college degrees as a result of academic cooperation with colleges. There has been a marked cultural advance in the life of the boys

51 Ibid.
as a result of the academic program. Tool subjects have been built up so that enrollees can benefit from the vocational program. And study, reading, and self-expression habits have been developed which would not have been developed if it had not been for the C.C.C. academic program.

The results listed above are all constructive and are meant to show the better side of the academic program. However, an evaluation, to be fair, must point out the shortcomings and indicate the way to a better program. This we have done already in the body of the chapter. In summary, though, we will list some of the fallacies of the program which we have mentioned in general. They are: In the first place, the educational program in its entirety is non-compulsory. In the flux of camp life it is hard for the boys to find time or inclination to pursue academic studies when in so many cases that is what he fled when he left the public school. The time element is a great hazard. The boy is enrolled for only six months, and has only forty-five minutes a day in which to attend classes. The boys are hard to interest; courses start and stop with regularity. The teachers, mainly enrollees, are not qualified or interested. They cannot do the great job outlined for them. They do not have time to give to the work. The educational adviser is overburdened and cannot help them. The physical facilities in the matter of classrooms free from noise and disturbance are too few. The aim of giving
academic work as a basis for learning tool subjects is difficult to realize. And the educational department is not given a free hand in the planning of educational affairs. There is too much of the Army influence felt in educational matters.

Yet, in spite of all of these objections, we must admit that our study in this chapter has shown definite advances in the field of academic education from the day in 1933 when education was first inaugurated to 1940. There is always room for growth in any organization; and there is hope, based on statistics, that the C.C.C. will show as much development in academic work in the next seven years as it has shown in the past seven years.
CHAPTER V

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESULTS OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM IN THE C.C.C.

Social Values

Socially, the C.C.C. and its educational program has been most beneficial to the average enrollee. This shows itself in the raised standard of living the average boy experiences in the camps. Out of the depression, when over four million boys were bumbling about the country in box cars and living in jungles, there was produced a generation of young people who were ill housed, ill clothed, and ill fed, as well as a group who remained on the farm, but whose families were on relief.

The number of youth in rural families on relief in October, 1935, for the country as a whole was approximately 650,000 in the age-group 16 to 24 years inclusive. In the previous February the number on relief had been over a million. Predominant among the causes for the drop were: the improvement of agricultural conditions, the taking over of thousands of rural cases by the Resettlement Administration, the expansion of the work of the C.C.C., and the initiation of the works program of the W.P.A., whereby a total of 136,000 rural families, in which were many youths, had been given work instead of relief.¹

In many cases, the benefits of the C.C.C. are only open to the white youth of the South. This is a local situation

¹Homer P. Rainey, How Fare American Youth?, p. 22.
which cannot be said to extend to the youth of the Nation in all of its sections. This situation as a criticism has been clearly pictured by Arthur F. Raper:

The benefits of the Civilian Conservation Corps in these counties (Greene and Macon of Georgia) have been limited almost wholly to whites. When the first recruits were secured, the local agents in these counties assumed that only whites should make application. No word was sent from state or federal offices to correct their orthodox "Solid South" assumption, until after the first quota had been filled. Thirty white boys went from Macon, a slightly smaller number from Greene. Months later, two Negro boys went from Macon and a couple from Greene — but in these two Black Belt counties the CCC has remained a white institution, with no more coloring than land-ownership, which tolerates the possession of one acre in twenty by negroes.2

This presents a social situation in which discrimination is indulged against certain races and colors. However, in all fairness, it must be mentioned that this condition was more or less prevalent in the early days of the C.C.C., and is a situation which has been largely eradicated as can be witnessed from the large numbers of Mexican and Negro enrollees in the camps of the Southwest. In the New Mexico District, for instance, the Mexican enrollees number 33 per cent of those enrolled, and there are two Negro camps sitting within fifteen miles of the city of El Paso.3

Certain social values culminating in respect for property, personal hygiene, and a lack of selfishness have some

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2Preface To Peasantry, p. 263.

3Enrollment Records, New Mexico District, CCC, Nov., 1938.
into being with the growth of the educational program in the camps, for these things are stressed in company meetings, in citizenship classes, and in leadership classes. Perhaps the foremost of this type of appreciation which is developed is the care of clothing. It is the usual reaction of the adolescent, when he is provided with clothing without having to put out any effort to get it, to be careless in caring for the goods. This trait, however, is worked out of the systems of the enrollees by certain devices of the administration and the educational department working together. In the first place, the enrollees share alike. When they enter the camp they are all given the same issue of clothing which consists of work clothes and a very becoming spruce green "tree army" uniform which was designed and issued in October, 1938. This sharing alike promotes taking care of their clothes, for the individual is criticized if he allows his clothing to run down faster than those of his comrades. In this connection, the administration has worked out certain devices of an educational nature which promote the care of clothing and personal hygiene; such a device has been described by C. S. Marsh:

At noon, at a camp in Virginia, I heard the top kick's whistle and saw the boys line up in columns of squads before their barracks.
"Why this military touch?" I asked the captain.
"Teaches 'em neatness and manners," he said.
"They have to be washed and combed for this formation, and I dismiss them by files to enter the mess hall. That stops roughhouse and scuffling around the door."

4Happy Days, October 2, 1938, p. 3.
G.S. Marsh continues:

"Which platoon enters first?"—for it was a raw, winter day.
"The one with the neatest barracks on inspection this morning, followed by the neatest yesterday, and so on."6

Concerning clothing and citizenship training, perhaps the hardest task of the administration is that of keeping a certain number of the enrollees in the camp from stealing clothing. It is well known among the administration that there is no necessity for the boys to steal clothing for their own use; the enrollees are amply provided for. The reasons for stealing are two; one, they wish to provide some relative with clothing, and two, they need spending money for some occasion and steal articles of clothing in order to sell them. Captain Marshall, in connection with certain cases he had in the camp at Balmorhea, told the writer that most of the cases could be eradicated with intelligent handling.7 This idea is worded in the following extract:

Wise company commanders can influence boys and maintain discipline without breaking their spirits.
An enrollee stole five dollars. The C. O. stated at assembly that he would pardon the thief if he returned the money either to him or to the loser by 10:00 P. M. and that no punishment or publicity would follow. In the meantime no one could leave camp. The money was given to the C. O. after dark. The boy had never stolen before. He said that his mother needed glasses and he had wanted to help her. Investigation proved this true--the woman was slowly going blind. This boy never gave the camp any more trouble.

6Ibid.
7Interview with Captain Marshall, December 13, 1938.
8Marsh, op. cit., p. 284.
Thus, the educational program for the boys has diverse ways of reaching them without the use of the classroom. This has already been mentioned in connection with keeping the barracks clean and the rewards for so doing. In the camps, this cleanliness is enforced, and after a time it becomes one of the conditioned responses of the boy in the camp; it becomes just as natural for a boy to clean his barracks each morning before school as eating his breakfast. In the Animas, New Mexico, camp, Lieutenant Jones carried out a short barracks inspection before school. The writer went on many of these tours of inspection with the commander and can testify for the cleanliness of the camp shelters. And these inspections are constantly being backed up by cleanliness and health talks in the assembly.

The social value of adequate food can be seen in the lessening of overeating after a boy has been in the camp for awhile. When a boy enters a camp, he is in many cases run down and underfed. When he sits down to a well filled table in the mess hall, he gorges himself and eats without regard for manners. After a little bit, though, he catches up on his eating, and there is a noticeable decline in greediness. This is because the Corps feeds well. "In one year the boys ate nearly 100,000,000 eggs, 3,000,000 chickens, 30,000,000 pounds of sugar, 62,000,000 pounds of beef, and also 3,000,000 pounds of dry beans--39 carloads of them."9 This decline in greediness is due to the

9Ibid.
training of the C.C.C. educational department. At Animas, the writer gave a course in etiquette. This course was received very favorably. Still, with the adequate food and the training the boys get in classes, there are some who will continue to be antisocial. These are oftentimes subjected to a peculiar course in etiquette:

One company commander had the carpenter build a wooden trough down the middle of a table in the mess hall. The following day, five sloppy eaters were taken from their regular places and seated at the "hog's table," where meat, vegetables, and dessert were spread out along the trough. The men were given only spoons. Two days of this, and their table manners improved. But a better way is common: the company commander gives his leaders coaching in table manners, then assigns one to each table.

The latter method was the one used at Balmorhea where Captain Marshall was very insistent that his leaders attend the class in etiquette and where his leaders set the pace for good behavior at the tables.

In any social program of education, one of the foremost needs is the stressing of good citizenship. We have found through experience that there is a surprising lack of understanding on the part of new enrollees as to the meaning of good citizenship. Thus, it falls upon the educational department to foster this angle of C.C.C. training and produce worthwhile social results in this connection. Citizenship training in the camp is taught through stressing the importance of people living in any community, whether it be a

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10 ibid., p. 287.
camp or a city, to cooperate for the general welfare; this is a matter of observing the golden rule and a genuine sense of unselfishness.

The concept of cooperation is impressed on the enrollee from the start through safety lectures, leadership courses, first aid lectures, and the lectures given by the chaplains when they are in the camp. Safety cooperation is taught both in class and on-the-job. Once a week, an assembly program on safety is conducted. The class program is arranged by the adviser with the cooperation of the commander and the superintendent. Lectures and visual training are given in these courses. On-the-job supervision of safety is rigid, and sometimes stern measures have to be resorted to in order to promote general welfare. This was true in a Carolina camp where the boys arriving from work in trucks were made to get down from the trucks and line up before they were dismissed. This military touch was instigated as a result of a broken leg which was caused by the boys scrambling off the trucks as they came into camp. The trucks came in fast, and one boy getting off in a hurry fell under the wheel of a truck behind him. 11

Through the leadership courses, leadership and individualism of a constructive sort is taught. Leadership as conceived from the cooperative standpoint is one of the major achievements of the camp educational system, for it is

11 Ibid., p. 286.
through the steady and level headed leadership of certain of the enrollees that the camps function efficiently at all. Every commanding officer that the writer has talked to on the subject admits that as the leaders function so functions the camp. That is the reason that the commanding officer and the superintendent of the camp like to be responsible for conducting leadership courses in the camp. In both of the camps in which the writer worked, the commanding officers functioned as teachers of leadership.\textsuperscript{12} In these courses and kindred courses, the boys are taught respect for authority and respect for property. Both are basic in any scheme of citizenship training.

The social hygiene phase of citizenship training is one of the most attended phases of the camp program. Reports show that 66 per cent of the enrollees are enrolled in first aid, health, and safety courses.\textsuperscript{13} The first aid and health instruction is conducted by the Camp Surgeon. In many camps these courses are compulsory; and in every camp, if an enrollee wants to be a truck driver, he must have his first aid certificate. In 1938, 212,023 enrollees were taking these courses.\textsuperscript{14} Good citizenship has to do with helping one's fellow man.

\textsuperscript{12}Semi-monthly Report, Company 1856, Nov. 15, 1938.
\textsuperscript{13}"It May Interest You To Know," \textit{Phi Delta Kappan}, XIX (1937), 311.
\textsuperscript{14}H. W. Oxley, \textit{Educational Activities In The CCC}, p. 17.
In some respects, more good citizenship is taught unintentionally than on purpose by the Corps. This inference can be clearly drawn from the following incidents:

A boy bragged too much, and his listeners plotted. They held him, head first, in the fire-prevention water barrel for what must have been to him an age. He lived—but after that was fairly quiet.

One boy condemned the United States Government and praised communism. That night, the boys held "kangaroo court" and gave him one hour to go permanently A. W. O. L.—or else! (which meant that camp life would be unbearable). He left. The C.O. never knew why.  

There are two main ways in which the C.C.C. broadens the contacts of the boys. "In the first place, the enrollees live in a new environment. This in itself is educative." They are thrown into contact with two hundred other boys with many backgrounds and personalities. These contacts in the camp are both formal and informal, and aid the enrollee in learning how to get along with other human beings. These formal contacts come in the assemblies, the class rooms, the religious services, and the camp socials. The informal contacts come through participation in games in the recreational hall, in athletics, and in other pastime pursuits. All of these activities and contacts broaden the youth and make his life richer.

The second way of broadening the enrollees' contacts in the C.C.C. is through travel. In some cases the boys are

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shipped to places where they have to make adjustments to entirely new situations. This was the case of the company at Animas, New Mexico where the writer was educational adviser in 1939. The company was shipped complete from Pennsylvania, and was made up of boys who live in the Third Corps Area. According to a survey made by the adviser, only three of the two hundred boys had ever been West before. In April, 1939, half of a company was sent from East Texas to serve as replacements in the camp at Virden, New Mexico.

Other than long journeys to camps, the enrollees are offered recreational trips from time to time. While the adviser of the Balmorhea camp was on duty for a five months period, two such trips were taken. One was made to the caverns at Carlsbad, New Mexico, and one was made to the Big Bend region. Besides the recreational trips, there are numerous athletic trips made during the various sports seasons. All these trips, plus the contacts the boys make while on them, add to the broadening of their social experiences. In a very true sense, the C.C.C. educational program affords the enrollees an opportunity to extend their social horizons and to accumulate a wealth of friends and associates that will be of untold benefit to them throughout life.

The C.C.C. has long been recognized as an agency for the correction of personality mal-adjustments. Also, it has been

18 Enrollment Records, New Mexico District, CCC, April, 1939.
pointed out that delinquency has shown a marked decline in sectors where its youth are in camps:

The far-reaching effects of the guidance work carried on in the camps can be seen from the fact that the age of maximum crime, as represented by arrested offenders, has risen in the past few years from 19 to 22 years. Scores of penologists, jurists, and social workers attribute much of this decrease in crime to the establishment of the CCC. H. W. Jespenson, superintendent of the Nebraska Reformatory for Men, stated that the CCC was responsible for a 25 percent decrease since 1937 in the number of inmates in the reformatory. Federal Judge E. Martin Underwood, commenting on a 16-year-old boy who was sentenced to a reform school, for five years, made the following significant statement:

"It's a pity that the money that will be spent to reform this boy, after he has committed two crimes and has started life on the wrong foot, could not have been spent in a more sensible fashion. I don't like to see the public money spent when it will be too late, and the money might be wasted. How much better it would be for the government to extend the CCC opportunities to younger boys, such as this one, and steer him into the right path before he had made a mistake." 19

The educational adviser must serve as counselor to the boys. This is one of the capacities in which he can serve in straightening out twisted personalities and in the diminishing of camp delinquency. While at Balmorhea, the writer was called upon to deal with the problem of counseling two boys who had stolen. Another case at Animas stands out as meriting particular attention. It was the case of Snyder and Watson. 20 The case arose over the stealing of four canteen books, all worth a dollar each. The books had

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20 Trial Report, Snyder and Watson, Company 3353, April, 1939.
been taken by Snyder from the room of Lieutenant Gardner while the officer was absent from the quarters. Watson was the lookout for Snyder. In the course of a day or so, the boys were duly apprehended by the officer through the device of noting the numbers of the missing books and watching for the person who was spending tickets from these books. At the camp trial, the writer was asked to be their counselor.

After getting Watson's friendship through kind and considerate treatment, the writer was able to draw from him the reason he acted as he did. He confided that Snyder was a homosexual and that he molested Watson continually with his advances. His advances included keeping Watson well supplied with candy and soft drinks as well as more intimate encounters. He admitted that he had come so completely under the domination of Snyder that he was forced to do his bidding. At the trial, all of this evidence was presented; Snyder was preemptorily discharged and sent back to his home. On the writer's plea, Watson was allowed to remain on probation. He was to report at least twice a week to the adviser and tell about his actions and his spiritual and educational progress. It was felt that the weak willed, slow minded enrollee, Watson, had been rehabilitated.\(^{21}\)

Religious and ethical values have been stressed in the C.C.C. Robert Fechner, the first Director of Emergency Conservation Work, has said that "the religious welfare of the

\(^{21}\) Ibid.
enrollees in the Civilian Conservation Corps camps has been one of the chief concerns of the Director." That the same notion is adhered to by the President can be ascertained from the following letter from him to Colonel Brasted, Chief of the United States Army Chaplains:

February 13, 1934

My dear Colonel Brasted:

The Great Teacher said: "I come that ye may have life and that ye may have it more abundantly." The object of all our striving should be to realize that "abundant life."

The supreme values are spiritual. The hope of the world is that character which, built upon the solid rock, withstands triumphantly all the storms of life.

To build this exemplary character is our great task. Without it the abundant life cannot be realized, and the best citizens and the best soldiers of a country are those who have put on the armor of righteousness.

Chaplains of the military and naval services and clergymen everywhere who by word and life are advancing the cause of idealism and true religion are doing a commendable work, one that is absolutely essential to the life of the nation.

Very sincerely yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Realizing the importance of religious services in the camps, the C.C.C. from the very start inaugurated religious services. The regulations governing chaplains require that there shall be one for every eight companies. Statistics show that there were 275 Reserve chaplains and some 30 Regular Army chaplains on active duty in the C.C.C. in 1938.

"Regulations provide also for the services of voluntary civ-


23 Ibid.
ian clergymen, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, and authorize a travel allowance in addition to a moderate stipend for the services rendered." There are from 1,500 to 2,000 voluntary clergymen rendering substantial services in the C.C.C. In addition to these clergymen, there are many laymen, young people's organizations, and choirs who are giving valuable aid to the religious work.

Needless to say, with the camps so widely scattered, the chaplains often have to travel hundreds of miles per week in order to make their assignments. Captain Garrett, of the New Mexico District, had an especially arduous route in 1939 when his eight camps covered Southern New Mexico and one camp in Texas over two hundred miles from El Paso. In Michigan, there is a chaplain who averages over 2,600 miles a month. In Idaho, a chaplain has to travel 2,300 miles to make all of his camps. Yet, despite all of these difficulties, the chaplains continue to bring their messages of good cheer to the men at regular intervals.

During the seven years of the C.C.C., there has been a decided upward trend in the attendance of enrollees at religious meetings. In 1935, when the enrollment was at its peak, the consolidated report of religious services for one month showed a total attendance of 1,113,466 at 16,940

24 Ibid., 353.
26 Alva J. Brasted, op. cit., 352.
services. This was an average of six and a fraction services per company for this month, and an average attendance at each service of 65.72. In the years 1934-1936, the attendance at religious services grew from 3,740,770 to 11,161,676.27

The chaplains dwell mainly on moral and ethical phases of spiritual training. Their lectures are numerous in the field of sex hygiene and morality. Also, they stress human relations, service, and citizenship. Too, they are especially instrumental in getting religious trips for the boys. These trips usually fall on some religious holiday or on some church day such as Christmas and Easter. On such days, one will find that the churches of the near-by town are crowded with boys in well groomed uniforms. Such was the case on Easter, 1939 when four trucks were required to haul the boys of the Animas camp into Lordsburg for services.

From the standpoint of the formal educational program in the camp, the chaplains are of great help. Many are interested in athletics and do a good job of supervising the games while in the camps. One adviser said that "these contacts make for growing respect for the chaplains and a better understanding of the religious life."28 Too, the chaplain assists the adviser by teaching classes, giving lectures, showing moving pictures, and pleading with the boys to take advantage of the educational program. One

27Ibid., 353.
28Ibid., 352.
Chaplain has a slide picture machine that he carries around with him. This device has been invaluable to him in his work. Too, it has been valuable to every adviser in the Silver City Subdistrict when the chaplain is in the camp.

Economic Values

When one considers the cost of a thing, especially if it is but one of the costs of a larger whole, he might do well to compare costs. This can be done in the case of C.C.C. education by comparing it with the total cost of the C.C.C. over a period of five years. From 1933 to 1937, the Corps enrolled approximately 2,000,000 men including enrollee and non-enrollee personnel. To this group was paid $500,000,000 in wages. Of this amount, five-sixths was paid directly to the families of the enrollees. During the period, reserve officers were paid $70,000,000, and technical personnel and other civilians were paid $180,000,000. The cost of feeding the enrollees was more than $200,000,000. The same amount was spent on clothing and shoes. For medical treatment and supplies, the C.C.C. spent $30,000,000. Shelter, barracks, tents, and other shelters, cost more than $68,000,000. Equipment for the work program cost more than $200,000,000. And $93,000,000 was spent for public utilities. Miscellaneous costs were $44,000,000. Thus, the cost of the C.C.C. was more than $1,500,000,000 or approximately $850.00 per enrollee. During this whole period, only $12,000,000 was spent on education. This is only an average cost of $60.00
for each enrollee. Compare this figure for the cost of education with the tremendous costs of other C.C.C. functions, and one can get a clear picture of how little the C.C.C. educational program has cost in proportion to other costs, which "when balanced against the credit side of the ledger--natural resources conserved and improved, construction projects completed, and human rehabilitation accomplished--that which has seemed to be expensive becomes investment and with a fair margin of profit to its credit."30

It has been known for some time that Congress is continuing the C.C.C. because it feels that it is doing good as an educational and rehabilitating factor in the lives of youth. The fact that physical conservation has not been as great a factor as human conservation and education in the continuation of the C.C.C. can be gotten from the following statement by President Roosevelt: "The major purpose of the CCC is to promote the welfare and further the training of the individuals who make up the Corps, important as may be the construction work which they have carried on so successfully."31 Thus, since the educational program has been responsible in a large measure for the continuation of the C.C.C., we might conclude that the progress of the C.C.C. in the way of planting 1,000,000 trees each working day,

29 "It May Interest You To Know," Phi Delta Kappan, XIX (1957), 310.
30 Ibid.
expending 3,800,000 man-days fighting forest fires, and killing insects on 15,000,000 acres is really due to the education in the C.C.C. Without education in the C.C.C. it is very doubtful if the C.C.C. would have been continued. Therefore, another economic result of the C.C.C. education is the continuation of the C.C.C. This might be carried even further; if the C.C.C. is to continue successfully in a permanent state, it must make its education more effective and more reaching. This was pointed out by C. S. Marsh:

Because of its great value to American youth and to the country, the CCC should be removed from its emergency and somewhat haphazard status and established as an integral part of the American educational process. It is important enough to be worth the best that educational and administrative brains can give it.

On the fourth anniversary of the C.C.C., Secretary Perkins, of the Department of Labor, wrote a letter to Robert Fechner in which she pointed out that in the future the C.C.C. would have to give an increasing amount of attention to the conservation of human resources through education.

In the three preceding chapters we have pointed out the educational value of the camps to the boys. These values have to do with the social and economic rehabilitation of a generation that was socially and economically lost because

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32 "It May Interest You To Know That," Phi Delta Kappan, XIX (1937), 310.
33 Marsh, op. cit., p. 237.
34 Frank Persons, "Human Resources and the Civilian Conservation Corps," Phi Delta Kappan, XIX (1937), 325.
of the dreadful force of the depression. Education such as
the C.C.C. has attempted to espouse cannot afford to be gen-
eral; it must of necessity show purpose. This purpose-
fulness must reach beyond the class room as such and enter
into every pursuit of the boy while he is in camp. This
purposefulness, in a work, must be all inclusive; thus, the
educational program never stops in the camps. It goes on
continually; it is a struggle with destiny, a struggle with
great economic obstructions greater than any of us alone, a
struggle to attempt in some measure to overcome these eco-
nomic obstructions. To many, the value of the C.C.C. pro-
gram of education, whether in the class room or out, must
rest ultimately on what it has accomplished from the economic
standpoint. And there is no doubt but what it has accom-
plished much in this respect. It will be our object to set
forth these accomplishments in this topic.

The average enrollee, when he enters the camp, has had
little experience in handling spending money in either small
amounts or large amounts. When he enters the camp, however,
he is promised a stipend of $5.00 per month for his own
spending money. This money must buy his incidentals such
as shaving materials, tooth brushes, and soap. It must keep
him supplied with tobacco, sweets, and soft drinks. Too, it
must be sufficient to treat him to a show every now and then.
Five dollars, when all of these items are considered, cannot
go very far. The education in the conservation and wise use

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of his income is one of the most valuable accomplishments that the enrollee learns. To further his practical education in this respect, the educational adviser sees to it that lectures on saving and the fruits of collective buying for the purpose of saving are given every so often. In the various camps, the boys benefit tremendously from this last mentioned economic device, for through it they are able to secure much more for their money than they could otherwise. The lessons they learn in this respect are of untold value to the idea of cooperation in economics. Some day this lesson will bear fruit.

The leadership training received by the enrollee is beneficial from the economic standpoint both to the administration in the camp and to the enrollee. The administration is saved much time and money by having a trained personnel in the camps. Much waste and duplication is avoided through competently trained leaders among the enrollees.

As has been mentioned previously, the average young man has had no previous experience with work when he comes into the camp. He, therefore, has had very little if any leadership training. He may have leadership ability, but he has never had the chance to test it. The C.C.C. educational program gives him this chance, for "as time goes on the enrollee will be shifted from tasks that are largely manual and automatic to tasks that call for greater coordination

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36 Form Six Educational Report, Company 3353, April, 1939.
and a higher degree of skill." Boys who have been the camp for longer periods will usually be located in the more responsible jobs, such as senior foreman, company clerk, clerk for the technical service, store-keeper, first aid man, or mechanic in charge of equipment. Thus, the training for leadership that the educational department in the C.C.C. affords guarantees the competent enrollee economic remuneration before he leaves camp. The leaders in the camp draw from six to fifteen more dollars per month than the ordinary enrollee.

In the chapter on vocational education in the C.C.C., we have already mentioned in some detail the advantages accruing to a boy who has been trained to do some job. We have already pointed out the economic value of being acquainted with the problems of job getting and of industry as a whole.

The unique characteristic of CCC education has demonstrated the fact that the educational activities of the camp are related to a situation in which the enrollees are engaged in productive labor. As a consequence there arise out of the job and vocational instruction, based on practical interest, occasions for educational guidance.

This opportunity for guidance has enabled the adviser to make the educational program much more economically worthwhile by constantly reminding him that the education he is engaged in is not something to look forward to; it is


38 Ibid.
productive labor, with education combined, in the present that the future productive power of the individual might be enhanced. Russell A. Beam says that it is difficult to measure objectively the contributions of vocational and industrial guidance, but he goes on to add:

However, an increasing number of enrollees are being led to study while in camp. In addition, enrollees in increasing numbers are being assisted in making their vocational choices and in preparing themselves for the requirements of their chosen vocations. Letters from employers and from enrollees who have returned to their home communities indicate that the vocational guidance offered in the camps has been of value.

Another definite means of economic gain from the educational program can be found in the remuneration the enrollees oftentimes get from the end-results of their hobby work. A number of boys in the camp at Animas, New Mexico, made wool hooked rugs and sold them in Lordsburg or sent them back home to be sold at profits. The boys in the Balmorhea, Texas, camp were predominantly Mexican; they were able to make considerable amounts on the side by making picture frames with the Mexican accent. District Adviser Davis once told the writer that the boys at Elephant Butte camp in New Mexico have sold a number of suites of furniture which they made in their shop. While these examples do not excite one into feeling that the sale of a few picture frames

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39 Ibid.
40 *Form Six Educational Report*, Company 3353, April, 1939.
42 Interview with R. A. Davis, October 6, 1938.
and suites of furniture are so much, they do excite one into the realization that here is an educational program which is doing something about that angle of economics with which every person who has to earn a living is concerned.

Too many times we like to ascertain the value of any program, when it concerns economics, by compiling a statistical report showing the balance of cost with profits. In the case of the C.C.C., it would be impossible to attempt to ascertain the economic value of the educational program in the light of statistics, for there are human factors involved which have no measuring stick. However, it is possible to show from accurate government statistics that the educational program in the C.C.C. has been responsible for preparing the enrollees for jobs which they have obtained. Fred Morrell, Assistant Chief of the U. S. Forest Service, has said:

The success of CCC job training is shown by the number of CCC men who have obtained employment in the jobs which they were trained in the camp. This is adequate "proof of the pudding." Many enrollees have gone from the camps to accept positions paying from $100 to $200 per month. Approximately 150,000 men have left the Corps each year to accept employment. Many of these found jobs in which they were trained before entering the CCC; others were employed in jobs in which they had received no CCC training, but the majority were trained in the Corps.43

C. S. Marsh has assured us from the vantage point of his experience as Director of C.C.C. Education that the C.C.C. educational program has prepared the boys for jobs.

43"Job Training in the CCC," The Phi Delta Kappan, XIX (1937), 345-46.
There is much evidence from employers that enrollees have learned how to work, have learned how to carry out instructions, have acquired some self-discipline and self-confidence. They have been taught accident prevention and first aid. Nearly half these boys never had a job before going to camp. In general, the CCC experience makes them more employable.\textsuperscript{44}

Another device to promote 1,800 boys a year within the C.C.C. to an $85 a month job is the Junior Assistants to Technicians post recently provided under the Civil Service for the purpose of providing advancement for ambitious and qualified enrollees in the C.C.C. This position is only open to enrollees or former enrollees who have passed Civil Service examinations while enrolled in the C.C.C.\textsuperscript{45}

One writer reported that "one industrial plant near Detroit, at one time, called upon a Michigan CCC camp for approximately 60 per cent of its enrollment for immediate employment."\textsuperscript{46} The Happy Days reports that Grady Benson of the Gatesville, Texas, camp was able to secure a Civil Service position as Hospital Attendant because of his two years experience as infirmary attendant in the camp.\textsuperscript{47} Another report from the same source declares that 85 enrollees of the Los Angeles District of California have been discharged to accept employment with local aircraft corporations during

\textsuperscript{44}"The Future Of CCC," \textit{Forum}, CIII (1940), 286.
\textsuperscript{45}"It May Interest You To Know," \textit{Phi Delta Kappan}, XIX (1937), 312.
\textsuperscript{46}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{47}\textit{Happy Days}, March 23, 1940, p. 10.
the years 1939-40. "District authorities feel that this increase is due not alone to increasing activity in the industry itself, but in the greater degree of activity of the CCC personnel of the Los Angeles District." A banner headline in the Happy Days declares, "37,891 Enrollees Discharged To Accept Employment in 1939." And so it goes, headline after headline declaring the efficiency of the CCC educational program and its ability to fit men for jobs and get jobs for men. Though there is no telling how many men have received jobs as a result of the CCC education and training, it is fair to say that during the seven years of CCC existence almost a million men have received employment. This in itself is gratifying.

Perhaps the greatest criticism of the program for rehabilitating boys for society in the CCC is that there is no system of follow-up or job placement which should come after a systematic effort to train people for jobs. The officials of the CCC readily admit that this criticism is valid, but according to H. W. Oxley, more is being done now than was done in the past. "Camp officials are cooperating more and more with employment agencies by supplying them with as complete information on each enrollee as possible so as to facilitate the placement of these men in permanent jobs when they are discharged." But even so, this type of

48 Ibid., March 9, 1940, p. 5.
49 Ibid., March 30, 1940, p. 18.
50 Educational Activities In The CCC, p. 23.
follow-up and job placement has a great deal to be asked for. The method now being used, no matter how religiously the camp officials might follow it, is not systematic and certainly lacks centralization and cooperation on a national scope. As it is, there is no means of knowing just what the discharged enrollee is doing except in those rare instances when an enrollee writes back to the company commander. To show just how often this happens, the writer and the commanding officer of the Animas camp gave 125 enrollees stamp addressed cards with which to write about job conditions when they got back to Pennsylvania. Three sent cards! No, in order that we might have more accurate statistics concerning the employability of enrollees after they leave the camps, we should inaugurate a system which would compel a discharged enrollee to report to some agency connected with the C.C.C. at least twice a year after they leave the C.C.C. In this manner we could ascertain more fully the worth of the C.C.C. educational program. To this criticism we might add the weight of C. S. Marsh's pen:

The CCC, firmly established in the good will of the nation, needs a new kind and quality of leadership. It needs proper integration with other youth-serving agencies, such as the high schools, the National Youth Administration, the counseling and employment agencies, State and community organizations. This will make possible a better placement service, and better follow-up after the boys leave camp. 51

Even though the educational program has accomplished

great things in the seven years during which it has been in existence, one must admit that the three-fold training of informal activities, vocational education, and academic education would be greatly enhanced if more time per day were given to education. The job training that takes place in the field is not correctly balanced with sufficient formal training in the camp. As we have already shown, the time given for formal education in the New Mexico District is no more than an hour and a half per enrollee. This is hardly sufficient over a nine months or even a twelve month period. Too, the equipment for the three-fold program is not what it should be. This evil plus the one mentioned above is summarized by C. S. Marsh when he said:

The place of education in the camp life should be clarified. It is only recently that a school-house has been provided in each camp. The right of these boys to further educational opportunity in daylight hours should be recognized, even by shortening the working day.52

In this same vein, the C.C.C. educational program, if it is to be an increasing economic asset from the standpoint of preparing boys for jobs, must provide a better teaching staff for the enrollees. The number of trained teachers per total number of teachers in the C.C.C. is not very high. Because of the kind of teachers that make up the body of the C.C.C. educational staff, the kind of instruction the boys are getting is not of the best. This condition is clearly seen in the table below.

### TABLE 6

**TYPES OF TEACHERS AND NUMBER OF EACH DECEMBER, 1936***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational advisers</td>
<td>1,948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assn. Ed. Advisers</td>
<td>1,902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Staff</td>
<td>4,574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Staff</td>
<td>10,141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrollees</td>
<td>6,471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.E.P. Teachers (WPA)</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.Y.A. Teachers</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular Teachers (local cooperation)</td>
<td>721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>28,713</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*It May Interest You To Know That,* Phi Delta Kappan, XIX (1937), 310.

When one considers the above table, he is struck at once with the small number of persons teaching the enrollees in the C.C.C. More than this, he is struck with the small number of the teachers who have had formal training as teachers. The assistant educational advisers mentioned in the table are enrollees who are appointed by the camp commander to help the adviser. It is seldom that one finds a reserve officer who is qualified to teach anything. The members of the Technical Service, though in most cases college graduates, are not qualified as teachers. The enrollees, of course, are very inadequate. And the "others" mentioned in the table can be struck off with one blow. From this, then, we can see that from 20,000 to 24,000 of
the 28,000 who teach in the C.C.C. are not qualified to teach. When all is said and done, the burden of teaching 200 boys falls on the adviser's shoulders. This is an excess number for one person to teach in any school.

The three-fold program of training in the C.C.C. is inadequate from the standpoint of the enrollment period of the boys. A six month enrollment period does not give the educational department sufficient time. When we consider that the enrollee will be in the camp for an average period of only eight months, we see the impossibility of planning to clear up all his public school deficiencies. This does not, of course, mean that one is so foolhardy as to attempt to correct all the common school deficiencies; but, when one considers that the eight months that the boy is in the camp will probably be his last chance at education of a formal nature, there is a definite urge to do so.

There is one other problem which has done more to hold back the program than any other thing. One will recall that we pointed out in the first chapter that from the beginning education was placed under the jurisdiction of the Army. This is at once obvious when one refers to the definition of the educational adviser in the War Department Regulations, Civilian Conservation Corps, 1937, which reads: "The camp educational adviser will serve in an advisory capacity to the camp commander and under his direction will have general
supervision of camp educational activities." In order for the adviser to work out a well ordered educational program in the camps, he must elicit the support of the camp commander. In too many cases, the commanders are antieducational. Being hard-boiled officers, they do not have the education of the enrollees at heart. When this is true, the adviser has a very hard time. The writer ran into this difficulty at Balmorhea, Texas, and was unable to obtain the cooperation of the officer. There was no workable program in the camp until the officer was relieved.

C. S. Marsh has sounded the keynote of the future of C.C.C. education when he said:

There is need for a shift of emphasis in the CCC. The whole concept should be that the CCC is an essential part of the American educational structure. As the president told Congress, the CCC's "major purpose is to promote the welfare and further the training of the individuals who make up the Corps, important as may be the construction work which they have carried on so successfully."

This shift of emphasis can only come about when the educational department in the C.C.C. is taken out from under the Army and placed under a leadership of its own without any outside interference from agencies who do not understand the needs of education.

Thus, in conclusion, we have drawn a picture of a world in which youth was sadly neglected, in which youth was sadly outrun in the social and economic race for the abundant life,

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54 "The Future Of The CCC," Forum, CIII (1940), 287.
in which youth had no where to lay his head save in a box
car or in a jungle. From this picture of conditions leading
up to and including the depression, we have brought the
reader to the logical conclusion that the C.C.C. and its form
of education was inevitable. This is the only justification
that it needs, for inevitability does not need defense.
From pointing out the need to showing how the need was sat-
ished, we progressed to a detailed discussion of the new
education that the social and economic forces of the de-
pression produced in a new national institution. This dis-
cussion was three-fold, just as the educational program in
the C.C.C. is three-fold, and was concerned with informal,
vocational, and academic education in the C.C.C. And from
this discussion we proceeded to an analysis of the results
of the three-fold program of education in the C.C.C. from
the social and economic viewpoints. In the concluding chap-
ter we made certain recommendations for the future, but the
foremost recommendation we have saved to the last. We feel
that it can best be said by the first Director of the C.C.C.
Education.

Because of its value to American youth and to the
country, the CCC should be removed from its emer-
gency and somewhat haphazard status and established
as an integral part of the American educational pro-
cess. It is important enough to be worth the best that
educational and administrative brains can give it. 55

55 Ibid.
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