Nature & Nation: The Civilian Conservation Corps in Zion and Bryce Canyon National Parks

Valerie Jacobson
Utah State University

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NATURE & NATION:
The Civilian Conservation Corps in Zion and Bryce Canyon National Parks

by

Valerie Lynn Jacobson

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in

History

Approved:

Lawrence Culver, Ph.D.                      Christopher Conte, Ph.D.
Major Professor                          Committee Member

Mark Larese-Casanova, M.S.
Committee Member

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Introduction

Since the creation of the first National Park at Yellowstone in 1872, people have been drawn to visit and experience American nature. During the Depression years, there were two national parks in Utah, Zion National Park and Bryce Canyon National Park. The local, state, and federal governments have each contributed to the conservation and improvement of national parks at various times and at various levels. In 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) implemented the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), part of his New Deal Program to relieve financial stresses on the country. Young men who enrolled and were selected for the program, were sent to work in camps for $1.00 a day. At the end of the month they were required to send home $25.00 to help their families while only keeping $5.00 for themselves. The work these men did helped shape the landscape in the state of Utah, and was a combination of conservation, preservation, and creation at these sites. Increased public access to the National Parks was one CCC project in Utah.

Setting aside land to conserve, use, and benefit from is a concept that is not new. According to Samuel P. Hays, “national forests were established initially to protect watersheds and to guarantee a future supply of wood.” While the United States Forest Service focused more on the use and extraction of their resources, the National Park Service focused on the promotion of the landscape and scenery of their resources. The concepts of conservation and preservation were part of FDR’s CCC program. FDR was exposed to soil erosion on his family estate in upstate New York, where he learned

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firsthand about the concerns and problems with flooding and erosion. During his presidency, he created several conservation and preservation programs. Neil M. Maher wrote about the bureaucracy of the CCC, and how it reached across the many levels and layers of society throughout the country to leave a lasting mark on the landscape and the enrollees. In Utah, CCC enrollment and interaction played a part in shaping access within the southern Utah National Parks.

The CCC helped build, create infrastructure, and protect public and private lands throughout the United States. During the depression, CCC gangs worked on construction and infrastructure within the national parks at Zion and Bryce. What were their perceptions and experiences? What structures did they build in the parks and how did they interact with the local population? These questions will be examined to help others to understand the lasting effect the CCC had on the landscape in southern Utah.

**Historiography on Conservation, Preservation, & The New Deal**

Conservationists in the late-nineteenth century were concerned by the loss of natural spaces to encroaching industrialization and expansion. Reserving “unpopulated” areas as federal land was a way for conservationists to halt some of that progress in the United States. These public lands were for the U.S. citizen to enjoy. However, this affected the people living within these newly designated federal lands. Conservation may have preserved land, but it displaced people. It also created the new dilemma of tourists and overcrowding in the parks.

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In the early-twentieth century, the U.S. Forest Service and the National Park Service worked to protect, preserve, and manage federal lands. The use of nature to fit the needs of urban populations is a question and struggle that John Muir, Gifford Pinchot, Theodore Roosevelt, and many others grappled with. National park land was set aside for public use in southern Utah and across the nation. There is a struggle for power over how to use the lands and resources. Agencies within the Department of the Interior wanted to use the land for grazing, farming, or recreation. The Department of Agriculture wanted to use the timber and water resources on the land. This fight for power and control of the environment is an ongoing process involving give and take, and push and pull on all sides. Zion and Bryce Canyon were designated National Parks in 1919 and 1928, respectively. Public land has been and continues to be enjoyed by many across the United States. Conservation of land changes the way one views the importance of nature and why certain areas have been set aside. The setting aside of public land as an “unspoiled nature” for enjoyment, and the conservation and preservation of the National Parks contributed to the rise of environmentalism and the tourist industry. Young men joining the CCC worked on conservation projects across the United States, and these experiences exposed the young men to the importance of the environment. Through increased access in parks and forests and in creating and maintaining infrastructure the public was able to enjoy views and vistas of “unspoiled nature.”

The historiography of conservation, preservation, and parks does not include a substantial Utah-specific discussion, but rather some authors mention Utah as part of a larger collection of parks in the West. Peter Blodgett, Karl Jacoby, Louis S. Warren,
Randall K. Wilson, and Mark David Spence discuss the topics of conservation and preservation; however, they do not delve into Utah specific cases.  

Neil M. Maher discusses National Parks and the Civilian Conservation Corps in his book *Nature’s New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement*. He states that it was later in the 1930s when the CCC was involved in the parks with trail construction and maintenance to increases access. Yet the CCC was sent to Bryce and Zion in 1933 to work on roads and buildings. Utah was unique in this aspect because the CCC was involved and working with the National Parks in southern Utah and these young men were sent to Zion as early as May 1933. Maher included a table of the enrollment periods and which department, whether Department of Agriculture, Department of the Interior, War Department, and Department of Labor, the camps were located under. As a whole, the nation had more camps under the direction of the Department of Agriculture, and the same applied to Utah. In Utah,  

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3 The following authors, Randall K. Wilson, Louis S. Warren, Mark David Spence, Karl Jacoby, and Peter Blodgett, look at conservation and the land from various angles and perspectives. Wilson focuses on the use of public lands, such as national forests, national parks, wildlife refuges, and land management. Warren takes the broad approach to hunting, whether in the Southwest or the Ohio and Pennsylvania areas, as a source of income. Spence looks at the displacement of Native Americans with the creation of National Parks. Jacoby views issues surrounding squatting, poaching, and theft for native peoples and other settlers in the Adirondacks of upstate New York, the creation of Yellowstone National Park, and the Havasupai in the Grand Canyon National Park. Some of the connections these writers have are the ability, or lack thereof, to enforce the new laws and regulations within the federal lands of the National Parks. Why is conservation such an issue and topic in the National Parks Service throughout the United States? If the land is not preserved, conserved, or cared for then future generations will not have access to these areas. Blodgett discusses advertising and railroad access to the National Parks in his *Historical Geography* article, “Defining Uncle Sam’s Playgrounds: Railroad Advertising and the National Parks, 1917-1941.” According to Blodgett, the railroads created a partnership with the National Parks on the line as part of the journey towards their final destination. Advertising to bring tourists out West was a draw for the various railroad companies. The railroad companies advertised the final destination and everything else one could see along the way. Blodgett uses Yellowstone, Yosemite, Glacier, Grand Canyon, Zion, and Bryce Canyon as his case studies. The images Blodgett uses for the promotion of Zion and Bryce Canyon were similar to the promotion of the other parks.


the National Park Service oversaw work and projects in Zion National Park, Bryce Canyon National Park, Cedar Breaks National Monument, and Arches National Monument.7

Two authors, Susan Sessions Rugh and Matthew John Baker, focus more on Utah, however the topics and themes they write about are more about tourism and post-war Utah rather than the CCC. Rugh discusses tourism in Utah after the war, and it is useful to gain a sense of how tourism was promoted and increased in Utah. Rugh starts with quotes from Edward Abbey and his experiences as a ranger at Arches National Monument, however, Rugh and Abbey differ on who played the major roles in promoting tourism. Abbey did not like automobile tourism and what he saw as the over-exposure of the national parks and the negative environmental impacts of tourism. CCC projects created trails and roads within the parks to create easier access for the public. Abbey wanted the solitude with nature to continue, however Rugh discusses the historical process of tourism in Utah and argues every state fit together to create tourism in the West.8 Utah, with its unique Mormon culture, faced challenges other western states did not have. Alcohol laws were different from the surrounding states and this was not a favorite for some of the tourists visiting Utah. Some towns followed strict enforcement of these laws while in other areas, the laws were bent a little. One CCC enrollee, Mark Child, remembered alcohol was not allowed in the camps at Zion, but there was underage

8 Susan Sessions Rugh, “Branding Utah: Industrial Tourism in the Postwar American West” in Western Historical Quarterly 37(Winter 2006); 446.
drinking in the town of Springdale and he stated that most of the “boys” were from Utah and “we didn’t drink per say, … but it was, you might take a beer after all.”

Matthew John Baker looks at the Utah national parks with a journalist’s lens. Baker uses local and national newspaper articles presenting Zion and Bryce during the interwar years and continues with the other three Utah parks postwar. Baker wrote that journalism over the years gave information about the conservation projects within the parks. Newspaper articles from the time gave readers a certain perspective or bias. Readers today need to dissect the articles and have an understanding of the environment at the time. 1933 newspaper articles from Utah discuss the New Deal program and possible impacts for the state.

The discovery of Zion by white settlers in 1862 is attributed to Albert Petty and Joseph Black who settled in the area. Bryce Canyon was discovered by and named for a cattle rancher, Ebenezer Bryce. Bryce was quoted as saying it was “awful hard to find a cow that was lost” in among the geologic formations in Bryce Canyon. The area was settled and used for growing crops or grazing cattle. The Virgin River was a water source for these early settlers in Zion. In 1873, Jack Hiller, photographed Zion as part of the Powell expedition party sent to explore, document, and map the area.

Descriptions of Zion and Bryce from Travelers, Tourists, and CCC Boys

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The tourist industry was able to use the status of the landscape of the parks to sell visitation to the parks, and in 1930 the newspaper column series “Scenic Playgrounds of America” extolled the beauty and majesty in our own backyard. The article “Now for Summer Vacations,” states, “When your trip is over, we believe you will agree that there is no comparison between any two of the scenic regions you have visited. Each is totally different and each is unique in itself and has its own distinctive appeal.”

Bryce and Zion are more arid than those on the east coast, Yellowstone, and Yosemite. The relationship with the environment varies. Those from the city view nature differently than those from the countryside. For urbanites, nature was manicured in the form of parks and green spaces within the city, and for Easterners expecting the alpine scenery of Yellowstone or Yosemite, the Utah parks offered very different landscapes.

In 1937, Edwin D. McKee, Park Naturalist at Grand Canyon National Park, wrote about the geologic landscape in Bryce and Zion. He stated, “The delicate and beautiful colors of Bryce are due to the white limestone which in many places retains its creamy color, but in others has been stained a vivid pink by the drainage from upland washes.”

He continues describing Zion as the “Beautiful Zion Canyon, therefore, has been created as the result of crustal movements bringing into action the effective cutting power of running water, assisted by all the ever working forces of disintegration and decay.”

Bryce Canyon and Zion are unique in their geologic formation and landscape. Their unique features were a draw for tourist visiting the area. Hiking in the area, one can see

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15 McKee, Ancient Landscapes of the Grand Canyon.
the brilliant colors as the sun shines through the rock formations creating a unique experience for each visitor.

Before McKee wrote about the southern Utah parks, Charles J. Finger compiled his thoughts and descriptions on Zion in his 1932 publication, *Foot-Loose in the West: Being the Account of a Journey to Colorado and California and Other Western States*: “Zion Park is canyon scenery, to be sure; but as different from the Grand Canyon as moonlight is different from the hues of the Aurora Borealis. The hues of the Grand Canyon are subdued. Those of Zion are bright red, and coral, and white were the sunlight touches.”\(^{16}\) The scenery of the parks described by McKee and Finger allowed for a wider audience to hear about and travel to the southern Utah National Parks. Finger continues to describe Zion National Park, “when we came, unexpectedly, in sight of the mountain of sheer rock which has been called The Great White Throne, I had the feeling of being almost reduced to nothingness. I do not think that Nietzsche could have produced his philosophy of blunt self-affirmation, had he been born on the banks of the Mukuntuweap.”\(^{17}\) Religious comparisons to the natural landscape in the area were not uncommon. On July 31, 1909, Mukuntuweap National Monument was created. The name was later changed to Zion National Monument, and on November 19, 1919, Zion National Monument became Zion National Park.\(^{18}\)

Finger also described his visit to Bryce Canyon. “It need not be said that it is all the effect of erosion upon cliffs composed of several strata of brightly coloured earths –


\(^{17}\) Finger, *Foot-Loose in the West*, 142-143.

pink, red, yellow, chocolate hue.” His description paints a colorful scene for the traveler and tourist stopping in the area. He continues to state, “What with wind and water, the parts that remain have taken on fanciful shapes, which suggest pleasure domes, castles, towers, cathedrals of sombre grandeur, crooked streets, mazes, dwellings built on crags, mansions hidden in ravines, churches standing on the edges of precipices, statues, monuments, mosques.” The shapes contribute to the landscape and, “All are vivid with colouring; exotic colouring done in horizontal lines, with a background of colour in patches and masses.” By the time Finger traveled to the area, Bryce Canyon had been a National Park for eight years, four years under the name Utah National Park and four year as Bryce Canyon National Park.

Descriptions of the parks were not limited to travelers and tourists. For some young men, the landscape was part of their everyday life and identity, but for others traveling to join their CCC camps in southern Utah, they also described their first impressions of Zion and Bryce. Growing up in southern Utah, the views, vistas, and landscapes are common and taken for granted. This was not true of outsiders. One CCC enrollee who joined in 1936, John W. Roundy, described the following National Parks: “I think each park has got its own attraction. Grand Canyon if you want to see something big and down. Here [Zion] if you want to see beautiful colors and stand around and look up at the mountains and stuff like that you know. Bryce, if you want coloring. All the

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19 Finger, *Foot-Loose in the West*, 144.
colors they got there, it’s some beautiful stuff.”\textsuperscript{21} Descriptions of the beauty of the parks came from different people and sources.

One CCC enrollee, George Herb Macy remembered the unusual beauty of the rocks and mountains.\textsuperscript{22} He continued to state that it was very different from Cache County where he grew up. “It’s unusual in the world, very unique, each of these places…. they’re each different. Some you look up on, some you look down. So it was an inspiring time of life in those tender years. I guess you’re tender at eighteen or nineteen.”\textsuperscript{23} Macy enlisted in Logan, and had not seen the red rock formations of southern Utah. He was used to blues, greens, and browns creating the colors of the land. Another CCC enrollee, Lowell Brown, wondered how Zion could have been formed and was “the most fabulous place in the world.”\textsuperscript{24} Brown also came from Logan before joining the CCC and traveling down to Bryce Canyon and later to winter at Zion in October 1933.

Denzil W. Pollock described his first impression of Zion when he came in 1933 as, “Oh it’s quite a thrill to go through the tunnel. The first time we went through it anyway. It was just the time they was working on the tunnel; they was plastering, cementing, and coating the rocks all through the tunnel. We had a crew of us that went up and swept the tunnel out once. I was on the crew to help sweep the tunnel out after they

\textsuperscript{22} George Herb Macy, \textit{Zion National Park Oral History: CCC Reunion, September 28, 1989}, Ms. 178 Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, 9.  
\textsuperscript{23} Macy, \textit{Zion National Park CCC Reunion}, 9.  
\textsuperscript{24} Lowell Brown, \textit{Zion National Park Oral History: CCC Reunion, September 28, 1989}, Ms. 178 Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, 3.
got some plastering.”\textsuperscript{25} Pollock would be considered a local, he was from the town of Tropic near Bryce Canyon.

In 1934, Fred Brueck was transferred as a seasonal ranger for the National Park Service from New York, and his first impression of Zion was that it was beautiful and he had never seen anything like it before, especially the rock. He worked with the CCC “boys” on projects at both Zion and Bryce.\textsuperscript{26} For men coming from New York, Zion and Bryce Canyon were new sights and experiences.

Russell A. Taylor recalled his impressions of Zion during the winter and spring, when waterfalls could be seen throughout the park after heavy rain.\textsuperscript{27} Taylor came from Plain City near Ogden when he enrolled in the CCC. He tells about visiting family that he took around to the parks in the 1970s, “we went to Bryce and came to Zion. We walked up the trail to the Temple of Sinawava, to the head of the trail. We sat down there and he looked around and said, ‘You saved the best for last.’ He really loved this area as much as I did. I tell so many people, everybody that I ever meet, if you ever go to Utah don’t miss going to Zion Park, it’s heaven on earth.”\textsuperscript{28}

Ray Anderton described Bryce as a place they had fun and worked, “We made our own fun. At Bryce Canyon it rained every day there for about three or four weeks, just as regular as the clock, about ten minutes to twelve and ten minutes to four we’d get

\textsuperscript{25} Denzil W. Pollock, \textit{Zion National Park Oral History: CCC Reunion, September 28, 1989}, Ms. 178 Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, 3.
\textsuperscript{26} Fred Brueck, \textit{Zion National Park Oral History: CCC Reunion, September 28, 1989}, Ms. 178 Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, 2.
\textsuperscript{27} Russell A. Taylor, \textit{Zion National Park Oral History: CCC Reunion, September 28, 1989}, Ms. 178 Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, 4.
\textsuperscript{28} Taylor, \textit{Zion National Park CCC Reunion}, 4.
soaked before we could get back to the trucks to go into camp.”

Another enrollee, Milton Widdison, was only in for six months, but enjoyed his time in the CCC. He said, “I had fun. I’d been working on the farm all the time; I didn’t know you didn’t have to work for your living. I didn’t mind the work and all the food you wanted to eat, and I couldn’t be in a more beautiful place. I learned to love Zion’s Canyon.” Widdison grew up in Hooper near Ogden and the Great Salt Lake before the CCC. Another CCC enrollee, J. Brose Webster, recalled his first impression of Zion as, “it was really nice and it was warm and a beautiful place.” Loa, Utah was home for Webster before enrolling in the CCC program.

Wesley Boyle said, “When I saw the trees growing out of rocks, that really got me. Where we lived was on the edge of the desert and we had a hard time making trees grow period. So that was one thing that thrilled me. I saw these beautiful mountains and surroundings and I just fell in love with it. We came in and our barracks was right on the riverbank. There were two camps here and I was in #1966.” Boyle came from Springville, and joined at the Lyndyl office.

Why do these impressions and recollections of the beauty and grandeur of Zion and Bryce Canyon matter? These descriptions show that first impressions matter. These oral histories remember a time of hardship; however, their impressions were lasting, and for some, became part of later family vacations and traditions. The Civilian Conservation

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31 J. Brose Webster, *Zion National Park Oral History: CCC Reunion, September 28, 1989*, Ms. 178 Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, 3.
Corps brought young men from across the state of Utah to work in Company 962 between October 1933 and September 1941. This company spent winters at Zion National Park and summers at Bryce Canyon National Park.

**The Civilian Conservation Corps**

In the first issue of *Happy Days*, the national authorized weekly CCC newsletter, it described the program and who was eligible. “The men, generally, must be physically fit, unmarried, unemployed, between the ages of 18 and 25 years, citizens of the United States, have dependents to whom they wish to allot a substantial portion of the $30 per month cash allowance.”

Each state was given a quota based on population size. Part of the qualifications were stated as, “The work is reserved for those young men who have dependents and want to help them, rather than for unattached, homeless, transients because the money can be used more productively if it benefits whole families rather than individuals.” A small number of WWI veterans were eligible to enroll for the CCC in the early years of the program. The first CCC director, Mr. Fechner, was quoted as saying, “While this whole conservation project is primarily a forest program, in the National Parks and Monuments and in the State Parks it must be conducted with detailed attention to the landscape values. Forested areas in these reservations must be kept in their natural condition so far as possible.” The Park Service was using the labor of the CCC to direct the incoming tourists to specific areas to see the beauty of the land. Projects in the parks were supervised by park rangers. CCC “boys” created and maintained trails within the parks to increased and controlled access. He continues,

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33 “240,000 Workers Will Be Selected By June 7,” *Happy Days*, May 20, 1933, page 2.
34 “240,000 Workers Will Be Selected By June 7,” *Happy Days*, May 20, 1933, page 2.
“Removal of underbrush, dead trees, windfalls, and other natural forest debris from old forests should be undertaken only to such an extent as may be needed to remove serious fire hazards.” Work and cooperation with the CCC was not limited to National Forests; the National Parks and Monuments used CCC labor to complete projects and increase accessibility for tourists and locals traveling in the area. State controlled camps in Farmington Bay and Brigham City along with the Bear River and the Provo River recreation areas were able to use CCC camps to work on projects and benefitted from the labor. These areas received erosion control measures to decrease flooding. Terraces were built by the Brigham City camp to control run-off.

The CCC was one of the New Deal Programs that started in 1933 and ended in 1942. During those years, there were camps across the entire United States. In the state of Utah, there were 40 camps. Two areas of interest are the camps at Zion National Park and Bryce Canyon National Park. This study will look at the specific involvement of the CCC in Zion National Park and a brief focus on Bryce Canyon National Park. Southern Utah University has a collection of oral histories collected by the Zion National Park in 1989 at a CCC reunion. Although the oral histories were collected in 1989 it was not until 2011 that these were transcribed. Many of these oral histories give an overview of projects that were done in the park, the meals that they ate, which camps they belonged to, and a few of them talked about their time at Bryce Canyon National Park.

When joining the CCC, the men took an oath. *Happy Days* reprinted the oath to remind the enrollees of the promises they made and the expectations required of them while in the program.

I, (name of worker), do solemnly swear (or affirm) that the information given above as to my status is correct. I agree to remain in the Civilian Conservation Corps for 6 months unless sooner released by proper authority, and that I will obey those in authority and observe all the rules and regulations thereof to the best of my ability and will accept such allowances as may be provided pursuant to law and regulation promulgated pursuant thereto.

I understand and agree that any injury received or disease contracted by me while a member of the Civilian Conservation Corps cannot be made the basis of any claim against the Government, except such as I may be entitled to under the act of September 7, 1916 (39 Stat. 742) (an act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties and for other purposes), and that I shall not be entitled to any allowances upon release from camp except transportation in kind to the place at which I was accepted for enrollment.

I understand further that any articles issued to me by the United States Government for use while a member of the Civilian Conservation Corps are, and remain, property of the United States Government and that willful destruction, loss, sale, or disposal of such property renders me financially responsible for the cost thereof and liable to trial in the civil courts,

I understand further that any infraction of the rules or regulations of the Civilian Conservation Corps renders me liable to expulsion therefrom. So help me God.  

Men enrolled for a six-month period with opportunities to re-enroll after the completion of the previous enrollment period. One needed to follow the rules and regulations or be discharged from the CCC. From the oral histories collected at the 1989 Zion CCC Reunion, most the young men had received some secondary education or finished high school.

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FDR gained firsthand knowledge about soil erosion with his experiences on his family estate in New York. He saw the problems farmers faced with heavy rainfall and loss of topsoil. These experiences contributed to his desire to create the CCC during the depression. The CCC would answer to various agencies in the government. The actual camps, feeding, clothing, and housing the enrollees would be administered by the military. Projects in national parks would be under the supervision of the National Parks Service with park rangers overseeing the progress. In Utah, the camps were under the direction of Fort Douglas out of Salt Lake City, and part of the Ninth Army Corps Area that covered Montana, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, Nevada, Wyoming, and Utah.  

National Park Service areas in Region III included parts of Nevada and Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Utah.

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) helped build and create infrastructure within the parks. During the depression, CCC gangs worked on construction and infrastructure within the parks at Zion and Bryce. The CCC boys built cabins, toilets and showers, hiking trails and truck trails, and meeting areas and campgrounds within the parks. Their interactions with the local populations included dances, movies, and drinking in town.

Carl Stokes recalled that there were a few excursions the CCC arranged. “One time we went to Las Vegas and they took us out to Hoover Dam, and we was one of the last ones that was allowed down into the bottom of the dam before they started backing

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39 Region Three Quarterly, National Park Service vol. 3, no. 4 (October 1941): 35.
40 CCC “boys” is the age range of 18-25 for the young men to enroll in the CCC.
These trips were arranged so the CCC “boys” could experience more than just the camp they were in. In 1935, Company 1339 arranged for the men in their camp to visit Boulder Dam. The men were to be divided with half visiting one weekend and the other half to visit the next weekend, but weather and illness postponed the trip for the second group of men. The local CCC newsletter for company 1339 out of Cedar City, “The Cedar Post,” wrote that the trip to Boulder Dam was to be postponed due to “an epidemic of colds and the colder weather.”

There were a few interactions with the local people that were not the best. Sometimes the locals tried to charge the CCC “boys” more for the dance, Royal Taylor shared the experience of how they were able to lower the entrance fee Springdale was charging the CCC “boys” for the local dance.

When we came in here and they had their dances, the people in Springdale they had some trouble with people from New York, so they didn’t know if they wanted us guys to coming down to their dances or not. And they’d charge us 50 cents a ticket to get into the dance and it was two bits a ticket for everybody else. So a group of us decided that we were going to boycott the dance, so we all stayed home from the dance. Four of the fellows slipped out of camp here and went down to the dance and had just a great time. One of the guys that happened to be downtown he came and told us about it. So we decided that we’d go down there and get them. We went down and the sheriff at that time, or the man at the gate, told us we couldn’t go in unless we bought a ticket. Two of three of the men grabbed him and held him while the others went in and got the four guys that was in there dancing with the girls. They took them out there on the steps and stripped then all down but their shorts. They had probably forty guys in the group that went down there. They all had a green willows and they run them down through this road between the groups on each side and every one of them took a whack at them. Then they got in the car and headed them for camp. They rode on the fenders on the car and they’d switch them if they didn’t keep running. They run those guys barefooted all the

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way back from Springdale. The next day, the captain had us all out in line and told us that we shouldn’t do things like that. But he said that bishop of the Ward down there had decided to let the camp men come down and they’d let them in for 25 cents a head.33

Striking and boycotting the local dance was part of the solution the CCC “boys” used to get Springdale to charge an equal and fair price that was not 10% of their pay for the month. This excerpt shows that the young men in the camps may be considered adults, but they still liked to play jokes and enforced a sense of camaraderie with each other. In this instance, the young men needed to stick together and work towards an equal charge for the dance. The four that broke the boycott, were subject to punishment from the others. Their punishment was to run barefoot in their shorts in front of a car back to the camp. The CCC enrollees may have been considered adults between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four, but they were still boys. Camp 962 out of Bryce and Zion, was comprised of Utah boys enrolled in the CCC. The local rural “boys” thought that the city boys did not know how to work and a few considered them lazy.

Many of the men described how what they learned while in the CCC helped them throughout their lives after. Some mentioned that they learned how to get along and work with men. Some of the cooks, used their skills to cook for their companies and fellow soldiers when they were drafted during WWII. The young men in the CCC camps learned skills and trades to give them employment opportunities. Some worked in masonry while others continued to drive trucks. One enrollee, Glen Bair, was able to use the masonry and carpentry skills to build his home.44

43 Royal Taylor, Zion National Park Oral History: CCC Reunion, September 28, 1989, Ms. 178 Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, 8-9.
44 Glen Bair, Zion National Park Oral History: CCC Reunion, September 28, 1989, Ms. 178 Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, 13.
**Projects/Work at Camps**

In a *Happy Days* article, “More than 150 major types of work is carried on by the CCC.” The national newsletter continues to describe the classifications for the work, “Grouped, the work falls generally into the following classes: (1) forest culture, (2) forest protection, (3) soil erosion control, (4) flood control, irrigation and drainage, (5) road and trail construction and maintenance, (6) structural improvement, (7) range development, (8) wild life protection, (9) landscaping and recreation area improvement.” The CCC camps in Zion and Bryce worked on projects in several of these classes. Understanding what the CCC did in Utah and across the nation bring a continuity to how conservation projects altered the landscape in the parks.

Projects included building buildings, building and maintaining trails, roads, maintenance, and erosion control. One project that CCC “boys” worked on at Zion National Park was the lecture circle (see image 1 and image 2).

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Image 1: Ph08b10i03246, *CCC Project, lecture circle construction*. Dixie National Forest Photograph Collection. Sherrat Library Special Collections, Southern Utah University.

Image 2: Ph08b10i03247, *CCC Project, lecture circle completed*. Dixie National Forest Photograph Collection. Sherrat Library Special Collections, Southern Utah University.
According to two photographs from the Southern Utah University Special Collections, the project number was Project 157 and required a lot of labor for the rock work and stone masons. This project included five rows in two columns of semi-circular seating surrounding a raised platform in front and a campfire circle to one side. Behind the campfire circle, there were also two rows of seating.

In the 1938 publication of Park and Recreation Structures, a plan drawing was included of this project, however, it was titled an outdoor theater rather than a lecture circle. The description states, “Most notable feature of this layout, if the magnificent scenic panorama may be excepted, is the disappearing screen and the shelter for screen and equipment. Attention is invited to the projector pedestal, the detail of the seat construction, the asymmetrical location of the campfire and the rock serving as the immediate background of the lecture platform. Future expansion of the seating has been anticipated and well planned.”

The work and preparation of the National Park Service and the CCC showed careful planning for current and future projects within the park. (see image 3).

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46 Ph08b10i03246, CCC project lecture circle construction photograph, project 157, Dixie National Forest Photographs Collection, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, accessed June 12, 2017; Ph08b10i03247, CCC project lecture circle completed photograph, project 157, Dixie National Forest Photographs Collection, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, accessed June 12, 2017.


48 Good, Park and Recreation Structures: Part II, 207.
Several young men worked in the quarry and the stone was used in multiple projects; including the benches for the lecture circle in Zion, riprap along the Virgin River, pylons at the park entrances (see image 4), buildings, bridges, and campground fire circles.\textsuperscript{49}

The rock pylon at the entrance to Zion was a masterpiece of stone masonry under the direction of Johnny Excell.⁵⁰ The cutting, shaping, and placement of the stones for the pylon showed the commitment and dedication the CCC “boys” had for the project.

During the winter of 1934-1935, the CCC worked on building a garage in the park.⁵¹ The rock for the walls came from the quarry and the garage would house vehicles and tools needed to maintain the grounds within the park.

Another project in Zion was, project 2-202, a truck trail at East Rim. Photographs from the Southern Utah University Special Collections show the progress of bridge construction on this trail. The bridge construction is crisscross log-work over a small stream.⁵² Truck trails were part of the “Emergency Conservation Work” to increase access to the interior of the park to fight wildfires. Wildfires were and still are a problem in the National Parks and Forests. Throughout the country, CCC gangs would work to clear deadfall, forest litter, and debris to decrease fires. Another measure taken was digging fire trenches to stop the spread of fires. The Civilian Conservation Corps in Zion National Park also built wooden structures, such as a temporary small one-room cabin and a bath and toilet house, for visitors and guests hiking and camping in the area.⁵³

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⁵⁰ Good, Park and Recreation Structures: Part I, 12-13; Pollock, Zion National Park CCC Reunion, 5.
⁵¹ Zion National Park, Zion National Park garage, CCC labor, Crawford Family Zion National Park Collection, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, accessed June 12, 2017.
⁵² CCC project, truck trail, before, project 2-202, Dixie National Forest Photographs Collection, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, accessed June 12, 2017; CCC project, truck trail, bridge construction, project 2-202, Dixie National Forest Photographs Collection, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, accessed June 12, 2017.
⁵³ CCC project, temporary cabin, project A-110, Dixie National Forest Photographs Collection, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, accessed June 12, 2017; CCC project, bath and toilet house for temporary cabin, project 5-113, Dixie National Forest Photographs Collection, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, accessed June 12, 2017.
In Zion National Park, one CCC enrollee named George Herb Macy, who joined in the spring of 1933, stated that he helped with finishing work on the tunnel (see image 5). He said, “We then did some work on the tunnel. Then tunnel had been completed, but there wasn’t any road preparation down and we did haul gravel into the tunnel and spread it throughout the tunnel and that was the first road in the tunnel.”

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Image 5: Mt Carmel Tunnel at Zion National Park. *Zion, Bryce Canyon, Grand Canyon National Parks: Cedar Breaks National Monument Kaibab National Forest.* PAM 3967, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, UT.

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54 The only tunnel in the park, is the Zion Mt. Carmel Tunnel which was dedicated on July 4, 1930.
55 Macy, *Zion National Park CCC Reunion,* UT, 3.
In 1929, Utah and Arizona received federal funding to build new roads to connect Zion National Park and the Grand Canyon and shorten the travel time. The estimated total cost for the project was $496,000, the federal aid portion was $390,000.\textsuperscript{56}

A 1933 article from the Washington County News stated, “Zion visitors this year will be able for the first time to ride over the valley road without having to endure dust, as the surfacing of the road was completed last fall.” Road work throughout the park was a consistent job for the CCC. The article continues to state, “Supplemental construction work in the Zion tunnel has been finished, and automobiles may now pass through without inconvenience or delay.”\textsuperscript{57} Finishing work inside the tunnel included plastering, cementing, sweeping, and coating the rocks, however, the roads to the tunnel also required work.\textsuperscript{58} Mr. Denzil W. Pollock joined the CCC in 1933 and one of his jobs was working on the switchbacks leading to and from the tunnel.\textsuperscript{59} Maintenance on the switchback roads throughout the park was a constant project throughout the years the CCC was at Zion. Crews would clear the roads after rock slides and work on erosion control measures to prevent further slides.

There were accidents that happened from time to time. Posters were distributed stating that it was the driver’s responsibility to drive safe (see image 6 and image 7). One major accident occurred in September 1941, when Wallace Wilcock was killed while coming back from Red Canyon outside Bryce Canyon National Park.\textsuperscript{60} Kenneth

\textsuperscript{56} MSS A 781, Howell V. Richards, New Utah Highway shortens distance between Zion Park and Grand Canyon (1929), 5.
\textsuperscript{57} “Bryce Canyon Road Now Open to Public,” Washington County News, May 11, 1933.
\textsuperscript{58} Pollock, Zion National Park CCC Reunion, 3.
\textsuperscript{59} Pollock, Zion National Park CCC Reunion, 3-4.
Schofield was driving the truck with a load of wood and empty oil drums in the back. Wilcock was the passenger and decided to check on how the load was in the back. Before Schofield stopped the truck, Wilcock opened the door and leaned out, he slipped on the running-board and was caught on the side of the truck when Schofield momentarily lost control and went off the road. Utah was no exception regarding the concern for the safety of CCC “boys” riding in and driving trucks. Wilcock’s death was tragic and Schofield was not held responsible for the accident. These posters reminded drivers to be continually mindful of safety issues and preventing accidents.

61 “Local Youth Meets Instant Death.”
Image 6: Safe Backing is the Driver’s Responsibility. National Archives and Records Administration at Denver, Rocky Mountain Region.
Image 7: Drive Carefully, Death Follows the Careless Driver. National Archives and Records Administration at Denver, Rocky Mountain Region.
These posters from the National Archives and Records Administration at Denver describe the risks associated with driving.\textsuperscript{62} There were several CCC “boys” driving trucks at the camps throughout the nation. The “boys” driving at Zion and Bryce were chosen by the foreman or local experienced men (LEM) in charge of the motor pool. Drivers would carry materials to worksites for the projects within the park and depending on the location and distance of the project, drivers would haul CCC enrollees to and from to camp to the project site. One enrollee, Howard Wilson recalled, “the bigger your load, the lower your gear” when driving downhill.\textsuperscript{63}

\textbf{Exceptions to the Rules for the CCC}

Enrollees would sign up for a six-month stint in the CCC, with the opportunity to stay a maximum of two years. However, there were exceptions and one outlier in the oral histories showed that he was in for seven years in total. Of the sixty-five oral histories collected for the \textit{Zion National Park Oral History: CCC Reunion}, six stayed longer that the maximum two-year enrollment, one stayed in the CCC even after he was married, one was only in during the winter months, and one continued to teach an evening educational class after he was discharged from the CCC.

One young man, Usher Wilcock, enrolled in the CCC for the winter months so he could be out working and helping on the family farm during the summer months.\textsuperscript{64} This

\textsuperscript{62} Cartoon Drawings, “Safe Driving” and “Drive Carefully” in \textit{Correspondence Relating to the Liquidation of Civilian Conservation Corps Projects, 1941-1945}, Box 1, File 1, Record Group (RG) No. 79, 8NS-079-94-141, National Archives and Records Administration at Denver – Rocky Mountain Region (NARA–Rocky Mountain Region), Broomfield, CO.

\textsuperscript{63} Howard Wilson, \textit{Zion National Park Oral History: CCC Reunion, September 28, 1989}, Ms. 178 Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, 5-6.

\textsuperscript{64} Usher Wilcock, \textit{Zion National Park Oral History: CCC Reunion, September 28, 1989}, Ms. 178 Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT, 2-3.
shows that one did not need to stay a consecutive twenty-four months in the CCC, but could sign up for six months at a time and re-enroll at later times. Some CCC “boys” found seasonal work in the summer months and then enrolled for the winter months in the CCC.

Phil Hepworth was a unique exception to the rules and regulations for the CCC. He had previously joined for a year and a half in the late 1930s, he re-enrolled in 1940 and was sent to the camp at Zion. Because of his age, he would soon be twenty-four, he was only at Zion for a month and a half. Hepworth was interested in radios and between his enrollments he had received a ham license. This enabled him, under the direction of the educational advisor Vaugh Robertson, to teach an evening educational radio class at Zion. He was discharged before he could finish teaching the class, so the captain and Mr. Robertson arranged for him to receive a hot meal every night for the rest of the summer in exchange for finishing the radio class. The CCC captain was able to make this offer to Hepworth because he was a local boy from Springdale. Hepworth lived alone in Springdale after the death of his parents while he was enrolled in the CCC.

Hugh Cannon was able to stay in the CCC after he was married, however he was not able to re-enroll when his enlistment was up. There was a loophole in the regulations, a cook could be married, so on paper, Hugh Cannon was a cook. Cannon worked as a book keeper, and the captains wanted to keep him a little longer, so he was reclassified as a cook. Regulations stated that a CCC enrollee was to be single, but exceptions were

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67 Hepworth, *Zion National Park CCC Reunion*, 4-5.
made at the camps in Zion and Bryce to keep good workers until they could find other permanent employment to support their wife.

Regulations also stated that enrollment was to last a maximum of two years, however there were several cases in Utah of men who stayed longer than the maximum. Why were these men allowed to be exceptions to the rule? Some of these men were leaders in the camps while others were enrollees. John B. Adams and Karl Lowder were enrollees who were able to stay 60 months and 33 months respectively.

John B. Adams was an orphan who sent his pay back to his half-sister. He joined in 1933 and worked in several different camps in southern Utah before being sent to Zion in 1934. During his first winter at Zion, after a few days of a bad cold, he was able to get a job working at the museum. He took care of the museum and later worked as a ranger and naturalist at Zion National Park, but was never employed by the National Park Service.\(^{69}\)

Karl Lowder joined on his nineteenth birthday in 1938. He worked at both Bryce and Zion during his thirty-three months in the CCC. He became a cook for the camp and was sent to Fort Douglas for cook training/school.\(^{70}\) Lowder read his discharge papers from the CCC, the backside of the paper included the dates and type of work he performed while in the CCC.


9/9/39 to 4/21/41 under NPS at Camp NP-4 Utah. First Cook. Manner of performance: Excellent.71

Lowder’s work as a cook for the camps at Bryce and Zion began after he had been in the CCC for a year. The men who worked as cooks or worked in administration seem to be the exceptions to the rules and regulations of the CCC in southern Utah, they were considered, and at times classified, as leader in the camps. George Platt and Denzil W. Pollock were also classified and worked as cooks who stayed longer than the two-year maximum enrollment.

Conclusion

These oral histories and newsletters provide an insight into the life and experiences of the CCC in Utah. The camps at Zion and Bryce gave young men the chance to “See America,” even if, for the majority of them, it was only within their state. The involvement of the CCC in Utah helps to complete the picture of New Deal programs implemented by FDR in 1933 to ease the economic, financial, and personal hardships citizens were facing. Utah was unique, but also the same, with the local interactions and CCC projects in the area. Most of the exceptions to the rules and regulations belonged to Company 962.

71 Lowder, Zion National Park CCC Reunion, 8.
The experiences and projects the young men did with the CCC altered the land in the parks in southern Utah. The changes included new or improved trail systems in the park, better roads and maintenance, soil and erosion control along the Virgin River in Zion, and campgrounds in both parks. Zion National Park benefitted with the construction of the lecture circle for presentations at the park and the maintenance of trails. Bryce Canyon National Park benefitted through observation points and trails in the park. Interactions with the locals ranged from dances to drinking beer. The boycott of the Springdale dance in the winter of 1934/1935 caused some tensions between the CCC “boys” and the locals, however, after an equal price was reached for all to attend the dance, relations improved between the town and the camp.

CCC experiences have been written about other camps and areas across the United States, however, an in depth look at the CCC involvement in Zion and Bryce has not been attempted. The CCC camps in Zion and Bryce created a mark on the landscape through the projects and improvements, but also left a mark on the “boys” who were in the program. Their experiences and recollections of the CCC were a welcome chance at an income source for both the “boys” and their families. Oral histories are a unique and interesting way to gather information and experiences about a certain area or time-period. This project used oral histories, collected at a CCC reunion in 1989, to describe the landscape of the parks in southern Utah. Understanding CCC projects and experiences in Utah contributes to the larger picture of how and why the CCC was such a successful and beneficial program for the United States.
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