A Beer Party and Watermelon: The Archaeology of Community and Resistance at CCC Camp Zigzag, Company 928, Zigzag, Oregon, 1933-1942

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ABSTRACT

An abstract of the thesis of Janna Beth Tuck for the Master of Arts in Anthropology presented May 27, 2010.

Title: A Beer Party and Watermelon: The Archaeology of Community and Resistance at CCC Camp Zigzag, Company 928, Zigzag, Oregon, 1933-1942.

In March 1933, the administration of United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt initiated a national relief program aimed at alleviating the disastrous effects of the Great Depression. The Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC) began as one of these programs designed to employ young men from all over the country and put them "back to work". The CCC provided these young men with training, a monthly stipend, and basic supplies such as food, clothing, and accommodations. After 1942, CCC camps were closed and many of these sites were abandoned or destroyed, leaving little historical documentation as to the experiences of the people involved. This project revolves around the archaeological investigations and data recovery of a CCC camp that was in operation from 1933-1942 in Zigzag, Oregon.

This research analyzes the remains of the camp in order to gain further knowledge about this important period in American history, and more specifically, Oregon history. In assessing the material culture left behind, combined with the historical documents and oral history interviews, the goal of this project was to expand the historical and archaeological narrative of the CCC experience. More specifically, the aim of this research was to reveal the unwritten record of CCC camp life in a pivotal period of American history.
The results of the historical archaeological research indicates that Camp Zigzag represents a community that participated in resistance related activities, such as drinking alcohol on camp property, but one that also adhered to the regulations of camp policy. Military-style order and training permeated even the surrounding architectural environment. The rituals of daily life in the structured order of the camp appear to have developed and formulated a strong sense of cohesion among the men. However, resistance-related items, such as alcohol bottles, suggest that Camp Zigzag enrollees resisted the authoritarian dynamic of the camp. Social drinking would have provided the men with a sense of solidarity and commonality that would have been maintained beyond the ideals of camp uniformity. This communal familiarity may have influenced the men’s behaviour in daily camp routines, rituals, and work. Overall, the archaeological evidence depicts the Camp Zigzag community as united through the bonds of formality and in its resistance to it.

Camp Zigzag offered a unique and unusually expansive window into not only the history of Oregon State, but into the history of our nation as a whole. The camp’s archaeological assemblage remains as an important learning tool and its value far exceeds the humble nature of its material contents. It is a collection of untold stories representing the lives of young men and their families at a tumultuous turning point in American history.
A Beer Party and Watermelon: The Archaeology of Community and Resistance at
CCC Camp Zigzag, Company 928, Zigzag, Oregon, 1933-1942

by

Janna Beth Tuck

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Anthropology

Thesis Committee:
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Portland State University
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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the “boys” of the CCC.
Specifically, to Dan Snyder, Joe Bailey, Ken Rank, and Bill Green, who continually inspire me.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

CCC Camp Zigzag, Zigzag, Oregon. July 1937
Young and thin, William Green steps out of the vehicle to be greeted to his
new camp life by Daniel Snyder, the camp host. Daniel takes the bewildered
young man into the barracks, assigns him his bunk number and hands him his
military-issued gear: a pillowcase, two sheets, two army blankets, dungaree
pants, blue denim work pants, a jacket and a hat, an olive-drab wool shirt,
shorts and T-shirts, summer socks, shoes, a bar of soap in a stainless steel
soapbox, a toothbrush in a stainless steel tube, a sewing kit, a Gillette razor and
a shaving brush. Bill Green had never before owned so many personal things.

The story told by historical archaeology is often the story of the every-day, the
normal routine, and the commonplace. It is as James Deetz (1977:11) has said,
“simple people doing simple things”; things that are not thought of as important
enough to record or to document in any significant fashion. Although benefitted by the
written record, by photography, and even oral histories, historical archaeology still
seeks to expose those niches of the past that were not considered rich enough to write
down. Bill Green’s story was one of many throughout the existence of Camp Zigzag
and throughout the country as President Roosevelt’s New Deal programs took shape.
Of course, meticulous records were kept of many different aspects of Civilian
Conservation Corp (CCC) life including menu plans, building repairs, or changes in
leadership. The experiences of Bill Green or of Daniel Snyder, however, would not be
recorded except by their own memories. For a historical archaeologist, the garbage of
the recent past, the tin can and glass bottle midden that is left behind, exposes these
simple stories of the everyday. These artifacts are the tangible remains of the
experiences of a certain place and time. Moreover, they represent evidence that is
unaltered by the failings of human memory, of belief, or of human ideals. Because of
this, “garbage has often served as a kind of tattle-tale, setting the record straight”
(Rathje 1992:12). To validate, discover, and unravel the personal experiences of “the
At Camp Zigzag with the materials they left behind was the goal of this research; simply, to tell the untold stories.

Historical archaeology is multi-faceted in the sense that it has many sources to draw upon. Documentation in conjunction with the archaeological record provides a well-rounded historical perspective. In this manner, historical archaeology can convey the complex lives of individuals with our most routine and often most forgotten remains. The experiences of the men at Camp Zigzag, although not written down, are validated by the things they left behind; by the toothbrush in the stainless steel tube, the summer socks, and the thimble.

Impermanent camp communities such as those found in mining or logging sites, military training camps, or other work camp environments, often manipulate their space to create a unique sense of cohesiveness (Franzen 1992; Van Bueren 2002a, 2002b; Beaudry 1989; Montoya 1995) despite high levels of imposed structure. Mary Beaudry (1989) offers such an example in her study of the inhabitants of the Lowell Boott Mills Complex Housing in Lowell, Massachusetts. With strict rules forbidding such activities as reading, singing, drinking, meetings, or gambling, the inhabitants of the cotton mill’s housing felt corporate policy extend into their daily lives. Archaeological evidence, however, revealed caches of liquor bottles and flowerpot fragments suggesting, “the ways in which workers made efforts to retain control over their lives…” (Beaudry 1989:28). In his analysis of social class relations among a Los Angeles Aqueduct work community, Thad Van Bueren (2002a) noted that alcohol use (in this case, abuse) was a commonality that stretched across all class lines in the camp, suggesting a communal cohesiveness if not through work, through social play. The development of CCC camps as transient and militaristic offered no less an opportunity for camp enrollees to enhance, re-structure, or resist their environment.

The purpose of this project is to analyze artifacts, site structure, and the built environment of a CCC camp (Company 928) in Zigzag, Oregon, dating from 1933 to 1942. The data that are developed from my investigations will be compared with the
historical documentation, most notably with new oral history reports recently conducted with several former CCC camp Zigzag enrollees for this purpose. CCC camps such as Camp Zigzag were created by desperate, nationalistic endeavours and a promise that, “This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper” (Roosevelt 1933). Based on my review of the historical literature, although there is evidence of community-building activities within the camps, none appear to be beyond the realm of obedience, conformity, or cooperation. Specifically, of the written and oral histories characterizing the personal experiences of CCC enrollees, there is very little resistance to the nationalist fervour or to the militaristic structure of the camps. The goal of this examination is to identify artifacts and associations of artifacts that may or may not match the historical record; to identify material remains that can be correlated with resistance activities, such as alcohol consumption (alcohol was not allowed in the camps, therefore its presence is potentially a form of resistance), or items with ethnic, religious, or familial significance that crosscut camp structure, as well as to analyze the built environment of Camp Zigzag in terms of its architectural symbolism and its visual, albeit non-verbal, communication.

Further research into the nature of the relatively unknown transient communities found at CCC camp sites will not only prove to be timely due to our current economic state, but will provide increased knowledge into early 20th century work camp community systems. Due to state and federal cultural resources, regulations that dictate a date at which things are usually “too young” to be considered eligible to State and National Historic Registers, this historic period of the American past and its politics is only just now becoming archaeologically examined and academically significant. Unlike many recent events in American history, CCC camps do not have substantial written records to tell their tales. The majority of CCC camp records were destroyed, as were the camps themselves, after 1942. With the disappearance of the camps and their records, the personal, intimate experience of the average American camp enrollee is erased. It can be argued that even within the existing historical documents, the presence of the enrollees is underrepresented, if not entirely absent.
(McClure [2007]; Montoya 2006; Smith 2001). As is common with impermanent, working communities such as CCC camps, the true experience of the worker is not recorded and cannot often be found in the historical record (Beaudry 1989; Van Bueren 2002a, 2002b; Davies 2005). Without a substantial multi-faceted historical record of these historic sites, it is increasingly important to invoke the archaeological perspective and to provide a diverse archaeological narrative of the CCC experience. The emphasis of this project expands upon the concepts of resistance, adaptation, and community within a Depression-era, early 20th century context.

Although historical archaeology offers a wide array of research into the diverse nature of transient, impermanent communities, research into the specifics of CCC camp sites has only just begun. On federal properties, CCC camp sites have been treated as eligible for significance under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) only for the past 25 years. In addition, the CCC sites that remain are often abandoned, destroyed, or have been appropriated to other uses by federal agencies. For those CCC sites that were established on private or state-owned properties, the question of archaeological significance is even less clear. In Oregon, for example, non-federal CCC camp properties established in 1933 did not gain valid archaeological status until 2008, under the state’s “75-year” rule (ORS 358.905).

This thesis is structured into five chapters. Chapter Two covers the theoretical background, research questions and strategies that provide the foundation for this project. Chapter Three is an overview of research development and methodology, including archival and archaeological methods as well as a discussion of the oral histories involved in this project. Chapter Four discusses the history and structure of Camp Zigzag and then provides a detailed account of the artifact analysis. This chapter is meant to put the camp into a clear historical context for later comparison with the archaeological materials recovered from the site. It also considers the overall results of this research. Chapter Five is a discussion concerning the conclusions of
this project, summarizing the research questions and hypotheses in the context of the results of this study.
Chapter 2

Research Development

Environmental Background

As it stands now, the CCC Camp Zigzag site is located just north of Highway 26, in Zigzag, Oregon. Zigzag is in the Cascade Mountain Range, at approximately 1,300 feet in elevation, within the Middle Columbia River Basin (Figure 1). The site is recorded as four acres resting between two perennial waterways; to the north of the site is the Zigzag River, defining the site’s northern-most boundary and to the south is Bear Creek.

The depositional environment is glacial, an environment in which sediments were transported and accumulated by glacial ice. The soil profile is a mixture of silts, sands, stones, and boulders of mixed geologic origin; however, the majority are from the Cascade Andesite Formation. Surface layers are dark gray to dark yellowish brown and soils consist of very cobbly to loamy, coarse sand mixed with soft, friable, non-sticky coarse fragments. Vegetation on site and in the surrounding area includes Douglas-fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*), Lodgepole Pine (*Pinus contorta*), rhododendron (*Ericaceae*), and trailing twinflower (*Linnaea borealis*) (Tuck 2007).

Salal (*Gaultheria shallon*) berries and Rose (*Rosa*) bushes were among the vegetative species considered culturally significant. For pre-contact purposes, salal is considered a culturally significant plant, meaning it was considered an important resource by native populations, however, it was not documented that salal berries were used in any way during the occupation by the CCC. Rose bushes were among the shrubbery donated and planted throughout the camp’s area in 1936-1937. According to *The Vancouver Barracks Review*, “considerable shrubbery” as well as “seeds and bulbs” were received and planted by the camp (1937:1). Rose bushes were the only species of this imported vegetation that was directly identified in the documentation.
Figure 1. Location of CCC Camp Zigzag near Wemme, Clackamas County, Oregon.
Theoretical Background

Established anthropological theories are helpful when discussing the themes of work camps such as CCC sites. The question of human agency, power, structured authority, the possible manipulation of the spiritual and physical body, and the role of the individual within society (Foucault 1972; Bourdieu 1984; Marx 1947; Weber 1948; Durkheim 1915; Geertz 1973) are all topics that arise within the content of this thesis.

The CCC camp structure, given its military discipline and government sponsored economics, provides rich material for the interplay of cultural and anthropological theory. Unearthing the material remains of physical structures gives only a minute understanding of the ideologies, symbolism, and values that may have been part of the daily routine at any archaeological site. It is worth exploring these concepts within the context of several cultural theorists and their dynamic arguments.

In his work, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Michel Foucault (1975) discusses the image of the military soldier as an ideal model for this modern age. If that truly is the case, then Camp Zigzag is a premier example of Foucault’s arguments concerning power, knowledge, and discipline. The theorist discusses the soldier’s body as manipulated and shaped into a useful, submissive package due to the overwhelming presence of certain dominating formulas which he refers to as “the disciplines”. These disciplines include the ownership of bodily movement, intense supervision, as well as, structured economics and efficiency. The model soldier (or model CCC enrollee) is a result of these disciplines at work; he is what Foucault terms, a “docile body”. Docile bodies are trained beings, a subjected individual among many, working within a larger, ordered system. Following Foucault, the CCC camp system is a classic “panoptic” disciplined society; a societal structure that is ordered at all angles and consistently reinforced with a symbolic discourse of power, domination, and authority. Under this, the success of Camp Zigzag (as discussed further in Chapter
5) was in many ways due to the success of the disciplines at work, as in many aspects, their power structure coincides with the power structure of the camp. For example, Camp Zigzag cleared economic confusion and unrest, it helped to increase utility in the enrollees, and most importantly it placed validity in their performance with task specialization and increased their productivity. These are all values considered by Foucault to result from the dominating disciplines of a structured society producing productive docile bodies.

Borrowing ideals from Max Weber (1948) who insisted that society could not be analyzed in terms of economics, class, and ideology alone, Pierre Bourdieu’s (1984) ideas suggest that Camp Zigzag’s power structure differed from that theorized by Foucault. At the foundation of his theories, Bourdieu insisted that individuals were active agents within the context of their existence and were able to participate in creating their social settings. Rather than static and trained, as Foucault suggests, Bourdieu discusses the individual as an agent with the ability to influence their surroundings. Following Bourdieu’s theories, Camp Zigzag acted as a “field” or a “social arena” in which agents struggled and maneuvered to gain social resources and power positions. As such a field, Camp Zigzag would present to the enrollees a particular social arrangement and the enrollee’s would navigate that arrangement with their own internal sense of self, their tastes, dispositions, and sensibilities, or what Bourdieu termed “habitus”. In this manner, the relationship between habitus and field is two-way; the field exists with only as much meaning as the agent gives it and the field mediates the agent’s participation. As a field, Camp Zigzag presented opportunities and resources to enrollees, whose own acquired sensibilities or habitus, allowed them to make decisions regarding these resources and their access to them. Bourdieu considered this harmonious relationship between the external structures of the field and the internal intuitions of the habitus as “doxic”, relating to his term, “doxa”. Doxa, as defined by Bourdieu, are the learned, fundamental, unconscious beliefs and values that would help inform an agent’s thoughts or actions within their field. In the context of Camp Zigzag, doxa would be the subconscious level of
understanding concerning the camp’s social arrangement that any enrollee may encounter. For example, as a new enrollee enters the camp, he may intuit that he would enjoy working in the infirmary as an assistant rather than out in the field on a road crew. Consciously, he is navigating towards that goal, as an active agent using his sense of habitus within the given field of Camp Zigzag. Subconsciously, his understanding of the structure of the camp is that of an enrollee; he will work within a disciplined format and with a specific outcome. His choice to work in the infirmary is an informed decision guided by the constructs of the social doxa of his surroundings.

Other cultural theorists have addressed the issues of power, of social hierarchy and patterns, and the role of the individual within our modern world with various other outcomes. Emile Durkheim (1893), for example, considered the active coercive power of formal law and family tenants as external forces upon each individual, calling them “social facts”. Under his theories, Camp Zigzag and its authoritative structure imbues social facts both symbolically and physically. Regardless, the power dynamics of Camp Zigzag as seen through the lens of cultural theory, gives perspective to the everyday values and rituals of the camp structure. More importantly, these theories approach the subject of human agency and the active role each enrollee had to play within the context of that structure.

The question of human agency is pivotal to this study, given that the theme of resistance is directly addressed. Were the CCC Camp Zigzag enrollees able to navigate their field with a sense of autonomy? It is difficult to ignore the direct correlation of Foucault’s arguments to the eventual destination of many CCC camp enrollees; the majority of them enlisted in the war efforts of World War II, including all four of those interviewed for this project. They actually did become the perfect soldiers that Foucault alludes to. Does this outcome negate the possibility of active human agency? Even Bourdieu’s argument for an individual’s habitus is tempered with the subconscious constructs of the individual’s societal doxa. The autonomy of the human agent is questionable if it exists only within particular constructs, be they conscious or subconscious.
It would be impossible to remove the CCC camp arrangement from correlation with Foucault’s theories. The disciplines of the CCC camp structure align powerfully with the authoritative paradigm that Foucault suggests; these camps created an economic easement, created a talented work force, and supervised young men as they developed quite literally, into soldiers. Foucault’s theoretical perspective is an effective means through which it is possible to explain and discuss the CCC camp approach. Yet perhaps it is more helpful to view the experience of the enrollee from the perspective of Bourdieu, where the individual might bring an elastic array of attitudes and insight to the structure of the camp. As discussed further in Chapter 5, there is clear evidence from both the oral histories and archaeologically, that these young men found active means in which to navigate their surroundings, within and beyond the roles they were given.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Due to the possible sale of the Camp Zigzag site property, the USFS conducted Phase I and Phase II subsurface testing and excavation between March 31-June 4, 2007 and also July 20-22, 2007. The excavation conducted during the earlier period was instituted as a Passport in Time (PIT) Project by the USFS. There were a total of 10 volunteers who participated in the PIT project during this period. The second excavation was conducted as a continuation of the first, and three volunteers participated. These excavations were designed to determine the site’s eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). In order to be eligible for listing in the NRHP, archaeological sites usually must have “yielded, or likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history” (36 CFR 60.4, criterion d.). The aim of these excavations was to identify if material remains of this camp would not only satisfy this criteria, but would also reveal the unwritten record of CCC camp life in a pivotal period of American history. Specific questions that were addressed included:
1. In what ways was a sense of community strengthened within the camp?
2. How does the material culture at Camp Zigzag reflect camp cohesiveness?
3. How did camp enrollees influence or resist their structured environment?
4. What symbolic information did the camp architecture and built environment portray and how did its inferred non-verbal messages affect camp enrollees?
5. How did Camp Zigzag affect the local economy and the surrounding Zigzag community, if at all?

In general, the underlying null hypothesis of the following research questions states that the Zigzag material culture assemblage, combined with the evidence from the historical record and oral histories, reflects a community sculpted from the government’s desire to create a disciplined, military-style structure in order to promote national unity. The alternative hypothesis is that the Zigzag historic and material assemblage contains evidence of resistance against that structured environment even from within the camp’s ordered surroundings. Minimally, the following research questions were explored:

1. In what ways was a sense of community strengthened within the camp?
2. How does the material culture at Camp Zigzag reflect camp cohesiveness?

George Murdock (1949) defined community as a group of people living in the same place, interacting on a daily basis, and operating under a system of shared surroundings (Van Buren 2002a). Artifacts from Camp Zigzag that may suggest both community and camp cohesiveness would therefore reflect this system of shared understanding. These may be items such as those issued by the military to camp enrollees, the tools they may have used in their work, the medicines that were administered, or the dishware that they shared in the dining halls. Excavated artifacts specific to Camp Zigzag that may represent community and/or cohesiveness in this
manner include fragments from a uniform, nail clippers, an eyedropper, tonic bottles, sewing thimbles, ceramic dishware, and a shovel. Artifacts that reflect community and/or cohesiveness may also include objects of resistance or items that represent solidarity outside of traditional camp structure. These may be items representing indulgence (alcohol containers) or personal pastime and recreational items. Excavated artifacts specific to Camp Zigzag that may represent community and/or cohesiveness in this manner include alcohol containers, a harmonica, fish hooks, the case of a fly-fishing rod, tobacco tins, and a watch. One hypothesis explored is:

Ho: There is a low percentage of personal artifacts that may suggest resistance or non-conformity within the Zigzag assemblage.
H1: There are a high percentage of personal artifacts that may suggest resistance or non-conformity within the Zigzag assemblage.

3. How did camp enrollees influence or resist their structured environment?

When discussing life in early-20th-century western work camps, Van Bueren (2002a) notes that resistance was not limited to deliberate challenges or confrontation but was instead, more often a simple divergence from standard behaviour and could be viewed as “simply the opposite of obedience, conformity, and cooperation” (2002a: 29). Artifacts representing this form of resistance may reflect merely personal preference or indulgence that would influence the prescribed camp structure as much as they may reflect outright disobedience. Excavated artifacts specific to Camp Zigzag that suggest influence or resistance in this manner include fishhooks, the case of a fly fishing rod, tobacco tins, liquor and beer containers, a harmonica and a watch. One hypothesis that will be explored is:

Ho: There are no alcohol containers recovered from Camp Zigzag
H1: There are alcohol containers recovered from Camp Zigzag
4. What symbolic information did the camp architecture and built environment portray and how did its inferred non-verbal messages affect camp enrollees?

Architecture has a long history of symbolism and the positioning of structures often provide non-verbal clues as to the principles and the realities of the architect (Monks 1992). Although there were no longer standing buildings from the CCC-era at the Camp Zigzag site, the structural elements represented in the archaeology of Camp Zigzag may suggest to what extent the architecture had affected the enrollees.

Artifacts from Camp Zigzag that may reflect an influential, built environment include architectural elements of fixed illumination such as lighting filaments, electrical insulators, and architectural hardware such as nails, screws, hinges, and chains. One hypothesis that will be explored is:

Ho: The architectural and industrial remains of Camp Zigzag do not suggest a structured environment for enrollees.
H1: The architectural and industrial remains of Camp Zigzag do suggest a structured environment for enrollees.

5. How did Camp Zigzag affect the local economy and the surrounding Zigzag community, if at all?

Oral interviews and historic documents suggest that Camp Zigzag might possibly have had an impact on the local community economically and socially. Artifacts that may be linked to the local community in this manner may include personal pastime and recreational items, personal transportation devices, and commercial food and drink items. Excavated artifacts specific to Camp Zigzag that may reflect an impact on the local community include glass soda bottle sherds, alcohol
containers, a Philco radio token, and automotive fragments. One hypothesis that will be explored is:

Ho: There is no archaeological evidence to suggest that Camp Zigzag had an impact on the local community.

H1: There is archaeological evidence to suggest that Camp Zigzag had an impact on the local community.
Chapter 3

Methods

Archival Research

In 2005 and 2006, I spent many hours researching the background history of Camp Zigzag and its role in the context of the Great Depression and the advent of President Roosevelt’s New Deal policies in America. The Mt. Hood Cultural Center and Museum, located in Government Camp, Oregon, provided the majority of information pertaining to Camp Zigzag. The museum includes a permanent installation highlighting Camp Zigzag with original photographs, documents, and CCC memorabilia donated by former camp enrollees and their families. These materials were invaluable in my research in that they provided much of the information concerning the details of camp history, structure, and design. In particular, the museum provided original issues of Camp Zigzag’s newspaper, *The Zigzag Zephyr*, which proved to be helpful in developing my knowledge concerning the intimate details of daily life in the camp. In addition, the museum staff was able to supply me with contact information for former Camp Zigzag enrollees, enabling me to carry out the oral interviews that were so integral to this project.

In October of 2006, Gifford-Pinchot National Forest archaeologist Rick McClure travelled to the National Archives and Records Administration in College Park, Maryland to acquire archival materials relative to his own research concerning CCC Camp Hemlock in Washington State. During his research there, he also acquired the remaining records of CCC Camp Zigzag. Unfortunately, after the CCC were disbanded in 1942, government policies dictated that the records of each camp be systematically destroyed with the exception of one exemplarily camp representative from each state. Therefore, the records for Camp Zigzag were incomplete. Despite this fate, Mr. McClure was able to procure the surviving documents Camp Zigzag, specifically, the Inspection Reports and Liquidation Reports. These proved to be indispensable primary resources for my research, in that they detailed the specific
Archaeological Methods

Recorded in 2007, the Camp Zigzag site is registered on the State of Oregon site form as a four acre area in the town of Zigzag, Oregon (Figure 1). Due to this size, the archaeological investigations employed both metal detectors and historical maps to guide the placement of test pits. Remote sensing in archaeology has long been promoted as an efficient, non-invasive survey technique and a means to map and analyze subsurface archaeological features (Lockhart and Green 2006; Johnson 2006; Connor and Scott 1998; Parrington 1983; Kruckman 1987; Lyons and Avery 1977; Scollar 1990; Sever 2000). Conventional shovel-test methodologies can also be arguably more expensive and time-consuming than a successful remote sensing survey (Lockhart and Green 2006). Although there are many examples of remote sensing technologies at use in field archaeology (Johnson 2006), the Forest Service excavation of the CCC camp at Wind River, Washington in 2000 is particularly pertinent. Both metal detectors and a Geometrics G-858 Cesium magnetometer (configured as a gradiometer) were used as survey techniques to successfully locate the refuse deposits of the camp (McClure [2007]).

Following this example, Phase I of the Camp Zigzag project included a metal detector workshop by Forest Service archaeologist Chris Adams (Lincoln National Forest). Metal detectors can be used to locate subsurface magnetic anomalies and, when used in conjunction with historic maps and oral histories, metal detectors can help determine site boundaries, identify material remains, and recognize artifact distribution patterns (Connor and Scott 1998). Under the supervision of Chris Adams, metal detecting devices were used on the westernmost portion of the site on March 31, and June 1, 2007. On June 2, 2007, Chris Adams led a crew of volunteers from the
Oregon Archaeological Society (OAS) to survey the remaining eastern portion of the site.

The 1938 map of Camp Zigzag identifies a latrine area, bunkhouses, a recreation hall and a mess hall (Figure 2). Although several historic above-ground features remained on the site, only the mess hall and its attached kitchen foundation could be positively identified as CCC-era. A detailed map of the site and the site study area, as determined by the Phase I survey, identifies this structure, as well as the above-ground features that could not be identified as CCC-era (Structures 1 and 2, Figure 3). The mess hall is the only existing site structure that could be directly related to the historic map; it is positioned at the northern boundary (Number 8, Figure 2). The correlation of the site map with the historic map suggests that the majority of the original camp was not within the site study area, but was compromised by a gravelled lot, currently in use by the USFS, to the east (Figure 3). Regardless, from the historic map and the results of the metal detector survey, Phase II archaeological testing was conducted in the areas associated with these structures and in conjunction with the identified magnetic anomalies.

Test units included 10 1x1 m units, 2 50x50 cm units, and the excavation of sediments from an existing structure (Figure 3). Test units were placed on the anomalies that were detected, near the existing above-ground features, and in association with the historic map. The placement of these units created a formative “study area” (Figure 3) that included landscape variation; units were placed either on the flat terrace to the south of the study area, or within a sloped ravine to the north. This ravine extends the length of the site’s northern edge, approximately 100 meters. It slopes downward, gradually flattening out to become the bank of the Zigzag River. Units 1, 2, 3, 3a, 11, 11a, and 12 were placed in areas that revealed significant anomalies with metal detection. With the exception of Unit 1, these units were isolated to anomalies found within this ravine. Units 4, 5, 8, and 9 were placed in areas associated with the structures noted on the historic map and with the existing site structures in an effort to gain further information concerning their origin. Units 6
Figure 2. 1938 Map showing CCC Camp Zigzag landscape. (Image courtesy Mt. Hood Cultural Center and Museum).
typically used for MNI were rare, so total fragment counts were used. *Terminus post quem* (TPQ) and *terminus ante quem* (TAQ) dates were determined or estimated using trademarks, manufacturer’s marks, and technological attributes.

**Oral Histories**

In addition to the historical research and archaeological fieldwork, four oral interviews were conducted and used to strengthen the historical data. Two of the men interviewed also visited the site during the excavation and were able to discuss, comment, and advise as to the material culture that was found as well as to the foundations of several of the structures that remained on the site.

These interviews began in October 2006 with ex-Camp Zigzag enrollee Daniel Snyder. Through contacts at the Mt. Hood Cultural Center and Museum in Government Camp, Oregon, Mr. Snyder agreed to an oral interview involving myself and Gifford-Pinchot National Forest archaeologist Rick McClure. Mr. Snyder was an excellent candidate for the interview as he served an extended period in the camp from 1936 to 1940, evolving from an enrollee to a camp assistant leader and finally to the clerk typist for the Forest Service project superintendent. The interview took place at Mr. Snyder’s residence in Salem, Oregon and was recorded using a Panasonic Standard Cassette Transcriber onto cassette tapes. The interview questions focused upon Mr. Snyder’s role in the camp, his memories of the camp layout and procedures, his family background and the effects of the Depression upon he and his family, his opinions and perspective of the camp in general, as well as his life directly after the camp experience. These questions were organized around gaining information about general refuse disposal in the camp and possible areas that might have contained the majority of the camp’s archaeological material. They were also focused upon gathering new insight into the material culture that would be found, in delineating the current state of the site, and in gaining an overall understanding of the impact of the camp on the lives of past enrollees. In addition to the interview, Mr. Snyder had several photographs of Camp Zigzag that were digitally copied. These included
pictures of him at the camp, of general camp life, of fellow enrollees, and of camp structures. During the excavations, Mr. Snyder visited the site several times and was able to designate many of the remaining structures, gave detailed information on some of the material culture that was recovered, and discussed with great detail the lay-out of the camp and how it related to the site’s current state. Overall, Mr. Snyder has proven to be of incredible value to this project.

The remaining interviews followed the basic structure and pattern as the one with Mr. Snyder. All of the questions were generally focused upon gaining new insights into finding and developing the material culture of Camp Zigzag in addition to gaining new perspectives about the experiences of the men involved in the camp. Using the same contacts at the Mt. Hood Cultural Center and Museum, Ken Rank, Joseph Bailey, and William (Bill) Green were interviewed for the purposes of this project. All were recorded using a Panasonic Standard Cassette Transcriber onto cassette tapes and were interviewed by myself.

Ken Rank was interviewed in November 2007 at his home in Hillsboro, Oregon. He had been an enrollee at Camp Zigzag from 1937 to 1939. He helped finish the road that travels to Timberline Lodge, used dynamite to clear the ski trails for the Lodge on Mt. Hood and fought fires. He donated several of his personal CCC materials, including a metal nametag and a metal sign that states, “This Driver is Required to Drive Carefully.”

Joseph (Joe) Bailey was interviewed in May 2008 at his home in Vancouver, Washington. He served as an enrollee at Camp Zigzag from January 1939 to March 1940. Mr. Bailey worked primarily as an infirmary assistant during his time at the camp, but also fought fires. After his time at Camp Zigzag, Mr. Bailey served in the Navy and is a member of the Pearl Harbour’s Survivors Association. Mr. Bailey visited the camp during the excavation and was helpful in reconstructing the camp’s past layout.

William (Bill) Green was interviewed in July 2008 at his residence in Hillsboro, Oregon. He was an enrollee at Camp Zigzag from 1937 to 1939. Mr. Green
ran the canteen at the camp before becoming the office clerk for the Forest Service Ranger. He also wrote for the Camp Zigzag paper, *The Zigzag Zephyr*. After his time at the camp, Mr. Green joined the military and decoded secret messages during World War II.

Although the interviews with these men occurred well after their experiences at Camp Zigzag had taken place, these recorded events provide a third source of data to the benefit of this project. In conjunction with the documentary history and the archaeological collection, their oral histories are of incredible value to a deepening understanding and knowledge concerning CCC camps nation-wide. The experiences of these men are of particular importance to the history of Oregon and give an additional perspective to the research involved with Camp Zigzag. Like the material culture of the camp, the oral histories offer a unique opportunity to address theoretical issues of power, authority, and resistance within the camp structure; issues not readily discovered within camp documentation.
Chapter 4

Results

Historical Background

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work...it can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

FDR, March 1933

As he proposed in his first inaugural address in early March of 1933, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt established a work program, as a part of his New Deal campaign, aimed at putting young American men and their families back into financial stability. The Emergency Conservation Work Program (ECW) began as one of many national relief programs initiated by the Roosevelt administration and served as a model for the development of Roosevelt’s national goals. Later titled the Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC), this organization was intended address the nation’s environmental needs, assist local economies, and stimulate the moral identity of the nation’s youth. The CCC recruited and employed young men from the ages of 18-25 to counteract the disastrous effects of the Great Depression. These otherwise poor, and often uneducated, young men lived in camps as a group, were provided supplies, family income, and training in a variety of skills. Through the cooperation of four government departments -The Department of the Interior, the War Department, the Department of Agriculture, and the Department of Labor – each CCC camp was developed and organized to meet the needs of its regional locality.

The War Department arguably carried the majority of the responsibility concerning CCC camp organization. The nation was divided into nine Corps areas, each governed by a major general or a brigadier general. Each Corps area was
segmented into military controlled districts with an executive commanding officer stationed at a designated Army post (Salmond 1967). Within each district, a CCC camp was placed, governed by an Army captain or first lieutenant who was assisted by one or more younger officers as well as a varying number of enrollee leaders. The camp commanding officer’s duties included complete control of the camp, the camp personnel, and the enrollee’s welfare:

He was responsible for all matters of discipline and was authorized to implement a range of punishments from simple admonition for minor offenses to dishonourable discharge for more serious misdemeanors such as refusal to work, desertion, or unwillingness to abide by camp rules. (Salmond 1967:85)

Although the command and administration of each camp was determined by the War Department and followed a basic military order, the Forest Service, the National Park Service, or the Soil Conservation Service generally oversaw project completion and training. Each camp had an agency project superintendent, assisted by eight to ten foremen, who was responsible for developing a work project and organizing the foremen and enrollees into small work groups (Salmond 1967). Enrollees of the CCC camps found themselves engaged in a variety of tasks which included tree planting and thinning, erosion control and soil protection, irrigation projects, transportation improvements, trail development in forested areas, wildlife conservation, or landscape and recreational work in parks and forests (Fechner 1936). From the time of the first established CCC camp in April 1933 to the relief program’s end in 1942, CCC boys had built over 46,800 bridges, constructed 3,116 fire-lookout towers, 28 million rods of fencing, and 318,076 “check dams” for erosion control (McEntee 1942). The quality and extent of their work on trails, forest fire prevention and maintenance, as well as campgrounds and recreational facilities are still highly visible today, over 70 years later.
On March 31, 1933, President Roosevelt signed the Emergency Conservation Work Act (Public No. 5, 73rd Congress), initiating the organization of Civilian Conservation Corps camps across the nation. Among the fourteen regional CCC districts in the Northwest, the Vancouver Barracks in Vancouver, Washington, served as a headquarters and an induction center for new enrollees. Here, Company 928 was initially formed and on May 14, 1933, the crew was moved to an area just north of the old Mount Hood Loop Highway (now Highway 26), “at the Western entrance to the Mount Hood National forest” (Hailey 1937) in Zigzag, Oregon, and construction began for the camp. The first 26 enrollees for Camp Zigzag set up their tents in a nearby pasture and began to build the permanent site, upon which, according to the camp newspaper in 1936, “the heavens showered their blessings continuously” (Zigzag Zephyr: 3). On May 25, despite heavy rainfall, the enrollees moved into a permanent campsite, under the leadership of Army Captain Russell Skinner. This camp site remained in use until the CCC was disbanded by Congress in the summer of 1942. The duration of Camp Zigzag establishes it as the longest running camp in Oregon.

Camp Structure

In general, CCC campsites followed a standardized lay out that consisted of barracks, a mess hall, administration buildings, a recreation hall, officer’s quarters, a hospital, a garage, and often an education building (Salmond 1967). By 1937, Camp Zigzag had four bunkhouses, classrooms and an educational building, recreation hall, kitchen and mess hall, officer’s quarters, an infirmary, shop building and truck shed (Figure 2.). In 1939, the camp paper notes an addition of a fifth bunkhouse placed “just beyond barracks #4” (Zigzag Zephyr: 5), although there is no existing map to verify its completion.

Ceremonies and ritual were a consistent part of every CCC camp. Each workday began at 6 a.m. with reveille, physical training at 6:30, breakfast, roll call and inspection, before shipping off to work at 7:45 (Salmond 1967). After the workday
ended, camps began their evening in a similar fashion. In Zigzag, the Retreat ceremony was an evening ritual described as “a simple ceremony of standing at attention while company colors are lowered” (Zigzag Zephyr 1939: 2). At 4:55 p.m. at a bugle call, the men were called to formation near the flagpole, where roll call and the reading of announcements were held, before the lowering of the flag.

Although most CCC camps were comprised of boys shuttled in from all over the nation, the Zigzag camp was unique, in that all of the enrollees were from Oregon, including cities such as Gresham, Portland, and Oregon City (Happold 2001). In addition, the majority of these Zigzag boys had a high level of education, as opposed to many camps where enlisted men had little or no schooling. The average number of enrollees at Camp Zigzag ranged from 170 to 200 men, and as the camp paper boasted, “Zigzag has no illiterates, and some 50 odd boys who have completed 12 years of public school” (Zigzag Zephyr 1938:6). Each camp designed its own educational committee and in Zigzag, this committee met twice monthly to discuss the promotion and policy of educational forums. The Zigzag educational center had 16 rooms, 75 classes, and 32 instructors in 1938 (Zigzag Zephyr 1939:7). Each enrollee at Zigzag was encouraged to take at least 3 hours of classwork per week, as part of the overall objective to “to make the boy more employable by means of his training while in the camp” (Zigzag Zephyr 1939:6). In 1936, a camp enrollee would have had the opportunity to sign up for a variety of classes including, Auto Mechanics, Business English/Law, Forestry, How to Study, Journalism, Geography, Psychology, Archery, Radio, and Survey (Zigzag Zephyr: 2).

Camp projects at Zigzag were similar to those of other camps, in that they were all based upon conservation efforts. Among Camp Zigzag’s achievements were building trails throughout the Bull Run area, constructing Bear Creek Bridge, a new ranger station (built in 1936), landscaping and building the garage at Timberline Lodge, general road and camp maintenance, constructing the Camp Creek campground, and creating new Forest Service signs posted throughout the Mt. Hood Region (Zigzag Zephyr 1939:4).
Fighting fires was also a large part of the summer at Camp Zigzag. The camp was divided into two Fire Crews, and every enrollee was required to remain within hearing distance of the fire siren every other weekend (Zigzag Zephyr 1938:6). Crews from Zigzag worked on the Purham Creek fire (1934), the McKenzie fire (1935), the Bandon Fire (1936), and the Quilcene and Chetco fires (1938), as well as many small, local fires (Zigzag Zephyr 1939:3).

Extracurricular activities were encouraged within Camp Zigzag. Competitive sports included baseball, basketball, boxing, volleyball, wrestling, softball, and track. Games were played not only between districts but also between agencies and each other. Planned group events that included hiking, fishing, mountain climbing or other outdoor activities were also common (Zigzag Zephyr 1938:4). In addition, Zigzag enrollees formed several entertainment groups including a glee club, a drama club, and a band (Zigzag Zephyr 1936:4).

Overall Camp Zigzag exemplified the typical, military-style work camp with the appropriate infrastructure that included an authoritative structural environment and a trained and skilled leadership involving military, United States Forest Service (USFS) personnel, and local craftsmen. The camp differed in two important categories, however. First, the men that were directed to the camp from Fort Vancouver were not from diverse localities; rather, they were consistently from Oregon and surrounding areas. In the usual protocol for CCC camp recruitment, men were transferred from all over the country to different localities. This suggests an element of cohesion automatically entrenched in the community; a cohesion that might develop even further within the context of the CCC camp. Secondly, unlike most other camps, the men were generally well-educated; meaning the majority of those enrolled had already completed, or nearly completed, high school. They were literate and well-schooled, insinuating a level of discipline and intelligence among the group majority at Camp Zigzag.

After the camp’s closure in 1942, the property and site of Camp Zigzag remained under United States Forest Service (USFS) jurisdiction. Although the
eastern most portion of the site has been used by the USFS as a maintenance facility and includes a large, fenced-in, gravelled lot (Figure 3) and several storage buildings, the remainder of the property has been left relatively untouched since the early 1950’s. After 1942, the buildings associated with Camp Zigzag were declared a fire hazard and destroyed. Although several foundations and structural elements remain visible above the ground surface, the majority of these buildings were identified as being associated with the military personnel who occupied the western most area of the site until around the end of World War II (Dan Snyder 2006, per.comm.). As noted in the previous chapter, the mess hall and attached kitchen foundations were the only structural remains that could be positively identified as CCC-era. Additionally, a heavy surface scatter of historical, primarily 1940’s-era material is evident throughout the site, including metal fragments, electrical wiring, ceramics, tin cans, glass, and brick.

Site Formation Processes

In assessing the Camp Zigzag assemblage, it is important to note that the archaeological context of these materials was disturbed. Primary CCC deposits were difficult to locate and those investigated lacked contextual clarity. In addition to the effects of environmental processes, Camp Zigzag deposits were also influenced by a brief post-CCC occupation period by military personnel, until the end of World War II.

According to the oral histories, refuse was deposited at several collection sites throughout the camp, the largest one being adjacent to the mess hall. This refuse was then gathered together during the week and driven to a primary dump area several miles north of the camp; that area today is not owned by the USFS and could not be located. The majority of artifacts were recovered from a ravine positioned at the bottom of the site’s northern boundary, approximately 100 meters long and 40 meters wide. The lack of stratification within the units of this ravine revealed a garbage dump site, abundant with artifacts but leaving unclear stratigraphic relationships. Although
excavation units were positioned throughout the site during the archaeological investigation, the majority of the material culture was collected from the units located in this dump feature (Table 1).

In 1942, military personnel submitted paperwork noting the hazardous conditions of the then-abandoned Camp Zigzag. This proposal initiated the levelling, burning, and moving of the site structures as well as the removal of listed items for re-use. The site was bulldozed and burned before it was re-occupied by military personnel (Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps 1935-1942). The military proposal for the removal and re-use of raw materials is consistent with Schiffer’s (1983) theories regarding differential site abandonment, revealing less de facto refuse, that is, Camp Zigzag did not produce an extensive amount of archaeological material that was discarded due to the end of its systemic use-life. The archaeology of Camp Zigzag corresponds with these records, as the majority of the collection was located within the ravine, an area that would have proved a suitable dumping ground (Table 2).

It is clear from historical research and oral reports, however, this ravine did not serve as the primary dump for the duration of Camp Zigzag but rather, as a secondary refuse deposition site. The ravine would have operated as an occasional, convenient dumping area for camp occupants until the camp remains were officially burned and then bulldozed into the ravine after 1942. Many of the artifacts collected from this ravine reflect the characteristics of such a burn event; many of them are discoloured, charred, or molten. For example, molten glass recovered from this ravine account for nearly 5% of the entire Camp Zigzag artifact collection (n=393). Additionally, these remains do not reflect the diversity or quantity that would be expected in a primary camp dump. A total of 8,217 artifacts were recovered from Camp Zigzag and structural remains such as window glass, hardware, and fasteners account for nearly 60% of the collection. The Cove Creek Conservation Corps dump in central Idaho revealed nearly 45,000 artifacts and included a broad range of faunal remains, ceramics, personal materials, and other supplies (Rossillon 1999) that are in low percentages within the Camp Zigzag collection. The comparison between these two
Table 1
Artifact Count and Percent Comparisons between Secondary Dump Units and Exterior Units from FS669EA121 Camp Zigzag

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Units Outside Secondary Dump</th>
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Table 2
Artifact Count and Percent Comparisons between Ravine Units and Terrace Units for FS669EA121 Camp Zigzag

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<th>Terrace Units</th>
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sites is discussed more fully in Chapter 5, however, these details provide evidence towards the type of historical event that may have formed the dump in the Camp Zigzag ravine.

In addition to the cultural formation processes affecting the camp materials such as removal, re-positioning, and burning, the material record of the camp was also affected by non-cultural processes, the most obvious involving hydrology. The ravine where the dump feature was associated is positioned along the banks of the Zigzag River, whose activity cannot be discounted as an influential site formation process, including soil deposition and artifact displacement. Artifact size, density, and shape may all have been compromised due to changing river patterns and water flow (Schiffer 1983). This may help to explain particular artifacts that do not appear to match the CCC profile, such as a single, post-1942 gun fragment located 1 meter below surface in the secondary dump feature (see Appendix A).

The introduction of secondary refuse from the site’s post-abandonment re-occupation is also a concern when analyzing the Zigzag deposits. Careful examination and analysis of the historic artifact material was necessary in order to discourage the integration of World War II and CCC Camp Zigzag materials into the assemblage; these details are explored further in the remainder of this chapter. Due to this research and comparisons with other similar CCC camp assemblages (Rossillon 1999; McClure [2007]) as discussed further in Chapter 5, it is clear that the majority of the apparent evidence to this site is representative of Depression-era, government-endorsed work camps.

Despite the disturbance to this site, it is important to establish that there is sufficient integrity in the remains of CCC Camp Zigzag to address the questions specific to this project and more importantly, to suggest that this site may be eligible for archaeological significance under criterion d of Section 106 of the NHPA of 1966, as amended (36 CFR 60.4). The diversity and quantity of artifacts recovered from this
site, primarily from one, secondary refuse deposit, offers a unique view into a more recent past that has not been well preserved.

Archaeological Results

A total of 14 excavation units was excavated at Camp Zigzag and the location of each of these units is noted on the site map (Figure 3). Total artifact counts and artifact types recovered from each unit are illustrated in Table 3. For example, a total of 23 artifacts was recovered from Unit 1, the majority of which were identified as belonging to the Structural artifact group. Table 3 also demonstrates the percentage of each unit’s artifact count as it compares to the Camp Zigzag collection total. Unit 1, for example, contained .3% of the entire Camp Zigzag collection.

As shown in Figure 3, unit locations are divided between terrace placement and placement within the ravine on the northern edge of the site boundary. Table 2 illustrates the artifact counts and percentages from these units, according to their site placement. The deepest deposits were located within this ravine, specifically Units 2 and 12 (Table 1). The largest artifact count was recovered from Unit 2, with a total of 4,121. As seen in Table 3, the Structural (n=2,503) and Indeterminate (n=1,032) artifact groups contained the highest counts. Wire nails were the dominant artifacts in this Structural group, with a count of over 2,000. The Indeterminate group refers to artifacts whose form or function was too compromised to assess or identify precisely. Molten glass (n=11) was a significant portion of this group in Unit 2.

Placed adjacent to Unit 2, as an extension of the unit’s north wall (Figure 3), Unit 12 also contained high counts of artifacts considered to be within the secondary dump. Again shown in Table 3, this unit had large amounts of both Structural and Indeterminate artifacts. Consistent with the finds in Unit 2, Unit 12 also contained high counts of wire nails (n=1,134) and molten glass (n=135). Combined, Unit 2 and Unit 12 contained just over 80% of the entire Camp Zigzag collection (Table 3).
Table 3
Artifact Counts and Percents by Unit and Functional Artifact Classification Group (South 1977) for FS 669EA121 Camp Zigzag

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<th>Personal</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4879</td>
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The Camp Zigzag assemblage is a collection of 8,217 artifacts in total (Table 3). The overwhelming majority of this archaeological material, over 60%, is characterized by structural elements such as construction materials, hardware, and industrial items. Although these materials were common throughout the site, the secondary dump feature (Table 1) located within the ravine was the most archaeologically productive, generating over 80% of the site’s entire artifact collection and over half (51%) of the site’s architectural and structural elements. The remaining percentage of archaeological material is represented by items related to hobbies, food, entertainment, clothing, education, health, alcohol consumption, and work (18.8%).

Artifact Analysis

In a community as strategic and militaristic as CCC Camp Zigzag, the material culture left behind should mirror the expected, ordered activities that gave the camp its structure. To address the questions pertaining to this project, the analysis focused upon the material culture of resistance, adaptation, or communal activities that are not represented in the written histories. Artifact material reflecting activity patterns such as irregular work hours, alcohol consumption, ethnic or religious affiliations, ties to family, or simple disobedience (Van Bueren 2002a; Gutman 1976), were of particular importance assessing the way in which the enrollees engaged with the CCC structure. Artifacts recovered from the Zigzag camp site were ordered and categorized as described previously in Chapter 2. In addition, further analysis of bottles, tin cans, or canning jars was useful in assessing chronology, dating site deposits, and interpreting cultural activities (Lorrain 1968; Newman 1970; Jones 1971; Schroeder 1971; Toulouse 1972; White 1978; Busch 1981). Then, with the material culture ordered and catalogued, the assemblage was explored more fully within the context of each

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1 Table 3 notes the total number of artifacts in the Camp Zigzag assemblage as 8,177. The discrepancy here relates to singular artifacts (n=40) that were surface collections in the field and categorized as “surface isolates”. They were omitted from the data in Table 3.
category. For example, the artifacts pertaining to health, entertainment, or food storage were analyzed through the lens of either community or resistance and then related specifically to each hypothesis.

The remainder of this chapter is an exploration and analysis of the materials recovered from Camp Zigzag, specifically the diagnostic artifacts that were identified and placed in time (Figure 4). Figure 4 illustrates a number of diagnostic artifacts in the Camp Zigzag assemblage and the date ranges they are associated with. These materials were identified using exact manufacture dates and demonstrate a clear relation to the time period of Camp Zigzag. For example, seven artifacts were manufactured between 1935 and 1940 with the mean date being established as 1938. This supports the documentary evidence of the camp’s duration, being that the camp was in operation from 1933 to 1942. The following analysis is not comprehensive; for further details concerning the specific artifacts and artifact data, see attached Appendix A.

Clothing

A one-room log cabin. And pump on the outside. No water! And a toilet outside. You know here, even with the Depression and everything, we were used to having a bathroom to go to. And it’s a new experience! You know, you walk from your house out to the bathroom...and we burned wood and had a wood stove and Saturday night you took a bath, in this big tub. Put the oven door down so to let the warm air in, had a big tub full of water on top of the stove and it got hot, and then had to ladle it out and eventually you sat in there.

Ken Rank 2007, per. comm.
Camp Zigzag enrollee 1937-1939
Describing one of his residences before joining the CCC’s

Growing up in the midst of the Great Depression delineated a different sense of cultural and societal normalcy. Even still, entering the world of the CCC’s offered a completely different standard of family, community, and structure. Personal belongings, such as the things that were recovered from Camp Zigzag, represent many
<table>
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<td>1938</td>
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Figure 4.
Diagnostic Artifact Counts from FS669EA121 Camp Zigzag
of the eye-opening experiences these men may have encountered. Something as small as a button can speak volumes about the changing perspectives and altered ideas of "normal". At barely 17, Mr. Rank would have entered an entirely different world, especially when coming from a place as spare and basic as a log cabin. He would be handed winter trousers and toothpaste. He would have his own bed. His building would have electrical wiring and he would eat in a dining hall that incorporated gravy boats, soup tureens, and butter dishes. He would be trained to handle explosives and heavy machinery or even be expected to hone his skills at typing or administering to the sick. The impact that these changes had on the young men who entered these camps is immeasurable. However, it is conceivable that the material culture left behind can elaborate on their experiences and portray especially the communal nature of the camp and perhaps, even the resistance to it. Clothing, for example, represented a strong sense of belonging for the enrollees at Camp Zigzag. The majority of their uniforms were issued by the military and therefore created a standardized, communal appearance. Prior to 1938, blue denim work clothes sufficed as the standard work uniform. However, after his visit to CCC camp, President Roosevelt had a unique CCC uniform specially designed because he insisted that "shoddy" clothing would only serve to weaken morale. The new, spruce-green dress uniform was in widespread use by 1939 (Salmond 1967). For the young men, the uniforms symbolized not only a sense of organization and place, but also a sense of wealth and ownership.

Clothing and items related to clothing maintenance represented about 2% (n=68) of the Camp Zigzag assemblage. This included a total of 18 buttons with four bone buttons, ranging in size 10-20 mm, four buttons that were manufactured from shell, ranging in size 10 – 20 mm, one Prosser button measuring to 15 mm, and two buttons manufactured from a synthetic, modern material measuring at 15 mm and 20 mm. The majority of buttons (n=11) in the Camp Zigzag assemblage is composed of metal materials but is undiagnostic due to corrosion or degradation. Other clothing items collected from Camp Zigzag included materials such as metal pant rivets (n=6),
suspender hardware (n=4), and leather fragments (n=4).

The clothing at Camp Zigzag, as documented in the historical research, represented the clear authoritative influence of the military and pulled together a disjointed group of young men into a single, communal effort with various types of seasonal uniforms. With their civilian clothes stored away, the archaeological evidence supports these ideals, as the clothing-related items could not be differentiated from any type other than work-related, government-endorsed attire.

Hobbies and Entertainment

We did a lot of fishing, because it was free and you didn’t have to be a rocket scientist to hold a fishing pole.

Joe Bailey 2008, per.comm.
Camp Zigzag enrollee 1939-1940

Hobbies among the enrollees ranged from swimming and fishing in the ice-cold Zigzag River to hiking and even biking Mount Hood. Hobbies such as these build cohesion within groups by linking them together through events and activities. They might also suggest evidence of resistance in the sense these events and activities would take place beyond the delineated structure of the camp itself. In the interview with Mr. Green (2008), a Camp Zigzag enrollee from 1937-1939, when asked about extracurricular activities, he mentioned a weekend party at a cabin owned by a local. The party included a select group of enrollees, locals, and liquor. Although activities of this sort would not readily be considered hobby-related, Mr. Green’s story is certainly an example of building group cohesion as well as resistance to the camp regulations. In the 1939 annual report to the CCC camp Director Robert Fechner, Special Investigator M.J. Bowen lists the recreational activities enjoyed by camp enrollees as “skiing, basket-ball, foot-ball, hiking, ping-pong, pool, movies, all-camp-
night, track, swimming, soft-ball, hunting, and fishing in season” (Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-1942: February 17, 1939).

The material culture related to hobbies accounted for .15% (n=12) of the Camp Zigzag assemblage. These items included fishing related gear (n=4) and a film spool dating to the early 1930’s (see Appendix A).

Although a large part of camp life, the material culture related to entertainment was minimal, comprising only .05% (n=4) of the Camp Zigzag assemblage. The artifacts included in this percentage are four fragments of a single harmonica. There are no visible maker’s marks, however, and the metal is fairly corroded. Even with fragmentary evidence, it is known that music was an integral part of the camp enrollee’s experience at Camp Zigzag. In a photo published in 1938 for The Official Annual CCC Report (1938), the camp orchestra for Company 928 included a piano, guitar, saxophone, drum, and accordion. The camp newspaper, The Zigzag Zephyr (1936:4), reported “all-camp-nights”, events that were held on “pay night” during which skits and music were furnished by the camp orchestra and the camp glee club. Piano and orchestra are also listed as part of the educational classwork the men had the option of enrolling in. A harmonica represents a less formalized musical avenue; the use of which would be incorporated largely in the enrollee’s spare time and most likely in small gatherings.

Tools

So this guy running the dozer left, and this guy from the Forest Service said, “well, you want to learn how to run this sucker?” and I said sure. And you know that was good experience for me. I learned how to handle dynamite. I got a card, a special card, I had to go to school for it and it was a certificate that I carried. You know, all kinds of heavy equipment like that.

Ken Rank 2007, per.cornm.
Camp Zigzag enrollee 1937-1939
Tools were the tangible, working elements behind the idea of FDR’s emergency conservation workforce. The young enrollees all used tools in their training and they came to symbolize what was accomplished through the CCC camps. Tools represent a strong sense of community in that they helped build up the young men intellectually and build up the community around them. They accounted for 0.15% (n=14) of the assemblage and included standard items such as a shovelhead (measuring 25 cm wide and 45 cm long), tool files (n=3), and a hand-wrought iron fire poker, measuring 92 cm in length.

Grooming

For hygiene we were given a bar of soap in a stainless steel soapbox and a toothbrush in a stainless steel tube, and a sewing kit and the sewing kit was that round and it had a thimble and needles and a little tube inside and tubes or spools of thread in it and then for my shaving, a Gillette razor and a shaving brush, I didn’t need those for three more years but I got them when everybody else did.

Daniel Snyder 2006, per. comm.
Camp Zigzag enrollee, 1936-1940

Personal hygiene at Camp Zigzag was as standardized as each enrollee’s uniform. They were issued toothpaste, razors, and sewing kits to ensure that their appearance was appropriate and standardized. The military engaged in a powerful, strategic push to “clean-up” the young men that were enrolling into the CCC’s. For someone like Mr. Snyder, who grew up in a family of 12, personal hygiene products may not have been available, nor were the habits associated with owning those items. Health and appearance become synonymous in the camps; the men were expected to put on weight, to dress appropriately, to shower, shave, and to visit the camp barber on occasion.
Personal grooming materials accounted for .11% (n=9) of the Camp Zigzag assemblage and specific dental hygiene products (n=5) comprised a large percentage of this category. These included three collapsible metal toothpaste tubes from two different dental care companies popular during the 1930's (see Appendix A).

Health

Iodine was about the only disinfectant that we had in those days. There was no penicillin, or anything like that. There was a powder that was used that was yellow. It was supposed to disinfect, sometimes it did, and sometimes it didn’t. Disinfectant was a real problem. Alcohol was about the only thing that we had. Rubbing alcohol.

Joe Bailey 2008, per. comm.
Camp Zigzag enrollee, 1939-1940

As with appearance, the health of the men at Camp Zigzag was a primary concern. There was a camp doctor on staff, an assistant such as Mr. Bailey, and a stocked infirmary with a 6-bed ward. Receiving a standard regime of health care, the men of Company 928 would have an underlying sense of safety and may therefore be united, comfortable that the community they were a part of was a secure one. An overall sense of security might add to the general sense of “belonging”. Health care related items accounted for .17% (n=14) of the Camp Zigzag assemblage and among them; several diagnostic medicinal bottles and bottle sherds (n=9) were recovered. Patent medicine bottles were represented in this collection (n=4) and were consistent with the variety popularized during the Great Depression. For further details concerning these items, please refer to the Appendix A.
Social Drugs: Alcohol and Tobacco

He had never drunk a thing, alcohol, I mean. He decided that was the night he was going to do it and the damn fool drank a cup of straight liquor. Oh, did he get sick and fortunately vomited it up. I think he just decided, “Well, I’m going to do it.” But I don’t know if he ever did it again, I will have to ask him if he ever drank anything else! I mean, good lord, a cup of straight liquor!

Bill Green 2008, per. comm.
Camp Zigzag enrollee 1937-1939

In his annual reports to Director Robert Fechner, Special Investigator M.J. Bowen stated repeatedly between 1934 and 1941 that “There are no subversive activities in camp” (April 29, 1935). The archaeological evidence told a different story, however. One of the biggest indicators in the archaeological record at Camp Zigzag of these “subversive activities” was alcohol containers and alcohol related materials. Alcohol of any kind was not allowed within the camp boundaries and the majority of the enrollees were not of drinking age. However, social drinking is arguably one of the most popular socially bonding activities in America and across the globe. In Camp Zigzag it might have created solidarity and camaraderie outside of the common work-related experiences and simply because it was a restricted event. For the purposes of this project, alcohol and alcohol-related materials represent both a resistance to the formality of the camp structure and also a sense of solidarity.

Although tobacco is considered a social drug, it was not banned on camp property. It created a sense of solidarity as a common social activity that was both accepted and encouraged. Tobacco is addressed specifically in the next few paragraphs.

Definitive alcohol containers and related items account for .30% (n=24) of the Camp Zigzag assemblage and include two flat-top Anheuser-Busch beer cans with church key openings and portions of the painted label still visible. They both measure to 12 cm or nearly 5 in. in length and 7 cm or 2.5 in. in diameter. These date to approximately 1935, when beer began to be sold in cans, as Anheuser-Busch was one
of the first companies to do so. In addition, the collection includes a whole glass vessel that is amber in color and with a crown finish, indicating that it most likely contained beer. The trademark embossed on the base was an “L” in a keystone indicating that it was produced by the Lincoln Glass Bottle Company. This company was in production from 1942-1952, in Lincoln, Illinois. There were at least three wine bottles, four gin bottles, and two beer bottles represented in the assemblage as well as three other liquor bottles, indicated by the embossed statement “Federal Law Forbids Sale or Re-use of This Bottle” partially on each sherd. This statement was embossed on all liquor bottles 1933-1964 (Toulouse 1972; University of Utah 1992a; Lockhart 2004; Lockhart and Whitten 2005). The particular brands of these vessels could not be determined however, as they were too fragmentary to analyze fully. The Camp Zigzag assemblage also included high counts of miscellaneous vessel glass sherds (n=1,247), accounting for 15%. These totals include 186 amber/brown sherds, 67 green/olive sherds, and one black sherd. These colors are important because they often indicate the vessel’s original use. Amber or brown-colored glass is often used for alcoholic beverages that include beer or whisky. Although these colors might also indicate the use of Purex bleach bottles or medicinal bottles, the probability that at least some of these glass sherds originating from beer or whiskey bottles is quite high. Green or olive-colored glass is often used for wine, and black-colored glass was used for beverages such as stout, ale, or wine (University of Utah 1992a). Possible fragments of alcohol-related bottles comprise 3% of the assemblage.

Tobacco was a common commodity available to the young men of Camp Zigzag. It was not forbidden in the camp and was sold at the camp canteen as well as in the local vicinity. Despite this, tobacco related products account for only .12% of the Camp Zigzag assemblage, from a total of 10 tobacco tin fragments. Corrosion and degradation have a much greater impact on metal products in the archaeological record and tobacco tins were certainly affected by these processes more so than other materials in the collection, such as glass. For example, even the tins that were collected were too corroded to identify as being manufactured from specific
companies. The act of smoking tobacco does not differ greatly in bringing about the social camaraderie than the act of drinking alcohol. Because of its legality and popularity in the camp, however, it would not have represented the same levels of resistance, if any at all. The low frequency of tobacco products contrast in this degree to the frequency of alcohol containers recovered in the camp. Despite its popularity (and legality), smoking and tobacco-related remains did not survive while alcoholic beverage containers did, regardless of their illegal status.

Communication, Heating, and Lighting

All buildings are of frame construction, wired for lighting, adequately (sich) heated, and commercial power used for lighting.

M.J. Bowen, U.S. Inspector
May 6 1936

Telephones were available on camp property, but only in select buildings such as the infirmary and the officer’s quarters. Even still, for many of the young men entering the camp, telephones would have been yet another anomaly that was out-of-the-ordinary and beyond their ideas of everyday life. For Mr. Rank, who was had been living in a small cabin without electricity, or Mr. Bailey, who had 7 other siblings, Camp Zigzag was possibly the first place to introduce this mode of communication and access to heating and lighting. Telephone communication would have connected the camp in a way that home-life may not have been capable of. Having access to such amenities such as these may have created a larger sense of unity within the camp structure as well as created an avenue for communication opportunities in the local vicinity of Zigzag. Heating and electricity certainly would create a warm, comforting environment, one that may have not been available anywhere but the camp itself.
The material culture of Camp Zigzag related to communication such as communication wiring accounted for .19% (n= 16) of the assemblage. Items related to lighting accounted for 2.8% (n= 231) and the single artifact related to heating comprised .01%. The artifacts considered a part of the communication category were all insulators of different types and comprised of ceramic or glass (see Appendix A).

Food, Food Preparation, Consumption, and Storage

Apple Sauce, Dry Cereal, Fresh Milk, Fried Bacon, Scrambled Eggs, Hot Cakes, Maple Syrup, Strawberry Jam, Butter, Coffee, Cream, Sugar

Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-1942
Breakfast Menu from Camp Zigzag
Monday, April 29, 1935

Upon entering the camp, many of the fresh, young enrollees were underweight. The meals they were served were meant to keep them strong and as the Director of the Emergency Work Program Robert Fechner suggested, it was “of the variety that sticks to their ribs” (Salmond 1967:138). The food had a remarkable impact upon these men, as for many of them meals at home consisted of spare and mundane ingredients. When the bell rang for mealtimes, the men would file in and sit down at 8-men tables that were fastened to the ground. They were then treated to a variety of foods including butter, cheeses, bacon, milk, eggs, potatoes, fruits, and coffee, all served in heavy, undecorated whiteware and accompanied by nickel-plated silverware. Although bringing the men together in a familial way, mealtimes represented a communal gathering that contrasted deeply with home life. The food was rich, abundant, and imbued a formality many families of the Depression could not afford. The meals of the CCC redefined the sense of family within the work environment and helped to develop the camp as a unified community.
Organic food remains represented 2.47% (n=203) of the assemblage from Camp Zigzag, the entirety of that percentage consisting of animal bone. The majority of these faunal remains are mammal, burned, and measure between 15 – 50 mm; big enough to be considered as sized for deer or larger, although they are primarily undiagnostic. Beth Horton of the Fort Vancouver National Historic Site in Vancouver, Washington analyzed over half of the animal bone in this collection (1.1%) and was able to determine two bird tibiotarses, both measuring to 40 mm in length. Based on size and shape, these bones were considered to be most likely either domestic turkey or chicken. Ms. Horton was also able to identify the burn features as characteristic of bone burned after deposition and not as a result of cooking or preparation. Teeth that were collected from Unit 12 were determined to be from the upper jaw from a Bovidae-A and included pre-molars three and four as well as the first, second, and third molar. These were not burned and distinguished as coming from an adult mammal, most likely elk. The largest sample of bone found in the collection came from Unit 11 and was determined as the proximal end of a juvenile cow femur. The bone is not burned nor cut and is aged at 42 months or 3.5 years, which is standard market age. According to historical documents, cow, chicken, and turkey were regular additions to the meal plans at Camp Zigzag (Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-1942). The elk teeth were located in an area of the camp site property that is now used for hunting and were most likely deposited post-1942. Other food items, food preparation, consumption, and storage items accounted for 1.12% (n=92) of the Camp Zigzag assemblage.

The dinnerware recovered from Camp Zigzag is similar to that reported from other CCC camps in the Pacific Northwest (Rossillon 1999; McClure [2007]). All dinnerware ceramics recovered from Camp Zigzag are a heavy, undecorated whiteware, the majority of which is fragmentary. There were two ceramic manufacturing companies whose trademarks were found throughout the Camp Zigzag collection, Wallace China and Shenango China. Reporting on the extensive excavation of a CCC camp dump in Idaho, Rossillon (1999:34-35) also describes dinnerware
similar to that recovered from Camp Zigzag. Dinnerware excavated from CCC Camp Hemlock in Skamania County, WA (McClure [2007]) included many of the same manufacturer’s mark including Wallace China and Shenango China. For further information concerning Wallace and Shenango China, please refer to the Appendix A.

The majority of the ceramics, including identified dinnerware pieces, recovered from Camp Zigzag were so fragmentary they could not be identified as whole vessels. There were a total of 190 miscellaneous ceramic sherds collected, accounting for 2.3% of the entire assemblage.

Accoutrements  

I eagerly applied to the C.C.C. in early October 1935, but was rejected by the medics at Vancouver Barracks because I only weighed 102 lbs and the requirement for acceptance was that an enrollee must weigh 107 lbs.

Webb Harrington 2003:28
Camp Zigzag enrollee 1935-1937

Personal belongings such as jewellery or personal keepsakes were not a part of the CCC camp protocol. Clothing was issued, meals were prepared in bulk, and personal materials were generally not encouraged in the camp community (all subjects interviewed, pers. comm.). In addition to the uniformity expressed in the camps, the young men were not coming from homes of affluent means. Their belongings were spare and they came to the camps with practically nothing.

The assemblage of Camp Zigzag contains a very low percentage of accoutrements, accounting for .13% (n=11) of the total collection. The presence of pocketwatch fragments (n=2), however, does suggest that there did exist an exception to the standard uniformity of the camp. In the context of Camp Zigzag, the presence

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2 The term accoutrement is derived from the South (1977) typology and refers to accessory items.
of accoutrements such as these watch fragments could represent a form of resistance to general CCC camp ideals. Watches were not a standard element of the camp uniform; they were not issued by camp officials and would have been a gift, an element from home, or a purchase made with personal funds. In an arena with strict policies concerning appearance and standard uniformity, even such a minute addition to the enrollee’s exterior would be noticeable. In this particular environment where time was so segmented and regulated, a watch would actually assist the enrollee in time management, symbolically, however, the watch would be considered a divergence from camp uniformity. When discussing life in early-20th-century western work camps, Van Bueren (2002a) notes that resistance was not limited to deliberate challenges or confrontation but was instead, more often a simple divergence from standard behaviour.

Firearms and Munitions

I eventually became the unofficial powder man for the crew. I was never as daring at it as John Mills. He always crimped the caps with his teeth.

Ed Happold 2001:2
Camp Zigzag enrollee, 1933-1935

Although hunting was considered an acceptable hobby for the young enrollees, firearms were generally prohibited in the camp except for use by military personnel (Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-1942). Enrollees such as Mr. Happold and Mr. Rank, who were skilled in the use of dynamite, had the proper training but were still required to earn specialized certificates stating as such. There is little documentation discussing the use of firearms in the camps and it is unclear what the camp protocol would have been in regards to hunting. Regardless, firearms and related materials account for .06% (n=5) of the Camp Zigzag assemblage (see Appendix A).
Transportation

You couldn’t have a car, I didn’t have a car. But there were two to three fellows that had motorcycles, but they stashed them, oh, a couple miles away. They made arrangements with someone living out...you couldn’t have it in camp. That was a no-no.

Ken Rank 2007, per comm.
Camp Zigzag enrollee 1937-1939

The men were transported to and from work in military vehicles or vehicles provided by the USFS. Limited access to transportation such as this would have isolated the men to a certain degree and would have helped to maintain the order and structure of the camp, as well as to maintain a commitment to the camp community. Transportation materials accounted for very little of the Camp Zigzag assemblage, only .04% (n=3). Of the few artifacts collected, both a metal car door handle and a metal hubcap were included. Both the car door handle and the hubcap were ground surface isolates discovered with the use of metal detectors. The handle was located within the southern edge of the site study area and an OAS volunteer located the hubcap, beyond the eastern study area boundary. Neither of these items can be positively identified as official camp vehicles, although the door handle does correspond stylistically to the general time period of the Great Depression.

Furnishings and Structural Materials

Building was originally constructed of salvage rough lumber and cedar shakes.

March 5, 1941
Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps 1935-1942
Sometimes these buildings were painted brown or green, but more often than not they were simply creosoted or covered with tarpaper.

John Salmond 1967:135

Each enrollee has a steel cot, cotton mattress, sheets, pillow, pillowcase, locker, and china dishes.

M.J. Bowen
November 29, 1937
Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-1942

Camp Zigzag was the earliest CCC camp in Oregon to be erected, in the spring of 1933, and one of the last to be dismantled, in 1942. In 1936, Director of Emergency Conservation Work, Robert Fechner initiated a proposal to standardize each camp and to create camps that were of pre-cut, portable materials so that camps were more easily dismantled after use (Salmond 1967). Being constructed earlier in time, however, Camp Zigzag did not conform to this structure entirely. Although the structure of the camp followed the basic formula for CCC camp construction, meaning it had barracks buildings, a mess hall, a recreation hall, administration buildings, an infirmary, officer’s quarters, a garage, and a schoolhouse, it was solidly built. Even by 1939, reports to Robert Fechner insisted, “even though it was one of the first camps built, it is in excellent condition” (Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-1942: February 17,1939). In the archaeological record, this trend is confirmed, with the vast majority of the material culture consisting of the structural materials that built the camp. The buildings and overall structure of the camp created a visual, symbolic comfort for camp enrollees. In addition to amenities such as electricity and furnishings, the barracks and the surrounding buildings would have been considered a safe, warm haven as opposed to the poverty these young men were coming from. The formality and solidarity the Camp Zigzag environment provided would have only been
encouraged by the structural elements, creating a visual representation of both authority and safety.

By far, structural materials account for the largest percentage of the Camp Zigzag assemblage. Structural materials such as window glass, hardware, fixtures, and fasteners, comprise 59.43% of the collection. From the nearly 60% of structural materials (n=4,386), 53% is comprised of fasteners, including wire nails (n=4,194), screws (n=26), gutterspikes (n=15), and window nails (n=8). The wire nails alone account for 51% of the assemblage. The majority of wire nails that were analyzed (n=2,111) measured between 2.5 inches and 6.5 inches (7.6 cm and 15.2 cm) in length. Gutterspikes measured between 7.5 inches and 12.75 inches (19.1 cm and 32.4 cm) in length.

A total of 395 sherds of window glass were collected, accounting for 4.81% of the Camp Zigzag assemblage. Several of these sherds had green paint residue still visible on them, suggesting the possibility of green paint covering the walls of some of the buildings at the camp. In addition, there were a total of 17 terracotta pipe fragments that were used for plumbing purposes throughout the camp, comprising .21% of the assemblage.

Furnishings accounted for only .75% of the Camp Zigzag assemblage, but in addition to the buildings of the camp, they may have added to the camp enrollee’s experience of belonging, community, and brotherhood. Of this percent, metal bedsprings comprised .63%, with a total count of 52. They all measure approximately 8-9 cm or between 3-4 in. in length.

The high percentage of architectural remains coincides with both the historical documentation and the oral histories concerning the camp’s refuse disposal patterns as well as the manner in which the camp was deconstructed. Oral histories revealed that the majority of the camp’s refuse was not disposed of on the immediate camp property but was trucked off-site (Dan Snyder 2006, per. comm.). The ravine that existed just south of the Zigzag River would have posed as an opportunistic dumping ground until 1942, when the camp was finally dismantled. Historic records convey a series of
deconstruction: the dismantling and re-use of usable materials, a burn event of the remaining site structures, and a levelling of those materials northward into the ravine. At this point, the ravine would be considered a secondary dumpsite containing much of the burned remains of camp site structures.

Writing

This past month's educational report showed that Zigzag was offering some 75 class groups, with 32 instructors... each enrollee in Zigzag is encouraged to take at least three hours educational work per week.

*Zigzag Zephyr* 1936:2

Education became an important tool in educating the young enrollees and in training them for future employment. This ideal was at the core of the CCC principles and the educational materials that were collected from Camp Zigzag can be viewed as tangible representations of that ideal. The majority of the young men who left Camp Zigzag went on to use the training and education they had received in the camp in their future lives. Mr. Snyder was a medical stenographer for the Army after honing his typing and teaching skills at Camp Zigzag and Mr. Green was involved in classified Army communications after his time spent as a Forest Service clerk at the camp. The educational facilities at Camp Zigzag also helped to solidify the camp environment as a community. Writing materials comprised .66% of the Camp Zigzag assemblage. This percentage includes seven different graphite fragments, four metal pen nibs, and eleven pencil fragments with wood, metal, and graphite included. The pen nibs measure between 0-2 cm in length and the graphite fragments measure between 2-7 cm in length.

To fully analyze the material remains of CCC camp Zigzag, it was necessary to position the artifacts within the context of the research questions. Using the South (1977) typology, artifacts were categorized, integrated with the results of both the oral
histories and the historical research, and then assessed as to how they might help answer each research question. Research hypotheses were derived from these data and comparisons were made within the contexts of each research question. Not only can many comparisons be made within this assemblage, but the comparison of this Zigzag assemblage to that of another site such as a logging camp, was highly informative, as the following Chapter will reveal. Univariate descriptive statistics including count and percent comparisons (Tables 1-6) and Chi-square Tests of Independence (see Chapter 5) were used to further explore these data and to evaluate these research hypotheses.
Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusions

This project introduced several questions relating to the events and activities of CCC Camp Zigzag, as it existed in its duration from 1933 to 1942. After analysis of the site’s material culture recovered from two archaeological excavations, it is possible to explore these questions more fully. This chapter will cover each question and each subsequent hypothesis in relation to the archaeological record of Camp Zigzag. The first questions to be addressed are:

1. In what ways was a sense of community strengthened within the camp?
2. How does the material culture at Camp Zigzag reflect camp cohesiveness?

The concepts of community or cohesiveness are not easily measured. For the purposes of this project, the argument was made that artifacts symbolizing resistance or non-conformity would suggest to what degree community or cohesiveness could be calculated. This hypothesis was stated as:

Ho: There is a low percentage of personal artifacts that may suggest resistance or non-conformity within the Zigzag assemblage.

H1: There are a high percentage of personal artifacts that may suggest resistance or non-conformity within the Zigzag assemblage

The oral histories reveal Camp Zigzag as a community strengthened through evident means such as work, a sense of belonging, through uniformity, and structure. Additionally, these narratives also reveal a commonality that is reached through alternate measures. The experiences of these men speak of brotherhood bonds that were created through food, music, liquor, hobbies, and even hazing. Mr. Rank (2007, per. comm.), an enrollee from 1937 to 1939, had one such encounter:
I think there were 3 barracks there, so you take off all your clothes, and they are all ready for you. The guys have already been there with this paddle type thing. And, some guy along the line there smears you with jelly and all kinds of sticky stuff. So, you finally go through, and then you have to go into the shower, and its cold water, I mean its right out of the river (referring to Zigzag River), at that time you could drink it. And, you can’t leave that cold shower until you could whistle. Now, try to whistle when you are shivering! And after that, you were one of the guys then.

Camaraderie was built among the men sometimes at the expense of other CCC companies. Mr. Bailey (2008, per. comm.) recalled an event that took place between Camp Zigzag’s Company 928 and a CCC camp company brought in from the south to help fight fires in southern Oregon:

So, I don’t remember how long we did that but maybe after two or three days, we went to our lieutenant and said, “We aren’t going to fight fire any more until we get some decent food in here!” And, he went to the other fire captain and told him that we had a problem there and they said, “We don’t care, we are going to do it our way, anyway.” So we told him we weren’t going to do it that way, we were going to get our own food in there, or else we weren’t going to fight fire. Well, they picked up a bunch of firewood and we picked up a bunch of firewood and we were just about ready to go to it and they mediated it and they ate their food and we got another cook in, and we ate our food. After that, it was better.

Other stories of biking Mt. Hood, of learning new skills, and keeping track of personal gear, narrate a general communal pride and the formation of a brotherhood, united through work, play, behaviour, and surroundings. The archaeological challenge remains in locating the material culture that reflects these activities and behaviours. In review of the material culture of Camp Zigzag, artifact categories that include clothing, hobbies, entertainment, tools, grooming, health, food, communication, structural remains, and finally, education, all support the events and activities that would have helped to build community, a sense of belonging, and a familial cohesion among the men at the camp. These items include, for example, the ceramic dishware
used in the mess hall, the military-issued dental care products, the chipped shovel-
head, and even the abundance of wire nails that chronicle the architecture that housed
these men. These materials all represent a tangible means through which a community
was strengthened and structured.

Identifying artifacts that symbolize non-conformist actions or resistance-
related mannerisms would further explore these questions concerning community and
cohesiveness. The hypothesis stated above refers to “personal artifacts” and it should
be noted that use of the term “personal” here refers to individualized items that were
brought from home or purchased outside of the camp. Enrollees were issued personal
gear, but to effectively explore the stated hypothesis, the term “personal” should be
defined as items beyond the scope of military or government issued products.
Materials that suggest a degree of non-conformity were easily observed. For example,
the harmonica included in this assemblage reflects an individualized, casual musical
style as opposed to the formal structure of the camp band. Artifacts relating to
hobbies also suggest means through which enrollees were able to actualize a sense of
individualism. Fishing gear and photography equipment were not official materials
pertaining to Camp Zigzag, but items that allowed enrollees to exercise degrees of
personal freedom, even from within the formality of camp rituals. The material
culture associated with non-conformist behaviours within the Camp Zigzag
assemblage account for .44% of the total collection. This includes determinate hobby-
related materials such as a photographic film roll and fishing gear (n=4), determinate
accoutrements such as pocketwatch fragments (n=4) and a radio token, four fragments
of a single harmonica (categorized as entertainment), and alcohol related materials
(n=24). The firearms and munitions that were collected on site could not be
determined as CCC era and therefore were not included in this percentage.

The material culture that represents resistance to the standard camp authority
can be accounted for most clearly in the appearance of alcohol. Alcohol-related
materials accounted for only .30% of the total collection, yet this number represents a
strong non-conformist directive; the men were deliberately resisting camp policy rules
transporting and consuming alcoholic beverages on camp property. In conclusion, it
can be said that there is a low percentage of artifacts that suggest resistance or non-
conformity in the Camp Zigzag assemblage; however, the evidence of non-conformist
activity is represented archaeologically. This is further explored with the next
hypothesis:

3. How did camp enrollees influence or resist their structured environment?

The hypothesis related to this question states:

Ho: There are no alcohol containers recovered from Camp Zigzag
H1: There are alcohol containers recovered from Camp Zigzag

Evidence of resistance within the structure of Camp Zigzag was not isolated to
behaviors surrounding the use of alcohol. In response to questions concerning the
existence of human agency as discussed previously in Chapter 2, consider the
following account from ex-enrollee Mr. Joe Bailey (2008, per. comm.). He had been
working as an assistant in the Camp Zigzag infirmary for several months and had
witnessed several egregious incidents of medical neglect by the camp’s doctor, one
that finally ended in an enrollee’s death:

Anyway, I thought, “That doctor is gonna get me in trouble, get me in the brig,
so, the best thing for you to do, Joe Bailey, is to get out of here!” ...I moved all
my stuff back over into the barracks again, out of my room there in the
infirmary. And the next morning I went out and crawled in the truck with
Merle Acker’s crew. We were waiting there to go out where we were going to
go to work, the doctor came out hollering. There were four trucks lined up in a
row, in that big building, you know that’s still there? We were in that building.
He came out hollering my name, and finally he came to my truck and he asked
what I was doing. And I said, “I’m getting out of there before I go to jail, I’m
not staying in that infirmary no more!” He said, “You can’t do that, you didn’t
give me any notice at all.” I said, “I’m not even going to back in there, for
nothing!” So, he was going to go see the Captain, or Lieutenant, actually, and I said, “Go ahead.” And he did, but he never came back. So, I don’t know if he did.

This kind of creative insight and self-protection allowed Mr. Bailey to make a choice beyond the fashion of what was considered acceptable. Moreover, the choice to join that particular field crew was entirely of his own direction. Speaking of his best friend and fellow Camp Zigzag enrollee, Mr. Bailey continued:

He’s the reason I got in with Merle Acker. I didn’t know anyone from Adam and he was the reason I got in his truck, because my friend was there.

This narrative provides evidence of elasticity within the ordered system of camp. The archaeology of Camp Zigzag also suggests a degree of flexibility within its own power dynamics. As the discussion in Chapter 4 revealed, a percentage of the Camp Zigzag assemblage represents resistance-related activities, including drinking alcohol on camp property. In addition, the oral testimonies give numerous accounts of alcohol and the results of alcohol consumption among the enrollees. There were indications that men (of drinking age) were buying beer or liquor at the local taverns and stores and as Mr. Rank recalled, alcohol was sometimes bought for them. Referring to his Forest Service crew leader, Mr. Rank (2007, per. comm.) remembered this incident:

Anyways, I handled dynamite which had nitro-glycerine in it, and nitro-glycerine speeds up your heart. And I mean it really does, if you handle it all day long, after a while, it’s just like bananas or anything else, you don’t know, you don’t worry about safety or about blowing everybody up. Anyway, about the second night we got into camp, it gave me a headache, my head would just pound. He said, “I think we got a fix for it, come on over here and I’ll get you a couple beers.” So he knew the guy, because they wouldn’t serve me anything there on my own. He said, “Say George, pour this guy a beer.”

It is interesting to note, that at the time this event occurred, Mr. Rank was not yet 21. The regulations at Camp Zigzag prohibited alcohol on camp property, although men that were of the legal age were permitted to drink when they were off site. Mr. Rank’s
story would only be considered inappropriate due to his age. All four of the men interviewed for this project recalled one particular story concerning two enrollees who stole a Forest Service vehicle while intoxicated. In an attempt to drive into Portland, Oregon from Zigzag, they were involved in a single vehicle crash, killing one of the men. Alcohol related incidents were certainly a part of the Camp Zigzag community and the material culture reflected this, although perhaps not quite as vividly as in memory.

The Zigzag assemblage includes five whole alcohol containers, including four beer cans and one beer bottle. In addition, there are over 1,200 glass vessel sherds accounting for 15% of the Zigzag collection. Of these sherds, at least three wine bottles, four gin bottles, and two beer bottles can be accounted for, as well as three other liquor bottles, indicated by the embossed statement “Federal Law Forbids Sale or Re-use of This Bottle” partially on each sherd. This statement was embossed on all liquor bottles from 1933-1964 (University of Utah, 1992). Such archaeological evidence, in addition to the oral accounts, points to alcohol consumption as a means through which camp enrollees resisted and influenced their structured environment at Camp Zigzag.

As the young men entered the camp, they were introduced to a well-organized environment. Military personnel supervised the order of the camp and its daily rituals as government agencies and officials governed their training and work. But beyond this standard means of authority, the young men were also presented with a commanding environment. The buildings and structures of Camp Zigzag not only delineated the appearance of order, but also sent a message of power and influence. The atmosphere was a symbolic gesture of hierarchy and an imposing new arrangement. The question to be answered is:

4. What symbolic information did the camp architecture and built environment portray and how did its inferred non-verbal messages affect camp enrollees?
Looking at the archaeological record to answer this question, the hypothesis that was posed stated:

Ho: The architectural and industrial remains of Camp Zigzag do not suggest a structured environment for enrollees.
H1: The architectural and industrial remains of Camp Zigzag do suggest a structured environment for enrollees.

Mr. Bailey (2008, per. comm.) recalls his first impressions of Camp Zigzag like this:

It was a working camp. There was no doubt about that. The first day we got there, we were assigned a barracks and we were told what time chow, food, was served. They indoctrinated us for about two hours. They told us what time lights went out, what time noise stopped, what time you got up in the morning and what you do during the day after breakfast. Your time was not your own time; your time belonged to them.

Routine and order were definitely a part of the Camp Zigzag experience. How strongly these messages of “indoctrination” were transferred with architectural symbolism is the next question. Mr. Rank (2007, per. comm.) remembered one small encounter with the new environment:

And you know, the little things that you have never experienced, like, you go to the bathroom and there are 5 toilets, all lined up. There are no walls, no nothing. So, it doesn’t take you long to realize, you know, you either do that or its not going to work for you. So, you just go along with it.

This simple narrative describes the impact of structural symbolism; the enrollees were faced with an entirely different sense of routine and the structures surrounding them reinforced the new ideology. The camp lay-out was ordered around the enrollee’s barracks buildings. At the height of camp enrollment, this included four buildings
lined up lengthwise, east to west so that the entrances were facing south towards the highway. The Officer’s quarters building was located to the west of these barracks. An office building that was used by both the military and Forest Service was stationed far to the south of the site, on the banks of Bear Creek. This is not an intimidating design except that it concentrates entirely upon the enrollees, making them the focus and flanking their quarters on the west and south sides with structures representing authority. This architectural set-up encouraged the growth of teamwork but within a definitive, formalized space.

With nearly 60% of construction materials comprising the Camp Zigzag assemblage, the evidence of architectural remains suggesting a symbolic, structured environment for the camp enrollees is overwhelming. These items include screws, sewer pipe fragments, window glass, concrete materials, and over 4,100 wire nails. Although there were no standing buildings on site to analyze, if there were one indelible impact of Camp Zigzag’s remaining material culture, it would be the amount of fragmentary, structural elements left behind in the archaeological record. The fasteners, hardware, joints, hinges, and window glass weigh in to paint a picture of solid, hardy, and homogenous surroundings; an atmosphere meant to instil training, discipline, but also to create a safe environment for the men living there.

The sheer volume of construction debris alone, however, cannot be used as the single line of evidence to suggest a dominant symbology in the Camp Zigzag environment. The construction debris in the Camp Zigzag collection exhibit particular characteristics that are inherent within militarized camp structures such as CCC work camps. These materials share a uniformity implicit to the formality of Camp Zigzag. For example, the Camp Zigzag collection includes over 4,000 wire nails. Of these nails that were analyzed (n=2,111), all measured between 2.5 and 6.5 inches (7.6 cm and 15.2 cm) in length. Common wire nails measuring between 3 and 6 inches are utilized in rough carpentry for general use framing (Flagship Services Group Inc. 2008). This suggests that the wire nails recovered from the Camp Zigzag site were used primarily for rough framing purposes such as constructing rafters, floorboards,
and walls. The absence of finishing-style fasteners suggests that the buildings were not constructed meticulously and were principally utilitarian. This evidence parallels the historical research, noting that the camp was built hastily and in difficult weather conditions (Zigzag Zephyr: 3). Additionally, the narratives from former Camp Zigzag enrollees corroborate these findings detailing the utilitarian use and procedures concerning camp structures (see Appendix A). Other architectural materials that suggest a structured environment include window glass fragments with green paint residue (n=13). Green paint was a standard color for CCC camps (Salmond 1967) and the observable paint on these fragments suggests a camp that operated according to these standards of uniformity. Terracotta (clay) sewer piping (n=17) was also found throughout the camp site; material such as this piping unified the camp as a part of its efficient machinery, maintaining order and organization in the daily routine of the camp. An abundance of metal bedsprings (n=52) were also collected from the Camp Zigzag site, denoting a commonality in the ownership of the enrollee’s goods and materials. In conclusion, the architectural and industrial remains of Camp Zigzag do suggest a structured environment for enrollees. The ordered, daily ritual of camp life was reinforced continuously with the architectural structure that surrounded them.

The last question pertaining to this project was perhaps the most difficult to answer archaeologically. Concerning the geographic location of the camp and its impact locally, the question states:

5. How did Camp Zigzag affect the local economy and the surrounding Zigzag community, if at all?

In oral interviews and oral accounts given by former enrollees, the camp affected the surrounding community of Zigzag in many different ways. There were complaints from families concerning their daughters and the enrollee’s behaviours, farmers shipped their goods for use in the camp kitchen, there were nights of pies and beers at the local taverns, friendships and affairs began and ended between locals and
enrollees, and in one case, the doctor’s enrollee assistant was sent out to care for an elderly local woman in absence of the camp doctor, however, none of these events could be corroborated in the archaeological record. The hypothesis that follows states:

**Ho:** There is no archaeological evidence to suggest that Camp Zigzag had an impact on the local community.

**H1:** There is archaeological evidence to suggest that Camp Zigzag had an impact on the local community.

Mr. Green (2008, per. comm.) recalled his connections with the local community:

> We went out to dances in Rhododendron and there was a group of girls who came up from Portland that we became friends with through the dances. We enjoyed having them there and had them down to the camp for a few times. I remember they all worked for the old Oregon oyster company which was down in Ankeny at that time. So, it was a pleasure getting to know them.

Mr. Green’s experience with the local residents as well as the experiences of the other former enrollees provide evidence enough that the camp had an impact in the local area, however, the archaeological record did not provide any artifact material in support of these testimonies. A single quart-sized milk jar with the partial name of its source, possibly a local dairy, could not be confirmed, despite oral reports that food was transported to the camp from a local distributor up at Rhododendron, called Hoffman’s Grocery. Based on the Camp Zigzag assemblage, therefore, there is no archaeological evidence that Camp Zigzag had an impact upon the local community of Zigzag, despite the indications of oral history reports.

**Comparative Analysis**

Archaeological investigations into CCC work camps are a new and burgeoning aspect of archaeological research (Beaudry 1989; Rossillon 1999; Van Bueren 2002a, 2002b; Davies 2005; McClure [2007]). This discussion positions the results of CCC
Camp Zigzag within the context of other archaeological investigations. Even within the field of Cultural Resource Management (CRM) however, field work and research involved with CCC camps is sparse. For similarities to this project, the CRM report produced by Gifford Pinchot National Forest archaeologist Rick McClure ([2007]) concerning archaeological data recovery of CCC Camp Hemlock in Skamania County, Washington provides the best comparison. However, to date, that report remains a draft in progress and the conclusions have not yet been completed. Despite useful information concerning artifact analysis and historical data noted above, resulting comparisons are not yet possible.

The CRM report published in 2003 by Applied Archaeological Research (Finley et al.) concerning CCC Camp Reheers in Washington County, Oregon, does have some applicable information to note. Survey and excavation of this site was performed under contract to the Oregon Department of Forestry (ODF) in order to comply with the requirements of Section 106 of the NHPA of 1966. The area of potential effect (APE) for this project was approximately 16 acres of the camp and the field study included an intensive pedestrian survey and the excavation of shovel test probes (STPs). As a result of that study, eight features were documented, seven of which were believed to be associated with the CCC-era Camp Reheers. Interest in the results of the Camp Reheers investigation is primarily surrounding these features, all of which were of a structural nature, including concrete steps and concrete foundation slabs. The artifacts that were found were dated to post-CCC camp materials and not associated directly with the camp. Although these results are minimal, it corroborates the analysis of Camp Zigzag in that the primary material culture remaining from the camp was of a structural nature. The main dump site of Camp Reheers was obviously not found or sampled, which would have enabled more valuable comparisons to Camp Zigzag.

A third and much more comprehensive CRM report published in 1999 by Renewable Technologies, Inc. (RTI) (Rossillon) concentrated on the Cove Creek Conservation Corps Dump in central Idaho, along the Salmon River. RTI excavated
three dump trenches of which the Panther Creek (in operation 1935-1938) and Ebenezer Bar (in operation 1935-1941) CCC camps were the primary contributors. Nearly 45,000 artifacts were recovered during this investigation. These include undecorated whiteware, personal grooming materials, liquor bottles, stationary supplies, and a large faunal collection. Data comparisons between Camp Zigzag and the Cove Creek dump site provide useful insight in their similarities and differences. Unfortunately, the style in which the data were reported was inadequate for numerical comparisons using contingency tables. The comparative results, therefore, are summarized here.

At Camp Zigzag, the majority of the artifacts (nearly 60%) consisted of structural materials, which included wire nails, screws, fasteners, hinges, and other construction related items. The Cove Creek dump site reported a small percentage of their material as related to architecture. Wire nails (n=1,350) and window glass (n=1,177) were accounted for, but represented a small fraction of the total assemblage. The hardware at Cove Creek that did account for a larger percentage was of two particular categories, electrical parts and door hardware.

Cove Creek recovered over 100 batteries and parts, as well as copper wire (n=220), insulators (n=34), and additional electrical items. The majority of the batteries were the individual carbon cores of small flashlight-like cells although several Type A and Type B radio batteries were also recovered, with a cluster of other small cell batteries. The door hardware consisted of doorknobs, locksets, and door latches of various kinds. Although Camp Zigzag’s assemblage did include several insulators, wiring, and lightbulb glass, this category did not represent a large portion of the site’s assemblage, nor was a single battery ever recovered. Door hardware was a particularly minor inclusion for the Camp Zigzag collection, with only one doorknob and two locks included. Again, Camp Zigzag’s structural remains were dominated by fasteners such as wire nails (n=4,194), with architectural materials dominating the collection as a whole.
As the Cove Creek dump was the primary dump site for two separate CCC camps, operating simultaneously, a higher percentage of refuse material is to be expected. In addition, both Idaho CCC camps were considered “lead” camps, two of the largest out of a series of smaller camps built along the Salmon River. The larger camps would have exchanged materials with the smaller camps, both goods and refuse materials, and the refuse would be then transported to the main dump site. The smaller camps were dismantled quickly as the field work along the Salmon River Road was completed and their structural materials were either re-used or deposited as waste. This process might explain to some extent the high counts of electrical wiring and door hardware seen in the Cove Creek dump site. Considering also that the Camp Zigzag dump was a secondary dump site, the majority of the deposit being made post-abandonment, the discrepancies between these two refuse deposits are reasonable. Items such as used batteries would have been transported off-site to the primary dump, as with the majority of refuse material at Camp Zigzag.

Nearly half of the Cove Creek collection was food remains (n=10,577), particularly bone. Nearly 60% of the bone recovered at Cove Creek was identified as being associated with domestic animals including pig, sheep, cow, turkey, and chicken. It is interesting to note that chicken and turkey represented more than half of the faunal collection by count. Food remains accounted for just under 3% of the Camp Zigzag collection. Although this percentage is entirely comprised of bone, the majority of that bone was undiagnostic. Despite the obvious contrast here, within the limited context of the Camp Zigzag faunal analysis, domestic chicken and turkey were identified, a fact that does suggest similarities. Again, the majority of Camp Zigzag’s refuse material was transported off-site, so accurate levels of faunal remains cannot be established, per camp use. Also, organic materials such as animal bone are more vulnerable to natural decomposition processes. The majority of animal bone of the Camp Zigzag site was located in an area just south of the Zigzag River where hydrology and changing river patterns would certainly at momentum to these natural processes.
Comparisons between the collections at Cove Creek and Camp Zigzag continue to show other similarities as well. Stationary or writing materials are present in both assemblages, with paper clips and pen and pencil fragments (n=19) at Cove Creek resembling the finds at Camp Zigzag (pen and pencil fragments, n=22). Heavy, undecorated whiteware dominated the dinnerware at Cove Creek, with over 600 artifacts of that type recovered. These included brands such as Shenango China (n=15) that Camp Zigzag also contained. In addition, RTI recovered 112 buttons and fragments, almost half of which were made of shell. Metal buttons comprised the next largest group, all with stamped maker's marks. Other buttons in the assemblage included bone, plastic and other materials. Camp Zigzag contained similar results, with four shell buttons and four bone buttons, but with the highest majority going to undiagnostic, metal buttons. In their report, RTI (Rossillon 1999:32) also discusses the use of alcohol at the camps in the context of the archaeology at Cove Creek:

Former enrollees recall that there was virtually no liquor in camp because inspections by the barracks leaders (enrollees who received additional responsibilities and pay) would have revealed the hidden cache. Then, the liquor would have been destroyed and the offender punished by extra latrine duty or some other distasteful task. The large number of bottles in the dump might be attributed to the men's habit of finishing up their bottles as they returned home from town.

Of the identifiable bottle fragments (n=493) found at Cove Creek, about 20% were attributed to liquor. Fragments of beer and wine bottles are included in this percentage. Camp Zigzag again, shadows these results, with over 3% of its assemblage representing alcohol materials, with the majority of the identifiable vessel glass representing use for beer, wine, or liquor.

One final interesting point of contrast in this comparison concerns toiletries. Camp Zigzag (n=6) and the Cove Creek dump had a surprising number of dental care products. RTI found one fragment of a collapsible metal tube with the shoulder marked COLGATE as well as several metal tube caps, made of molded plastic (n=33).
Several of these caps did have maker’s marks although none match any of those found at Camp Zigzag. While Colgate products are included in the Camp Zigzag collection, it is surprising to find that there are no further similarities between manufacturers in camp assemblages. Such toiletries were usually supplied by the military and it would follow that the dental companies would bear a resemblance, even nationally. In their report discussing the dental products at Cove Creek, RTI considered these items to be a part of the enrollees “discretionary income” (only about $5 per month). It could be that the military issued products were simply not enough and enrollees were forced to purchase their own. The differing manufacturers may also result from the availability of certain companies to these different states; perhaps military -issued materials were conditional to a certain extant in regards to their geographic location.

A discussion involving the archaeological results of Camp Zigzag in comparison to a different type of site is pertinent at this time. A logging camp represents a different kind of camp site, although maintaining relatively the same structure: a small community of men in an isolated area, housed by semi-permanent materials. Comparing the archaeological record of a logging camp to that of a CCC camp may help to develop the idea of the “transient” camp community as a whole.

In 1993, Adrian Praetzellis published Fallers, Sawyers, and Edgermen: An Archaeologist's View of Life and Work at the Cole and Nelson Sawmill 1883-1889. This was a compilation concerning the results of data recovery and archaeological investigations of the Cole and Nelson Sawmill, in the Tahoe National Forest, Sierra County, California, in 1986 and 1989. The site was developed beginning in 1883 with a crew of 12 lumbermen, a blacksmith’s shop, a sawmill, and a bunkhouse. In 1989, Praetzellis had planned to excavate the bunkhouse area with 6X6 units but was thwarted by the unfortunate destruction of the site by looters, prior to the arrival of the archaeological field crew. The artifact scatter that remained was collected in its entirety. Despite the site’s obvious limitations, the boardinghouse scatter delivers the array of artifacts that would be most helpful in comparison to Camp Zigzag.
The percentages within the artifact categories for the boardinghouse scatter are relatively evenly distributed (Table 4). Structural remains represent 31\% of the total scatter and include few nails, window glass, and brick. Food related items generated 36\% of the scatter, with 95 of the 98 food containers being lap seam tin cans of at least 12 different sizes. Praetzellis discusses the possible food items as ranging from oysters to fruit, evaporated milk, to lard and baking powder. It is interesting to note the ceramics that were recovered (n=19) ranged from porcelain to white earthenware. Industrial hardware comprised only 2\% of the scatter, being only a few, large artifacts. Finally, personal artifacts found throughout the scatter comprise 38\% of the total and include alcohol bottles (n=49), patent medicines (n=17), and leather fragments. Of the alcohol containers, wine, beer and whiskey were heavily represented. In addition, of the patent medicines, several of the bottles included the cure-all “sarsaparilla” and a pectoral for bronchial illness.

The Camp Zigzag collection was certainly not so evenly distributed, although several comparisons can be made (Table 5). As noted in Table 5, the structural remains at Camp Zigzag were represented much more heavily than at this boardinghouse. Given that the logging crew was in operation only a few years less than Camp Zigzag, it is surprising that architectural remains would be so much more abundant at Camp Zigzag. Praetzellis suggests the structural remains were removed for use elsewhere, which may have been the case. After the abandonment of Camp Zigzag, the military did propose the re-use of some of its materials, although the structural remains were in reportedly bad shape by this time and not usable. In the Domestics artifact group (under the Food Prep/Consumption category), the
Table 4
Artifact Counts and Percents of Functional Artifact Classifications
Group and Category (South 1977) for CA-SIE-336/H Derived from Praetzellis (1993)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
<td>Domestics</td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heating/Lighting</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Misc. Glass</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Misc. Metal</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>100</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Machinery</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDU Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Firearms/Munitions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Drugs: Alcohol</td>
<td></td>
<td>271</td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PER Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>356</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>Fasteners</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Materials</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>STR Total</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>940</td>
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Table 5
Artifact Count and Percent Comparisons of Functional Artifact Classifications
Group and Category (South 1977) between CA-SIE-3361H Derived from Praetzellis (1993) and FS669EA121 Camp Zigzag

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Logging Camp</th>
<th>Zigzag</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestics</td>
<td>Cln/Maint.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cloth/Maint.</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Food, Prep, Consump.</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Food Storage</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Furnishings</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heating</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lighting</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOM Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>137</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminant</td>
<td>Misc Ceramic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Misc Closures</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Misc Glass</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Misc Metal</td>
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<td>89</td>
<td>306</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>INDE Total</td>
<td></td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>2027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Machinery</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDU Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Acctremennt</td>
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<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Firearms/Munitions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grooming</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Drugs: Alcohol</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Drugs: Tobacco</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toys</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PER Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>356</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>Fastener</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fixture</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Materials</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STR Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>93</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>941</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7,658</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
boardinghouse scatter had a higher variety of ceramics than did Camp Zigzag, which is to be expected, as CCC camps were supplied nationally with the same style of dinnerware, if not similar brands. Of all four CCC camps used in this study (Camp Hemlock, Camp Zigzag, Panther Creek Camp and Ebenezer Bar Camp), all four used Shenango China and Wallace China. The other china manufacturers that were represented at these sites also produced heavy, undecorated whiteware. Tin cans (categorized under the Food Prep/Consumption category) were also not represented at Camp Zigzag in the range that they were in the boardinghouse scatter. This is due in part to regular refuse disposal being shipped off site from Camp Zigzag, as it was according to former enrollee, Mr. Snyder (2006, per. comm.). In addition, the secondary dump feature at Camp Zigzag would not have been conducive to the preservation of tin cans, given its proximity to the Zigzag River and wet soils. In the Personal artifact group, the high frequency of alcohol bottles (in the Social Drugs: Alcohol category) at the logging camp dwarfs that of the CCC camp. This is of course due to the regulations present at Camp Zigzag; as such limitations would not be expected on the late 19th century logging crew. One similarity in this comparison may stand with the use of patent medicines in both camp sites. Patent medicines were represented in the Personal artifact group, categorized under Health. Although not of the same variety, the medicines of the logging crew match the same types used at Camp Zigzag, in particular, the Piso’s for Coughs and Colds brand, discussed in the previous Chapter (see also Appendix A). It would stand to reason that these two communities, although different in the vast majority of ways, still suffered from the common ailments that might affect any outdoor, working crew.

To further explore these site differences, Chi-Square Tests of Independence were employed. Using the classification category “Group” (South 1977) from both the Camp Zigzag site (FS669EA121) and the Praetzellis (1993) logging site (CA-SIE-336/H), these tests were utilized to extrapolate the differences in probability. The first Chi-Square test calculated the polarities of Group artifact counts from between both
sites. These categories included and were limited to Domestics, Indeterminate, Personal, and Structural. The category of Industrial was not included in these tests due to minimal artifact quantities present at both sites. The null hypothesis for this test states that there is no difference in the frequency of artifact classes by site. The alternative hypothesis states that there is a difference in the frequency of artifact classes by site. The observed value for this test was 2390.106 (p < .0001). The null hypothesis is rejected and therefore, there is a significant difference in the frequency of artifact classes by site.

As illustrated in Table 6, the percentages of structural remains between the two sites are dramatically different. Only 10% of the material culture from the logging camp is represented as structural. In the Camp Zigzag assemblage, however, structural remains make up 64% of the collection. This disparity may account for the significant difference between the site probabilities.

The second Chi-Square test was employed using only the Personal and Domestic Group classifications for both sites. The presence of Domestic artifacts at Camp Zigzag was at a comparably higher number than they appeared at the logging camp. Additionally, the presence of Personal artifacts at Camp Zigzag was much lower than Personal materials at the logging camp (Table 6). A Chi-Square Test demonstrates this statistically. The null hypothesis states that these artifact categories are independent of their site location. The alternative hypothesis states that these samples are dependent on their site location. The calculated Chi-Square is 1238 (p < .0001). The proportional representation of the two artifact classes is extremely different.
Table 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Logging Camp</th>
<th></th>
<th>Site</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestics</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminate</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2027</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4882</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>941</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7658</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Camp Zigzag enrollees were single, young men coming from poor families and many of their materials were military-issued, including the majority of Personal and Domestic items. Personal items that were specific to the individual (purchased or brought from home) were especially absent from camp life, as discussed in the previous chapter. Personal materials that were given to the men included clothing, grooming items, and materials related to their health. Although these things were important, their numbers would have been minimized by the presence of the Domestic materials. Domestic materials included food-related items, furnishings, and lighting-related items; things that were essential to the daily routine of camp life in large quantities. For both categories, camp regulation determined their presence or absence to a great extent; regulations either encouraged or discouraged the use of these materials. Alternately, families were the main constituents of the logging camp and the company had informal, if any, regulation. None of their Personal or Domestic belongings were issued by the company, with the exception of structural housing, and none of these things were connected with restriction, regulation, or company policy (Praetzellis 1993). It stands to reason that the emphasis on Personal belongings would be much greater at the logging camp and that quantities of Domestic material would not be as substantial as their presence at Camp Zigzag.

Conclusions

Camp Zigzag has a rich history as detailed from the oral histories, documentation, and archaeological excavation. Its association with the New Deal national program of economic recovery and infrastructure is clear. It was constructed as part of a national relief and conservation movement initiated by the Roosevelt administration to help alleviate the affects of the Depression. The New Deal programs, including the CCC, provided employment opportunities that also addressed the depletion of natural resources. Camp Zigzag was one of 75 CCC camps located in Oregon. Of that group, its programs extended the full duration of CCC camp
existence, from 1933-1942. Research into the camp’s daily activities offers a unique window into the past and Camp Zigzag provides an example of New Deal programs at work in Oregon from beginning to end. The materials recovered from Camp Zigzag reflect the important history of this CCC camp, one of the longest-lived and most unique in Oregon. Additional data from this camp could be used to further explore aspects of power and resistance in the development of the 20th century.

Camp Zigzag was one of the first of 75 CCC camps to be established in the state of Oregon in 1933. As a part of the Roosevelt Administration’s New Deal program, Camp Zigzag was meant to alleviate some of the disastrous affects of the Depression on local families. As one of the longest running camps, it employed 150-200 young men until 1942, leaving a legacy of hard work. These men built the first ski trails at Timberline Lodge on Mount Hood, developed many of the surrounding camp grounds and hiking trails, fought fires throughout Oregon, and were trained in skills many of them used later in life.

In a collection of oral interviews conducted by the USFS Heritage Program, a former enrollee from CCC Camp Hemlock (Company 944, Washington State) named Phil Amoruso recalled the joyous occasions in camp when the mess sergeant would have enough in the “mess fund” to throw a party; a “beer party and watermelon and everything like that” (Sinclair and McClure 2003:18-19). This simple and nonchalant anecdote represents an unwritten facet to the larger story of CCC camps in the United States. Even in the government endorsed documentation that remains, there is next to nothing said of beer parties, of watermelon, of fishing in nearby rivers, of stolen vehicles, of hazing, of accidents in the infirmary, nor of eating fresh pies in the local pub. Archaeology has always been a means to understanding the past from a broader, more inclusive perspective and this project was no different. The research questions that were posed were meant to probe the material culture of Camp Zigzag in hopes of gathering more of the lost information pertaining to this important time period in American history. In particular, the focus was on the community that the camp generated and how that community thrived, lived, acted, bonded, and communicated.
Due to the authoritarian nature of the camp’s structure, exploring the topic of resistance within this community also seemed appropriate, especially given that resistance-related activities were considerably absent from camp documentation.

According to the oral histories and historical research, the Camp Zigzag community of young men was nurtured through activities both within camp structure and out. Catching fish in the Zigzag River, playing drums in the camp band, having pancakes and coffee together in the dining hall before sunrise, lacing up their cork boots before work on the trails, and learning first aid in a classroom were all activities that developed and formulated a strong sense of cohesion among these men. This evidence is supported even further with the archaeological material recovered from the Camp Zigzag site. Over 10% of the Camp Zigzag assemblage is allotted to the material culture related to such events as hobbies, food, entertainment, clothing, education, health, and work. Both the Cove Creek assemblage in Idaho and the logging camp scatter in California revealed comparable patterns with the majority of those collections allotted to food, clothing, and health. In addition, the archaeological material recovered from the Cove Creek site and the logging camp included many alcohol-related items. As this was also the case for the Camp Zigzag collection, it suggests evidence of social bonding through resistance-related activities, such as drinking alcohol. Accounting for over 3% of the collection, alcohol-related items suggest a means through which Camp Zigzag enrollees would have resisted the authoritarian dynamic of the camp. Social drinking would have provided the men with a sense of solidarity and commonality that would have been maintained beyond the ideals of camp uniformity. This communal familiarity may have influenced the men’s behaviour in daily camp routines, rituals, and work. Overall, the archaeological evidence depicts the Camp Zigzag community as united through the bonds of formality and in its resistance to it.

The environment surrounding the Camp Zigzag enrollees had the same basic layout as other CCC camps in the nation. For the young men first entering this camp, this structure, however standard, may have been intimidating in its order and the
authoritative, structural manner in which it supported an apparent hierarchy. Culture theorists such as Michel Foucault or Pierre Bourdieu use architectural symbolism to contemplate at great lengths the interplay of power, knowledge, and autonomy in the daily ritual of the site's surroundings. Foucault might suggest that these surroundings facilitated the transformation of young men into disciplined soldiers. Although many of the enrollees did take part in World War II, their experiences at Camp Zigzag reportedly included a degree of elasticity, as Bourdieu might suggest. The average enrollee, of course, would not have dealt with the analysis of his environment on a conscious level, but rather would have worked and played within the role he was given or which he could build. Regardless, evidence of a structured environment that would have delivered powerful symbolic messages to those working within it represents nearly 60% of the Camp Zigzag assemblage. This percentage represents a larger component of architectural and building materials than both the CCC camp dumps at the Cove Creek site in Idaho and the logging camp scatter in California. Construction materials and hardware such as nails, sewer pipe fragments, window glass, various types of fasteners, and concrete found in the archaeological record of Camp Zigzag represent the built environment of the site and infer the structural authority these kinds of materials may have delivered. The architectural design of the camp would have helped to create an alternate "home" atmosphere to many of the enrollees; a safe, comfortable setting that provided warm meals and bedding in a addition to a family-style community. This same setting however, would have additionally symbolized an authority that reached well beyond the constructs of the average family. Military-style order and training were imposing elements of Camp Zigzag that permeated even the surrounding architectural environment.

The community that Camp Zigzag helped to create existed within a local community that was already well-established. The local area of Zigzag, Oregon was affected both directly and indirectly by their neighborhood CCC camp. Although the archaeological evidence for this does not exist, the oral reports and historic documentation are filled with narrative support. In addition to the obvious work-
related developments in the area such as Timberline Lodge and mountain hiking trails, the enrollees of Camp Zigzag were patrons at the local diners (even taverns), local farms contributed to the camp’s outstanding dietary needs, and periodic dances were held that involved the youth, especially the young women, of the Zigzag community. Unfortunately, artifact material that would have developed these stories further was not located.

On federal properties such as the Camp Zigzag location, CCC camp sites have been old enough to be eligible for archaeological significance only for the past 25 years (Section 106 of the NHPA of 1966, as amended 36 CFR 60.4). Due to the remarkable amount of material culture recovered from Camp Zigzag and the historical significance of that material, the site is recommended as eligible for inclusion in the NRHP under Criterion D and should be protected. However, because of their impermanent nature and general hasty construction, CCC camp sites are often scattered, scarce, or destroyed before the appropriate research has been developed. Recommendations for future work in this subject matter begin with a strong argument for simply more research into these camp sites, before they have disappeared. In addition, it is imperative that this research be conducted cohesively, completely, and use current classification models for the cultural material. For this study, of the few publications that addressed the topic of CCC camps, many were difficult to use comparatively, due to inconsistencies in content.

Camp Zigzag offered a unique and unusually expansive window into not only the history of Oregon State, but into the history of our nation as a whole. Unfortunately, these historical gems are disappearing quickly and the archaeological investigation of Camp Zigzag represents only a small percentage of the site area and a limited research contribution to understanding CCC camps, nation-wide. However, the camp’s archaeological assemblage remains as an important learning tool and its value far exceeds its material contents. It is a collection of untold stories representing the lives of young men and their families at a tumultuous turning point in American history.
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Appendices

Appendix A
Artifact Histories
Clothing

Among these materials were four buttons that were manufactured from shell, ranging in size 10 – 20 mm. There is a long history of using shell material for buttons and it is therefore, difficult to date shell buttons specifically. It is known, however, that in the United States, fresh water shells were used for utilitarian buttons and that they were introduced as a commercial item to the United States from France in 1855 (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962). Shell buttons such as these were often used with undergarments, even in labor camps such as CCC camps (University of Utah 1992b; Rossillon 1999). The assemblage contains a total of 18 buttons, including four bone buttons, ranging in size 10-20 mm, one Prosser button measuring to 15 mm, and two buttons manufactured from a synthetic, modern material measuring at 15 mm and 20 mm.

Bone has been used for button manufacture since the Prehistoric era, although by the time of the Depression, its use for buttons was much more uncommon. Prosser manufacturing was patented in 1849 and involves combining high-fired clays to produce a glass-like appearance. Synthetic materials began to be popular for button manufacture after the invention of “Bake-lite” in the early 1900’s. Other synthetic materials replaced the use of Bake-lite after the 1930’s (Albert and Kent 1949; Luscomb 1967). The majority of buttons (n=11) in the Camp Zigzag assemblage is composed of metal materials but is undiagnostic due to corrosion or degradation.

Hobbies and Entertainment

Fishing related gear dominated this category (n=4) and included a polished metal tube, one end open, with “LUCKIE, THE HORTON MFG CO, BRISOL,
CONN” engraved on one side. This was the container for a 4-piece, 8 ½ in. metal fly-fishing rod that was produced in the early 1930’s into the 1950’s. The company was named for Everett Horton, the inventor of the telescopic steel rod style, who lived in Bristol, Connecticut. Wanting to fish on Sundays, Mr. Horton developed a rod that could be easily carried and hidden (Carter 2000). Other fishing gear included a metal hook, a lead weight, and a metal lure.

Hobby-related artifacts include a metal film spool measuring 6 cm long with very wide (2 cm in diameter) flanges on each end. In 1901, the Kodak film company introduced the Brownie no. 2 style camera for use with 120-film format. The film spools that fit this format were made of wood with metal flanges. In 1931, Kodak introduced the 620-film format to also work with the Brownie no. 2, but with an all-metal film spool (Jarzombeck 2004). The film roll in the Camp Zigzag collection matches the measurements and description of this 620-film roll, although the maker’s marks are no longer visible. Photography was not an easily accessible hobby in camp life, yet all of the men interviewed for this project owned print photography of themselves and their friends at the camp. Despite the difficulty in obtaining cameras, film, and developing the film, it appears to have been popular regardless.

Grooming

These products include three metal collapsible tubes manufactured by dental companies. Two of these tubes can be attributed to Colgate manufactures; one labelled with “THE COLGATE-PALMOLIVE-PEET COMPANY” and the other with “COLGATE”. The Colgate-Palmolive-Peet Company operated with this business name from 1928 to 1953. Colgate dental products, however, were introduced in the mid-1800’s as “Ribbon Dental Cream” (Colgate-Palmolive Company 2010). A third tube can be attributed to the Ipana toothpaste company, which started production in 1915 and had their most popular run in the U.S. from 1936 to 1945 (E.W. Williams Publications Company 2007). Also included in the collection were two synthetic
screw caps identified as toothpaste tube caps. Both of these caps included the manufacturer’s company name in script across the top of the cap, one with “DR. WEST’S” and the second as “IODENT”. Dr. West’s was a dental care company that operated in the U.S. from 1929 to 1934 (Cadenhead 1999). Iodent dental care products were marketed in the U.S. beginning in 1917 and continue to be manufactured in European countries (Cadenhead 1999).

Health

The collection includes one bottle sherd of brown glass was embossed with “Trade Piso’s Mark” along the body. Piso’s was a medicine manufactured for coughs and colds from 1870-1950. Three patent medicine bottles were included in this collection. One sherd included an Owens Illinois Glass Company trademark embossed on the base. It was produced at a plant in Gas City, Indiana in 1936. The second vessel included a T.C. Wheaton Company trademark embossed on the base. This company began manufacturing bottles in 1946, continuing into the present. Lastly, one whole patent medicine bottle was collected with an Owens Illinois Glass Company trademark embossed on the base. The bottle includes the metal screw cap and white residue inside the vessel. It was produced at a plant in Fairmont, West Virginia in 1938 (Toulouse 1972, Lockhart 2004; Lockhart and Whitten 2005).

Piso’s for Coughs and Colds is an example of the 19th and early 20th century advent of patent or proprietary medicines. These were medicinal concoctions that claimed to remedy just about any ailment that a person may suffer from. Popularized by wild marketing schemes beginning in the mid 1800’s, patent medicines continued to be sold to the American consumer into the early-mid 1900’s, until the Pure Food and Drugs Act was introduced, beginning in 1906. Many of these potions contained narcotics (cannabis indica) or poisonous ingredients such as morphine, heroin, opium, turpentine or kerosene. Piso’s began its production in 1870 claiming to cure
consumption and continued in popularity until Congress banned both cannabis (1937) and chloroform (1947), two of the manufacturer's main ingredients (Anderson 2000).

Communication/Heating/Lighting

From this category, the two-wire ceramic cleat type insulators were the most common type. Cleat insulators are designed for use with open electrical wiring in buildings and are typically nailed to wooden supports such as floor or ceiling joists, wall studs, rafters, or other suitable surfaces (Abbott 1940). One of these cleat insulators, measuring 8 cm in length, included "P.P. INC." embossed on its surface which refers to Porcelain Products, Incorporated, a company formed in 1927 which continued in production under this name until 1957 (Tod 1971).

The Camp Zigzag assemblage also includes a cast-iron stove flue damper with "GRISWOLD, ERIE, PA, and USA" and "AMERICAN 6-IN" imprinted on the front. Griswold manufactured cast iron products beginning in 1865 and ended production in 1957 (Mosier and Mosier 2010). The barracks at Camp Zigzag were each outfitted with four 50-gallon barrels, welded together in pairs of two and stationed at each end of the buildings (Dan Snyder 2006, per. comm.). For Mr. Bowen to report that each building was "adequately" heated, he would have noted that every morning, one unlucky enrollee would rise before dawn and "adequately" prepare the fire in these barrels to heat those buildings. A cast iron stove, such as the Griswold, would have been located in the mess hall kitchen area of the camp.

Food, Food Preparation, Consumption, Storage

The items included one glass sherd with "IF IT'S NALLEY'S, IT'S GOOD" embossed on the base. Nalley's foods began production in 1918 and by the 1930's had expanded from primarily chips to soups, stews, and numerous other food items (Nalley's Fine Foods 2010). The assemblage also included a large amount of soda bottle sherds from several different bottling companies. Eight soda beverage sherds
were found to be manufactured by the Mission Dry Corporation based out of Los Angeles, California and who were in production from the 1930’s into the 1950’s. An Owens Illinois trademark embossed on the base of one Mission Dry Corporation sherd could be dated to 1939 and was manufactured in a plant in Brackenridge, Pennsylvania. Although the Mission Dry Corporation went through several name changes throughout the course of their production history, they began bottling soda beverages under the name Mission Dry Corporation in 1933. They became quite successful initially with their orange soda that was bottled in their trademark black glass bottle before they moved to bottling different soda flavours in clear glass bottles, often with stippling, embossing, and Applied Color Labels (ACL). They manufactured soft drinks until 1970.

Five soda beverage sherds that were recovered were found to be manufactured by the Seymour Bottling Company who began manufacturing soft drinks in 1883 in Seymour, Wisconsin, and continue with limited production into the present (Toulouse 1972; Lockhart 2004; Lockhart and Whitten 2005).

Wallace China manufactured dinnerware ceramics out of Vernon, California beginning in 1931. They specialized in hotel and restaurant china, eventually growing to be one of the largest suppliers of hotel china in the west. The Wallace China plant was bought out by Shenango China in 1959 and the company was liquidated in 1964 (Zona 2008).

Shenango China began manufacturing dinnerware ceramics in 1901. From 1909 until 1935, the entire production of Shenango Pottery was devoted to commercial china (hotels, restaurants, and institutions). In 1928, Shenango built the first tunnel kiln and began to fire hotel china for the first time in this country. Shenango also ran porcelain trials researching a vitrified fine china dinnerware product. During the Great Depression, however, Shenango abandoned this idea. The Shenango China plant closed in 1991 (Zona 2008). Reporting on the extensive excavation of a CCC camp
dump in Idaho, Rossillon (1999:34-35) also describes dinnerware similar to that recovered from Camp Zigzag. Dinnerware excavated from CCC Camp Hemlock in Skamania County, WA (McClure [2007]) included many of the same manufacturer’s mark including Wallace China and Shenango China.

Food storage items included one glass canning jar sherd with the single letter “B” in script embossed on it. The letter suggests the word “BALL” for the Ball Manufacturing Company which began producing food-canning containers in 1886 and continues to do so. One glass milk jar was recovered together as 21 sherds with the words “...AKER’S DAIRY” and “ONE QUART” partially embossed on several of the sherds. An Owens Illinois trademark found on the base indicates a date of 1937 and that it was manufactured from a plant in Los Angeles, CA. There is a discrepancy, however, between plant manufacturing dates and the Owens Illinois date. The plant supposedly did not begin manufacturing products until 1949 and continues to do so at present (Toulouse 1971; Lockhart 2004; Lockhart and Whitten 2005).

Accoutrements

Sometime between the years 1937-1940, a Philco radio salesman visited Camp Zigzag and sold personal Philco radios that included automatic tuning apparatuses. An advertising token documenting this visit is included in the Camp Zigzag collection. The token has an image of a man looking at a radio tuner on one side and the slogan “NO SQUAT, NO STOOP, NO SQUINT” and “NEW...PHILCO AUTOMATIC” on the other side. Philco began manufacturing carbon arc lamps in 1892 under a different company title. Radio production did not begin with the Philco name until the early 1920’s but quickly became very successful. By 1936, Philco introduced its automatic tuning system that enabled the user to preset up to nineteen different stations at one time. The slogan “No Squat, No Stoop, No Squint” is referring to the modern tuning marvel of pre-programmed station preferences. Philco operated as a radio manufacturer until 1961 (McMahon 1975).
Firearms and Munitions

The most intriguing artifact included in this assemblage is a small, metal fragment with the inscription "STAR SUPER". This artifact was collected from Unit 2, approximately 1 m below surface. Unit 2 was located within the ravine and within the dump feature. By all appearances, the inscription matches that of the Star Modelos Super style pistols, which were produced by the firm of Star Bonifacio Echeverria S.A. in Eibar, Spain. Although this company had been manufacturing firearms since the mid-1900's, they didn’t design the Star Modelos Super until 1946 (Henrotin 2004). Being well out of the time period for this gun to be in use at Camp Zigzag, it is highly likely that this artifact is a remnant from the military personnel known to have occupied the camp site after 1942. Also collected from the site was a single "REMINGTON EXPRESS 12 GA" cartridge casing, two undiagnostic cartridge casings, and single .22 caliber shotgun shell.

Furnishings and Structural Materials

This collection included one metal key with "MADE IN THE U.S.A. FOR IVANO INC" and "211 EAST 21ST ST., CHICAGO" imprinted on one side and "THE YALE AND TOWNE MFG CO., YALE JUNIOR, CF956" imprinted on the opposite side. The Yale and Towne Manufacturing Company began producing locks and keys in the late 1800’s and continued to do so until 2000. A large, metal door lock and keyhole cover with a faint black glaze still visible is also part of the Camp Zigzag collection. The name "CORBIN" is impressed on one side and it measures to just over 9.5 cm or nearly 4 in. long and just over 8 cm or 3 in. wide. This style of lock is known as an “escutcheon” and the Corbin Lock and Hardware Company developed this particular style in the early 1930’s (Hennessy 1997).
Appendix B

Oral Histories

Narrator: Dan Snyder
Former CCC Camp ZigZag enrollee, 1936-1940
Date: October 24 2006
Interviewers: Rick McClure, USDA Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot National Forest
and Janna Tuck, graduate student at Portland State University
Where: Snyder residence, Salem, Oregon

When did you first hear about the CCC?

Well in 1933 we were just barley located in Silverton OR, and...outside on the farm in Silverton...and my older brother was not in school and he was the first one to enroll when they had a...we asked for help from...they called it the dole. There was no welfare system, but it was called the dole, and so he got referred to the CCC and he went down to Camp Chiloquin, down near Klamath Falls. So, that was the first time we had a paycheck coming into the household. None of the family had a steady job. We all worked seasonal work, but when he got down there my mother got a check for $25 a month. And believe me that made a huge difference!

Well then, I was in high school at that time, and when I was thirteen years old and in 1936, I graduated from high school, in Silverton, OR. By that time my parents had moved up to Boring, OR... because dad wanted a berry farm and there was one available for rent. He moved the family up there and I stayed with a married sister in Silverton during the last months of my senior year. I graduated on June 10th and I turned seventeen on June 28th. And by that time, I had gone up to Oregon City and I was eligible to join the CCC. Well...on July 14th just, you know, sixteen days after I became eligible, I enrolled. I was taken up to camp ZigZag by the welfare department of Clackamas County. Paul Snyder was my brother and he was also enrolled at the same time. He was four years older than I.

And you both went to camp ZigZag?

Both of us, yes. We...the guy, the social worker that took us up, had a Sedan. And he hauled five of us up, I guess. Anyways, someone had to sit on someone’s lap. And one of the big heavy guys, I was a skinny little thing, sat on my lap and we got from Boring up past Sandy near Cherryville, and the guy finally stopped. My leg was asleep and I was afraid to holler I was in pain and when we got out to stretch our legs, I
nearly fell down because that leg had been asleep so long! But when we got back in, I let him sit on my lap again! I tell you I didn’t learn very fast! But being just barely seventeen and all these other guys were quite a bit older, there experience would have lead them to do it differently. But we did get to ZigZag. And we were issued our supplies, we were greeted by the company commander, the company clerk and the first sergeant. And then taken down to the supply room. And I told this in a dedication of the CCC statue here in Salem, that I remember all the things that I was issued that day.

And they are?

Well, we got a pillowcase and two sheets, two army blankets, and that was for our sleeping and then I was issued two pairs of dungaree pants, blue denim work pants, and a jacket and a hat, and an olive-drab wool shirt and trousers from surplus from WWI, they were scratchy pants, and three sets of shorts and T-shirts, and three pairs of summer socks, and a pair of shoes and that was about... and for hygiene we were given a bar of soap in a stainless steel soapbox and a toothbrush in a stainless steel tube, and a sewing kit and the sewing kit was that round (hands gesturing) and it had a thimble and needles and a little tube inside and tubes or spools of thread in it and then for my shaving, a Gillette razor and a shaving brush, I didn’t need those for three more years but I got them when everybody else did.

Where did you keep all that?

Uh, we had a foot locker at the bottom of our bed, it was empty when I moved in there, and then there was a clothing locker for hanging clothes that was between... it was very narrow... and you had only a very small space in there for hanging clothes but that’s where we put it and of course had to make our bed.

Were you used to having that many things all to yourself?

I said in my remarks that no one in my family had ever had so much gear, personal, for their own use, in all the time I had lived. So, it was really .. and then you won’t believe the meals they served, believe me, we were, I was, really thrilled with, when the guthammer rang and we were all lined up for food at the mess hall, there were 8-man tables with solid benches fastened to them and we found our way into...to find our place at table, the KP’s came rushing down with platters of meat, and potatoes and gravy and then there was fruit for dessert. In the morning we got milk to drink, otherwise, it was coffee or water. I’ll tell you I was very impressed with the food.

Do you remember a favorite meal or menu?
Oh, they were all good. At breakfast, there was fried or scrambled eggs and toast and fruit and bacon or ham, I couldn't believe it.

*Did you put on weight?*

My pants fit me better after every one. My waist was about a 20-inch waist, and I had 32-inch pants, so the belt had pants gathered up around it. And, my brother was a little better proportioned than I was, being four years older. I gradually began to put on weight.

*Do you remember how you felt the first week? What were your general feelings when you first got there?*

Well, of course, general amazement at this new life. It was going to be brand new for me, I had been a schoolboy all my life, and as for outside work, being a younger boy in a family of 12, most of my older sisters had moved away, and Dad had quite a few boys to help on the farm. So my mother said she was going to have one of the boys help around the house and she chose me to be ... I peeled potatoes and swept floors and mopped and washed dishes, and helped her generally with the household work. So, when we got up to Camp ZigZag, I was assigned to a trail crew and we went out. Of course, I had worked seasonal work in the fields at home too. Picking hops and picking fruit, hoeing hops and strawberries and that sort of thing, so I knew how to handle the tools for working on the trail. It was... they didn't put an axe in my hand, but I had a rake, a shovel, a hoe and tools like that.

*Do you remember where? Was it a sidecamp that you went out on?*

No, we got on the trucks at 8:00 in the morning, on the crew trucks and we went from ZigZag up to Rhododendron and up between Rhododendron and Moral Hill, there was a bridle trail off to the right of the highway, and we were constructing that. So they blasted stumps and big boulders where we came upon them. And we just smoothed out a bridle trail for horse riding. And I worked on that for several months. And then was assigned to a trail around Mount Hood. It was called Timberline Trail, and we were not constructing there, we were maintaining that trial. It was about in August, I'd say, maybe September. We had driven up there, this is an hour and half trip from ZigZag to Timberline lodge in those old trucks that drove real slow and so finally, they decided after we had worked there several weeks, the project superintendent decided that we had to establish a side-camp there. And they needed a cook for the sidecamp. Well, I volunteered because nobody else knew how to fry eggs or potatoes or make pancakes. Anyway, so I got to stay in camp all day. But I had to get up at 4:30 in the morning and get breakfast, start a fire, and get breakfast ready.

*Were you the only one?*
I was the only one. There was only about 8 people in this side-camp.

*And where was the camp located?*

At Paradise Park. If you have ever walked the Timberline trail, you start out west of the lodge and about oh.. I’d say, less than a mile on the trail, they had a stone shelter, that had been built by Forest Service, I guess, in past years. And we slept in there on the ground in sleeping bags and set up the cook-camp out under a tarp.

*So, you worked on the trail from there down to Little Sandy, in that direction?*

We were working, well, we started the maintenance at the lodge on the trail and worked on around towards the north side of the mountain. Eventually, in 1939, my boss gave me a real wonderful assignment. A Forest Service summer employee and I were assigned to walk the entire 36.2 miles around that trail and log it. We didn’t do any maintenance work, but he was taking notes of repairs that need to be made and we carried all of our food on our backs.. and believe me those canned goods. 2 ½ cans of canned goods were heavy. I think our packs when we started were probably around 55-60 lbs, and the bedding was old kapok sleeping bags, real heavy, but anyway, that was the only time I got clear around the mountain. While I was cooking at the sidecamp, they probably went in about 5-8 miles I’d say. And they would take off from camp every morning where their maintenance had ended the day before, and keep going.

*How long were you working at the side camp?*

Well I was there until we closed down, probably the end October, when the weather began to close in on us. And I never went back there. After that, I was assigned to a road sidecamp up at a Hickman Butte, there was a permanent sidecamp up there with wooden framed buildings and we went there and I worked for a few months there until the weather really got so bad. Probably at the end of December, we moved down from there. And along the way, up there I was using heavier equipment tools; they were falling big trees and had a caterpillar for building the road. I was bucking logs and I don’t remember using an axe very much. But when we moved down from there, I got assigned to the kitchen force as KP, and that was real good work because I got 3 ½ days on and 3 ½ days off, and they were the same for all your regular assignments, so you knew you had Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and half of Wednesday.

*What would you do on your time off?*

I would stay around bunkhouse usually. Or play ping-pong, or take a hike if it was good weather, but not always. And of course, there was no way for me to get away
from camp I was just in camp. I had friends I would visit with and from there I wasn’t there an awful long time, but the camp infirmary, lost the first-aide attendant. And the doctor, knowing of my ability on the typewriter and shorthand, decided he would like to give me a try at it. He asked if I would, and I was absolutely ecstatic over it, because that meant I had a private room. I slept right in the infirmary; there were no telephones in camp. There was one that was connected to the public telephone line and that was in the company commander’s office. And our telephone in the project superintendent’s office was a Forest Service line and connected through there. But there was a phone in the infirmary that was also just local. And when I went to work there, I assisted the doctor on sick calls. Bandaged wounds, took temperatures, and if anyone were admitted to the infirmary, we had six beds, then I would be the attendant to make sure they got fed 3 times a day and temperatures taken and that sort of thing. At one time, late in the year, maybe January or February, the infirmary was full, all six beds full, with kids with the flu or real bad colds or that sort of thing. And I did have help from the kids; they would carry the plates of food over and help get the guys fed. I would take their temperatures and administer the medicines and that sort of thing for them, clean up the infirmary every day.

 Were there a lot of injuries, do you remember?

There were always a few injuries. I didn’t ever have to attend to a serious injury. But one time the summer after I was there, we got a call from up above Rhododendron, from a family who had a grandmother person. And she had suffered a stroke. So, they came and got me! What did I know about a stroke or anything? About how to care for someone? Fortunately, they sent a Forest Service man who was a little more... he was the one who drove me up there. I had on white pants and jacket and looked like a paramedic, but I certainly wasn’t. And I didn’t know what to do, and he didn’t either. Although, we did the best we could. They were waiting for an ambulance to come from Portland or Gresham or somewhere down there. It took hours to get there, and all we did was, to make the lady comfortable. She was not conscious. So when the ambulance finally arrived, we were free to go and went back. But I was absolutely useless. I wasn’t in the way or anything, I knew enough to stay back, out of the way, and of course the man whose mother it was, he had a bottle of whiskey and was taking nips every now and then. That was an experience I haven’t forgotten in all these years.

 Did you often have interactions like that with the people outside of the camp? Like in Rhododendron?

No. No, there were very seldom any occasions when we were called upon, at least in my experience. The company doctor was, he was very good. If anybody needed a doctor, he was generally there, it’s just that this incident happened on a weekend when he was gone. That’s why they had me instead of someone who could really assist
them. After a year in the infirmary, or maybe it wasn't a total year, but close to that,
of course, when I got there, the doctor evaluated my performance, and after I had been
there a few months, I got promoted from an enrollee to an assistant leader. Our pay as
an enrollee was $30 per month, I got $5 in camp and mom got $25 by check. When I
become an assistant leader, I got $6 more dollars, and I got it all in camp. The eleven
dollars. So after that, then the top position for enrolees, except for when you worked
on the army side, the first sergeant and the company clerk and the supply sergeant all
worked for the company commander. But the project superintendent who was a
Forest Service, who headed all of the work crews, was Forest Service. And his clerk
had found employment with Fred Meyer in Portland and he was leaving. So, Johnny
Mills was the project superintendent and he asked me if I wanted to take Roy's job.
And of course, as a leader, I would get $45 dollars a month and I got all of the $15 in
camp, so I was very happy with that. I transferred over and became the project
superintendent's clerk typist.

And that was for John Mills?

Yes, John Mills.

How did you feel about John Mills as a superintendent?

Oh, I'll tell you. He just knew the forest extremely well, and he was very considerate
of me. He did like the fact that I could take shorthand, because he had been used to
writing out all his letters by hand, and then handing them to my predecessor to type.
And when he knew I could take dictation, he loved dictating to me. And of course I
had to type crew lists, each day there had to be a list of these probably 150-180 men
were all assigned to different crews under different foreman and they all had to be
listed everyday, and I typed them and then his dictation and answered the phone and
made monthly reports to the Mount Hood forest supervisor. And those all had to
account for the miles of the road and trail constructed and telephone wires strung and
work on the Ski Bowl up there. We prepared Ski Bowl and ski lift; we worked on one
of the early ones up there.

Was it the company commander, the captain?

Yes, now I am having to think back about who all of these company commanders
were. We had Capt. Karr was my first one. Do you have his name?

Yes, Capt. Karr was there until 1937. And then was it William Davies.

William Davies, yes, William Davies was a naval officer and ..

Dittemore? Capt. Dittemore?
Dittemore, yes, then Lieutenant Mann and..

After that I don't know.

I probably have their names, but I think Lieutenant Mann, oh, there was one after him that I ... well let's see, Capt. Karr was the one who was in command when I enrolled. And certainly very very skillful commander. The General was...

The General from Vancouver Barracks?

Yes!

George C. Marshall?

Yes! George C. Marshall was in command of the district, the Vancouver district, and Capt. Karr was a protégé of his, and so he came out to visit the camp a few times..

Marshall did?

Yes, I have a personal letter of recommendation from him, that I would gladly show you..

Do you remember meeting him?

Oh yes, Oh yes.

And Webb and you and a couple of other guys got letters of recommendations from him?

Yes, that's the same kind that Webb got.

Did he say anything to you about your performance?

Yes, as a matter of fact, I tell a tale about when he came to visit our camp and we always were alerted in advance a little bit, and from knowing that he would be there we all had our ties on and were dressed appropriately, this particular time, General Marshall suggested that we needed to do a fire drill. And that was a surprise, because nobody expected that, the company commander or anyone. And we had a little, on three legs, a little siren; you cranked by hand, and alerted people for a company disaster. Anyway, the Capt. said to my friend the company clerk, "Ring the siren", so he grabbed it out of the supply room there in the office, and cranked it up, and the cooks and the camp personnel all came running, and our commander said, "Get the
hose cart and connect it up,” he said, “The office is on fire.” So they ran and they connected that hose and reeled it out and turned on the water, and it dribbled out on the ground. Oh I’ll tell you, we were all really embarrassed, I don’t remember what the problem was, but somehow or another the water at the supply source that hit the fire hose, had been turned off some time or another and not turned on. That was my main memory of Gen. Marshall’s visit.

So, you probably used that letter later on?

Well, yes, with great pride, I have shown it for many people, although I had another one from Lieutenant Mann when I was getting ready to leave the organization. He wrote a very nice letter.

That is a very nice letter.

But, when I did leave, and that was in March 1940. I had enrolled in July 14, 1936 and in March of 1940, I had taken a civil service examination for a typist and stenographer, and I passed the typist part and was eligible for work at Vancouver Barracks, CCC district. And so, they had an opening in their personnel department and I was chosen to work there, so I left ZigZag and roomed and boarded at a brother’s place in southeast Portland and had a Model A Ford I bought from one of the foreman’s wife’s at ZigZag. She had a 1930 Model A Ford Coup and she sold it to me for $105.00 dollars and I had been able to save that money, and bought that Ford and was able to get insurance for it and drove...by the way, Johnny Mills taught me to drive a truck too, and took me on hunting trips and good things like that that I had never done before in my life. Lent me a rifle and ..but in Vancouver then, I worked as a typist and examining reports from all the companies from the state of Oregon that reported in to the Vancouver Barracks. And, did that kind of work there.

I read that you worked as a reporter for ZigZag Zephyr.

Oh yes. Oh yes.

Did you do that while you were working under ...?

That was in, when I was in the camp, working for Johnny Mills, or Doctor Ferby (?) in the infirmary.

How did you feel about that work?

Oh, I, about what?

About reporting.
Oh, that was just a little fun, extracurricular work, we all did that, the ones of us around the camp that heard the scoop about somebody and wanted to get it in the paper. I have some examples of the paper in my file in the bedroom there, but I typed the mimeograph paper for them and ran the mimeograph, I had learned all that in high school so I had the skills necessary to help do that.

So, when you went to Vancouver Barracks, how long did you stay with that job at Vancouver Barracks?

The winds of war were beginning to blow pretty good, I went there March of 1940, and I think I was there, maybe a little over a year, I think in the fall of 1941, I took another civil service exam and was qualified as a clerk typist II, and they had an opening at Portland Air Base, at an army air base, so I moved over there. By that time, I was room and boarding in a house on 33rd and Killingsworth, and so it was very close to where I lived, and I just drove over to the army air base. There I worked in the motor pool, and actually, used a lot of the skills that I had developed at Camp ZigZag. For example, we had a lot of army trucks there, and there were drivers that were selected to drive those. And, we didn’t know Oregon road rules really, so what I was instrumental in doing, was to convince the Secretary of State for the state of Oregon that they could share their examination, their driver’s examination papers, with the U.S. Army. And it took some convincing, but I did, and they did send.. they had at that time two different tests that..they gave one, and if a person failed it and came back to take the test again, they gave the second one. Now, these were the written tests of course, and so I got copies of both of those and administered it to all the drivers at the Portland Army Air base and it was very good for both the state and the US government to have, to be informed of the rules of Oregon’s roads.

So, back to the camp, back to Camp ZigZag, we were wondering if you could sort of paint a picture for us of what the camp looked like and the camp buildings and what you remember of the actual physical structure of the camp.

As you drove into the camp, it was just like a block north of Highway 26, cross the ZigZag River, then turn into the camp. The first building you would come to in the camp proper was the office and I do have pictures of that somewhere. ...(rustling), if I could find it very quickly.. There (pointing to photograph) is the entry sign, now, lets see, the office would have been out here in front, and this is the recreation hall, and this is the motor, truck shelters, and the tool room there, and then these are the barracks back here, four barracks...

Four barracks, all the same size?
Yes. Fifty men in each one.

*And they were essentially one long room?*

Yes. One long room, with double deck beds on both sides, and big 50 gallon barrel, two of them, welded together with a connection for a heating sill (?), and they burned four- feet wood. They split the logs four feet long, you know, they would accept that. And there were one at the north end of the barracks and one at the south end. And, a guy, a camp flunky, that kept them...he started the fires early in the morning and kept them burning throughout the day and at night, the fires would go out. And he would be up chopping those kindling, because he had a lot of those stoves to start in the morning. And, of course, when I first got there, the new guys always had to take a top bunk, and they had a mean way of initiating me when I was there, I was sound asleep and the guys came in and it was summer time so I was lightly covered and they put a toad down my shorts, and I woke up! I yelled! I jumped out of bed! Anyway, it was one of the experiences that you suffer with a bunch of teenagers but they were always a good bunch and there were very few enmities that they ever developed. We didn’t have any bad feelings; I did suffer the wrath of one man who was..he was..he just didn’t like me, and of course I didn’t like him either. We were out on a fire one time and ..because we did go out and fight forest fires..and we were at this fire camp, and we all went and got our chow and our mess kits, and I was sitting there, and he was sort of behind me, and while my attention was distracted, he put a little piece of GI soap in my soup, and I just, I stirred that soup, and I saw the object and I thought at first it was a little potato and I looked a little more closely and I tossed it out. I never did confront him about it, because I couldn’t prove that he put it in there. But I was just absolutely sure that the cook didn’t either. So, anyway, it was one of those things, and would you believe I know his name to this day..Glen Reece (?). But, anyway, most of the guys like me all right and I like them very well, we had a good relationship. They were all always happy to see my Model A Ford coming into camp for a Saturday night when I had the day off.

*When you worked in the KP or in the kitchen was there an area where all the waste would be thrown away?*

They had a whole stack of garbage cans and they were on a place by the back door of the kitchen. And then, we hauled our garbage up to a place....There’s that guy I went around the mountain with *(pointing at photograph)*...I am probably not going to find that place *(rustling through photo album)*..there is the cooks, they had an iron triangle that they banged..Let’s see there was one that showed someone on a porch outside the mess hall, on the backside, that had about 10 garbage cans there and they would fill those up and then..I don’t remember where we dumped our food garbage in camp.. but they had a dump about 3 miles up the road, north of the camp. And they hauled it up.
there...Look at that fire look-out, an old snag, boy I wouldn’t have climbed up there for anything.

*Everything is so organized. You have spent a lot of time with these (referring to photographs). When working on KP and the kitchen, and helping out there, how much of what you used were canned goods as opposed to fresh meats?*

Well, the mess sergeant bought our food from a local distributor up at Rhododendron, Hoffman’s grocery, up there. And he would get fresh vegetables from Portland, I presume, and also canned food and we would use quite a bit of canned food, they would always come in gallon cans. And the food, of course, they would use a lot of dried beans, canned corn, and green beans, and that sort of thing. And then they would have bacon and ham and fresh cuts of meat. We had a cooler there at the camp, a refrigerated room, where we kept the fresh meat.

*So, was any of that material coming from the quartermaster at Vancouver Barracks?*

Yes. They ..The supply truck went in once a week. We called it the candy wagon. It brought back stuff for the commissary too, but yes, the canned goods would probably have mostly come from the quartermaster.

*Rather than Hoffman’s?*

Yes. Right. Hoffman’s was mostly the fresh food..

*Including milk?*

Yes, we would have milk. I don’t remember where we ever got that milk. But, it was in quart jars, quart bottles, like we all used. I don’t remember, it must have been supplied by Hoffman’s grocery. Webb (referring to Webb Harrington, fellow enrollee) would remember because he became mess sergeant in the latter part of his service there.

*How much did you spend on commissary outside of what you were given?*

For me personally?

Yes.

Well, you know, I got that $5 dollars per month and I had not ever been used to having spending money, so, and I didn’t smoke, a lot of the boys smoked, and would spend there money for tobacco or Coke or chewing gum, candy bars. I didn’t do that very much. And I saved my money for when I went home and I could go to a dance or do
something fun with having a little pocket money. And I was a ready source of borrowing for the guys, if they needed $5 dollars to go on a pass or something.

Did you get it back?

Oh yes, oh believe me I got it back! Those dollars were extremely important, I took ... one guy that I had never lent money to before, I lent him $5 dollars or maybe it was $30 dollars, it was more, I think it was $30 dollars, and I took his mandolin as security and held that mandolin until he paid me back. Yes. Eventually, we were able to send our clothes to the laundry and there was a laundry truck that came up every week and we’d bundle up our laundry in a barracks bag and have our name on it and send it in, so I would have to pay for my laundry. And a haircut...

(End of first tape, Continue with Second tape)

Dan was just talking about vehicles in camp; take it away Dan with what you were saying about the trucks.

The old Chevy trucks of the early ’30’s eventually were getting worn out and in 1939 we got two brand new Dodge, 1 1/2 ton trucks with dual wheels in the rear end, beautiful green color, and that was one of the trucks that Johnny Mills taught me to drive and they were certainly... the regular drivers that got assigned to those really loved those new trucks. We had a Chevy pickup that was Johnny Mills run-a-bout and it was always parked outside the office and the keys were always turned into the office every night. We had a regular key wrack where the keys to all the trucks were hung in the office. Well, on one Saturday night, I was gone out of camp, or on pass, and one of the foreman, the equipment operator at the forest service, across the street from ZigZag ranger station, and the mess sergeant for the company, came into the office and took the keys to the pickup and they were drinking. They went down and I think they had gone through Sandy and were between Sandy and Kelso, on Highway 26, when they had a single vehicle crash, and Daryl (?) Dickey, the mess sergeant, was a heavy man and he was thrown through the windshield and killed. And Jakwa, spelled entirely different than Jeff (referring to Jeff Jaqua, current Mt. Hood Forest Service archaeologist), Jakwa was badly injured and was taken by ambulance to Portland and was in the hospital there. He did recover, but he maintained that Dickey was the driver of the truck, and everybody knew that he wasn’t. Daryl flew through the passenger side of the windshield and Jakwa always maintained that Daryl had stolen the truck.

Were there often incidents like that, where people were drinking and getting into trouble?
Very seldom, we didn’t... you could get beer over at... across the road, or buy beer at the
grocery store and there was a liquor store at Rhododendron, and that’s where they had
been. They were both over 21 so they could buy liquor, and they decided to get all
sauced up and drive to Portland and that is what happened.

_Were there any regulations that were put on the camp after that?_

No, of course, I don’t believe so. They just made sure that those keys were all turned
in, every night. And, you have to be of a special mindset to decide to steal a truck, and
go joy riding.

_How did your Mom and Dad feel about you working at the CCC camp?_

Oh, they were, of course, you know when they started getting these $25 dollar checks,
with Paul and me, they were $50 dollars that they got, and that was better than they
had lived in all my lifetime. Because, as a share-cropper in Nebraska, Dad had a good
farming year, the year I was born. 1919 was a good year for the Snyder family because
he bought a Model T Ford farm truck and Mom got a player piano in that year. So,
ordinarily...when I was 10, the Depression started and it was just not going to get any
better no matter what we thought. And when Dad couldn’t see his way to support the
family, they set out to get brochures for the Chamber of Commerce and they checked
Oregon and Washington and California, and they decided on Salem, Oregon area. And
in 1932, in about October, my sister’s husband in Chicago had lost his job with the
city and they had to come home. They came home to Nebraska. Well, Leslie had a
pretty good Chevy automobile so they had two little kids and my oldest brother Tom,
and Dad commissioned them to come to Oregon and find a place for us to rent. And
in about November, they sent back word that they had been able to rent this farm in
Silverton. And so Dad had a big sale, had the sale bills printed in December for a
January sale of all the farm equipment and all the livestock, everything, all the
household goods that we couldn’t take and they sold those in a sale, probably started
the 5th of January, probably 2 or 3 day sale and then we started loading up the truck to
come, and left Silvercreek, Nebraska on January 23, 1933 and arrived at Evans Valley
over here, March 8, 1933, six weeks on the road. They had to drive down through...we
drove west to Denver, and then south to New Mexico and west to Arizona, New
Mexico then Arizona then to Needles, California, and then we had a break down;
burned out a bearing, a main bearing in the engine and had to break down the truck
right there alongside the road. We were there about a week, four or five days, my
brother found a mechanic in Needles, that would help him. And they tore down that
engine right there alongside the highway, and we lived right there, we cooked right
alongside the road, and made our bed out there in the desert, right along side, and this
mechanic...one of my sisters was the main cook for all this group and cooking with a
little two-burner gasoline pump-up stove and he eventually came to Oregon and
married her. It was a real real good story.
So, how did your family and yourself think about Franklin Roosevelt?

Oh well, I will tell you, he is my hero, I revered that man. And all my family did. Up until, well, my mother voted for Hoover at first. She might have voted for Hoover in the election that Roosevelt won. My Dad was a democrat and my mother changed to a democrat and so, I voted for Franklin Roosevelt the first time I turned old enough to vote, you had to be 21 in 1939, and in 1939 I would have turned 21, so I could have voted in the 1940 elections, and so for his second term I voted for him, for his third term I voted for him and for his fourth term I voted for him. Believe me, when I was a student at Willamette University and studied economics, I changed my registration to republican, but virtually a democratic voter. I certainly would not vote for the present administration (George W Bush). I like Gordon Smith our Senator, I like Ron Wyden too. But, Roosevelt, by the way, he was there to dedicate Timberline Lodge and we all lined up along the highway, we couldn’t all be there. I did have one brother that was up there. But we lined up along the highway in our best bib and tuckers, ties and dress uniform and saluted as he drove by. We had gotten word by telephone from the Forest Service that he was on his way down, so we, all 200 men lined up on both sides of the highway. And, Franklin, you know he had his long cigarette holder and he returned our salute. We loved it.

So, he was in an open car?

Oh yes. He had an open, I think it was a Packard, I’m not sure.

And you were right out on Highway 26?

Yes Yes. Standing right near the camp, with that sign showing, we were up the Highway from the stores in town, probably right across from the Ranger station on both north and south sides of Highway 26.

So, you feel your experiences with the CCC shaped your life in many ways?

I should say they did. You know, when World War II came, and I was called in for the drafting, February 1932. They wanted to know what my life experiences were, well, I had been an infirmary attendant at Camp ZigZag, I had been a clerk’s stenographer and went on to civil service work, and so when they assigned me to the Army, they assigned me to medical clerk’s school at Camp Abilene (?), Texas. I went down there and they had this huge auditorium with people learning how to do Army forms, we were clerks, we were going out to be company clerks or whatever. And they didn’t have people qualified to teach them, so they had high-school teachers from Abilene instructing us, and they were reading out of manuals, but they didn’t know
what they...and so they would come to some of the army records that needed to be produced by the clerks and they would start telling how it was done, and I raised my hand, and I would explain how a statement of charges was prepared and what for and when a CCC boy lost a blanket or his gear, there would be a statement of charges against him and he would have to pay for it out of his pay and that was all shown on the payroll. Anyway, I helped the guys teach the class, so the instructor really got to know that I had more than the casual experience with all these forms that they were dealing with, it helped me a lot. When I got my assignment then, I was assigned to a station hospital at Fort McDowell in San Francisco Bay on Angel Island, just beyond Alcatraz, there is a large island out there, that’s where I spent most of the four years in the Army, with one trip to New Guinea to my credit.

Did you ever take any of the classes that were offered at Camp ZigZag?

I taught a class in short hand, I also was available to teach the class in typing when the regular instructor was not there. And, I helped the education department wherever they needed me. These were off hours from duty, generally. I took dance lessons, we had a few ladies from Sandy come up and help teach us boys to dance, we had a little band, and when there weren’t any girls to dance with, we danced with each other.
Tell me about your family and where you are from.

I am an Oregonian. Born in Portland, my folks, before the Depression...you know, I am an only child, they bought a house in Portland and had it remodelled. They were living in a rental at the time. And, it was just great, you know, I was a kid growing up in southeast Portland, and my Dad worked in a grocery store as a manager, but he would eventually go in as a partner. So, everything was great, so then comes Mr. Depression and we lost the whole damn thing. We lost the house, we didn’t have a car anymore, we had an insurance policy for me, for my (unknown)...everything went away! And we had to move.

And how old were you then?

I was, let’s see, probably about 9, something like that. We just, we found a dumpy old place to live in and then my Dad, tried to find work, but there wasn’t any then. He found out about the CCC’s, and he enlisted in the CCC’s.

Your Dad did?

Yes. At that time it was for veterans. WWI veterans, as I remember, it wasn’t for regular folks I don’t think. He had to go to a camp way out on the coast. Brookings. You know where Brookings is?

No.

Its about as far down as California. So he was gone. So then he said he was going to try to find a place for us. So, anyway, we got down there and it was a mill town that had closed down. They just walked away from this huge mill that cut redwood. And he, said, well, I got a house for you. It was a mill house, you know, for the workers. And you walked in there and there was nothing in there. It was $8 dollars a month, I think; we made furniture out of wooden boxes. And of course, as a kid, I had a great time down there. You know, kids make out; they have no idea how tough it is. I fished, I had a good time.

Were other families living in the same situation?
Yes. There were a few down there. But, I remember Dad would just come home on weekends, so we lived there about, a little over a year. I don’t know how, but he found a pretty good job in a place in Portland, down by Portland State. An old run-down apartment house, and you could get free rent, if you took care of the hallways, and everything else that goes with taking care of an apartment. We lived in the basement. That was for us. And my mother, done her thing, and I got to clean hallways and all that baloney and I wound up going to Lincoln high school. They found a place..again, there were a lot of things that they didn’t talk about to me, and maybe it was good in the sense that I didn’t know how tough it was for them. So, they found a place out here called Laurel. So, we moved out there.

_In Hillsboro?_

Yes. It’s just outside of Hillsboro.

We go out there, and it’s a log cabin. A one-room log cabin. And pump on the outside. No water! And a toilet outside. You know here, even with the Depression and everything, we were used to having a bathroom to go to. And it’s a new experience! You know, you walk from your house out to the bathroom..and we burned wood and had a wood stove and Saturday night you took a bath, in this big tub. Put the oven door down so to let the warm air in, had a big tub full of water on top of the stove and it got hot, and then had to ladle it out and eventually you sat in there. But it was all good for me. Because, right now even, I know I could make it. Because I have been through the whole damn thing and I am not going to harp on it, but its just something that goes with you. I have seen some tough times but that background does you more good than you think it would. But anyway..

_We were talking about your Dad working._

Well, when we came out here, then, he found some work with another man, kind of renovating apartments when people moved out. Painting, and you know. So, when he came out to Hillsborough, I don’t know all the reasons for it, but he started a painting business here. He was an artist, and he was very good at it. He came up the hard way too, so. But he done very good work and he wanted me to go to work too. And, I read in the paper about the CCC’s, and I thought, you know, I don’t want to do that, I don’t want to be a painter. It’s a noble profession but it just wasn’t me, and I thought, that sounded pretty good. So, I could always talk to my Mom, I talked to my Mom about it. She said, well, do you want to go? And I said she was going to have to sign for me because..

_How old were you?_

I went there on my 17th birthday. I just had my birthday.
That was 1935?

No, it was 1937, because I was born in 1920. I always had a good time, because I was an only child and you have to learn to entertain yourself. My Mom was a person that always could help you gently. She was never down, you know. She was an Irish lady, she never really punished me, she just would always say, “I’ll whack you!” or “I’ll give you a whack!” or “You wait ‘till your Dad comes home” and you just about shit your pants when he walked in the door! But, he only hit me once. It was quite an experience up to that time.

What was your first memory of your first day, or your first impression of going to Camp ZigZag?

It was such a different thing. I think I went to Vancouver, I think that was a part of their thing. And then you get into this damn truck. And, you get in and you go off, and here’s this place like in the picture (referring to a photograph of Camp ZigZag), and you really ..you go into this barracks and there’s this double bed, what the hell do you call it?

Bunkbed?

Bunkbed, yeah. You know, they give you bedding and you wear the clothes they give you. You don’t wear your clothes, you wear their clothes. And you know, the little things that you have never experienced, like, you go to the bathroom and there are 5 toilets, all lined up. There are no walls, no nothing. So, it doesn’t take you long to realize, you know, you either do that or it’s not going to work for you. So, you just go along with it. Then, I think about, I had been there a week and it had come to initiation time. I think there were 3 barracks there, so you take off all your clothes, and they are all ready for you. The guys have already been there with this paddle type thing. And, some guy along the line there smears you with jelly and all kinds of sticky stuff. So, you finally go through, and then you have to go into the shower, and its cold water, I mean its right out of the river (referring to ZigZag River), at that time you could drink it. And, you can’t leave that cold shower until you could whistle. Now, try to whistle when you are shivering. And after that, you were one of the guys then. They weren’t mean to you. There wasn’t any physical stuff. It was just fun, because I got to do it too, after awhile.

Did the General or the LEM’s know about that stuff and talk to you about it?

You mean the people that were in the camp?

Yes.
Oh yeah, it was just a part of it. I would imagine you know, if I was to be the guy or whatever, running the camp, that would be a part of it. That would really show, ok, is this guy going to be ok for us? I mean if he was curled up in a ball, I mean.. you know, everybody accepted it.

*Do you remember any other regulations or limits to things, like driving into town or..?*

You couldn’t have a car, I didn’t have a car. But there were two to three fellows that had motorcycles, but they stashed them, oh, a couple miles away. They made arrangements with someone living out..you couldn’t have it in camp. That was a no-no. But there were strict regulations, there were parts I could tell you about it that maybe you wouldn’t want to hear. As far as regulations..

*Tell me!*

Well, no, I will let you ask the questions!

*Ok, well, we did find during our excavation, a lot of alcohol bottles and such..*

There was very little drinking. Because, like me, I was underage. At that time I think it was 21, I think its 18 now, but our mindset then was, well, I have to wait until I am 21! So, make a big deal out of it when you are 21, go out and get blasted. And so nobody moaned and groaned or went to the state legislature, we just accepted it. There were some guys in there, there was a guy in our barracks, that was 21 or 22, and he was a guy that when he drank, buster, he was mean. And he would come in.. you know the lights went out at 10, he would come in Sunday night drunk, and he would start tipping people out of bed, just raising hell. He would go all the way down the bunks like that, tipping people out and hollering, waking them up.

*Did he ever get into trouble?*

No, not really. It was just a part of the whole thing. At the beginning of our barracks, at the entrance, there’s of course a front door and back, there was what they called a barracks leader guy. And he was a World War I veteran, an older guy. He was a very nice man. You know, he would, well, he (referring to the earlier story of the drunk enrollee) wouldn’t do it every weekend come in drunk like that. Anyway, this guy (the veteran) had false teeth. And he put them out in a little holder, you know, he couldn’t sleep with them in his mouth. Well, there’s always what we call “fun-type” guys. So, some guy went out and he got a dog turd. And he took this guy’s false teeth and clamped it down..he got it in the morning. He was upset and rightly so, but you know, most of us thought it was kind of funny. You know, along that same line, you couldn’t wear your working boots into the cook shack. They had caulks in them, you
know, so you wouldn’t slip when you were out working. So, you had to leave them by your bunk. So there would always be these guys that would come and eat breakfast early and we had soft-boiled eggs in the shell, they would drop a couple of those in your shoe. Well, you wouldn’t know and you would put your shoe on, and this egg would go off. Those are just kind of things, well, they are fun now. They weren’t too much fun then, but you know, what the hell are you going to do about it.

*And you had plenty of opportunities to get back, right?*

Oh of course. Oh yeah, all kinds of ways. They had what you call short-sheeting. But there wasn’t any physical fights or anything, you know, like what maybe goes on in colleges. There wasn’t any of that at all.

*Did you feel camaraderie with the other guys?*

Yes. Exactly. You see, they busted us up into crews. And our crew was road maintenance and building bridges. And there were other crews that took care of campgrounds and that type of thing. I was in a road crew. So, you work with, probably a dozen guys. And you feel the camaraderie. And that was good for the service, because if you don’t have camaraderie buster, you are going to lose your butt. And so..

*Is that what you did for the duration of your time there, road crew?*

Yes. That’s how a lot of people get to Timberline Lodge, now.

*Tell me about your daily schedule.*

Well, see the military end was from 5:00 in the afternoon all the way around until 8:00 in the morning. And then from 8:00, the rest of the day was all Forest Service. They had control of you lives. You know, you just do what their projects are. But, when you come back, if you notice on the picture there (referring to Camp ZigZag photo), we are all dressed up. We would come back from work, we would go take a shower, and get dressed up like that. Those were army, military..you put your tie on, stand out there where that picture was taken, they lowered the flag, and that guy played the bugle. Then you go in and eat. And the time was yours from then on. Whether or not you could do that now-a-days with people, I don’t know. It didn’t hurt us at all. You know, I’m not an ultra-patriotic person, but it just made you feel good. And everybody done it, nobody bitched about it, or crabbled about it, and so, from the morning hours..from then on, we just did our thing. It was hard work, but you know, you learned a lot. I learned how to run a bulldozer and hell, I had never seen one before. And you know, there was always a rotation because there were always people leaving, you know, doing their thing somewhere else. So this guy running the dozer left, and
this guy from the Forest Service said, "well, you want to learn how to run this sucker?" and I said sure. And you know that was good experience for me. I learned how to handle dynamite. I got a card, a special card, I had to go to school for it and it was a certificate that I carried. You know, all kinds of heavy equipment like that.

_That was very special to get that training._

Yeah. And they had classes at night for schooling and education. And the Forest Service had classes like in truck repair, which I went to. And so, there were a lot of side benefits that you got, if you wanted to take advantage of it. You didn't have to. So that experience, especially for young people, it's too bad its not here anymore. You don't have to get out and be a bulldozer operator, its just the idea of doing it and knowing how it works, knowing what to do and what not to do. When we were on the Bull Run Reserve, we worked on fire roads; some of the fire roads were too narrow for trucks. So, we were widening some of the roads. I was running this dozer; it had a top on it that was canvas, kind of. And the Forest Service guy was standing out in front of me and I would pull back and I would take what they call a cut, and so I was pulling back and he was standing there, and all of a sudden, he went like that (gesturing). And just when he went like that, I had hit a tree behind me, what they call a snag, and I had broken the top off. And it came through the top of the bulldozer and hit me on the head. So, geesh, I thought I was going to die or something. He said to me, there's a creek down there, go throw water on it and come back when you feel ok. So, there were lot things like that.

_So, Bull Run was your sidecamp?_

Yes, Bull Run was a sidecamp.

_How long were you there?_

Probably, up there, we were probably there 2 to 3 weeks. And our primary purpose was not to disturb anything, but just to get the roads so bigger trucks could get in there, in case of fire. You didn't see anybody, on this..now a days they tear the gates down to go on through, but we didn't see anybody that's why I mentioned how quiet it is. We enjoyed what we were doing up there. It was a lot of interesting work.

_Do you remember who your Forest Service leader was?_

Yes. He was an older man and he lived in Hood River. He was a kind man, he realized you know, we were just young guys, but always knew everything. I have always envied men, you know, you got something wrong with your car or your house, you know something wrong, he could fix it. Well, he was that kind of guy when it came to building roads. He knows exactly how to build this bridge to cross the creek or
whatever. Just great, nice guy. Every Friday night, he would go home. And he had
this, I don’t know what year it was, 1936 Ford Coup. And he had bigger tires on it; he
had it kind of spiffied up. He would just stand there and look at that car and away he
would go. He was our Forest Service guy all the time, and he had other guys, their
pictures are in here, that was on the same crew, that would see that we were doing it
right. The whole picture of the CCC’s that I got, as far as people and supervisors were
concerned, was that it was always fair. No favorites or anything like that, so that’s
always good too.

Did your crew end up working on Timberline?

We done everything. You couldn’t go home every weekend, because in the summer
especially, there were always stand-by crews, for fire. So, I think I got home like
every third weekend. But anyway, we done everything. I can remember, it was our
time to be there, our crew over the weekend. There was a lighting strike up in the Bull
Run Reserve, and there was, well, for many years back there were snags, you know, a
dead tree, and the lightning would hit those quite often. And they had spotters here
and there. They weren’t CCC people but they would spot the fire and call. And we
would get in the old truck with stuff. And we would have to cut that damn thing down,
at night, on a slope, you know. So there would always be a guy out there, because this
stuff would break and start burning and you got to go. You got to cut the tree down.
Those kinds of fires, if they are not taken care of, are devastating. Our biggest fire
thing is... we worked pretty hard all day. So, we come in and done our little thing and
had dinner and all of a sudden, a guy came in and said, “we are leaving, we got to go
fight a fire in Southern Oregon.” So, we get in the damn trucks, they take us down to
the Greyhound bus depot, sit us on a Greyhound bus, and we go all the way down to
just about the California border. We get on another truck, and we go way on into the,
I think its called the Cattahottis Wilderness Area. And, it was a bad fire but there were
some CCC guys all over on this thing and I will always remember, they have what
they call field ranges, they are a part of the army, but they are a combination stove and
they had an oven underneath that burns gasoline. And there seemed to be, there is
always a certain group from another camp that done the cooking. So, I was standing in
line to get a biscuit or something and here’s this guy. He opens up this oven on the
bottom of this stove and here’s a whole bunch of biscuits, and they look good but he
didn’t have any shoes on, and he put his foot up and he closed it with his bare foot.
And the dust and ..
But you know you just eat, you don’t care. That was a new experience too, because
we fought fire at night also. It was so bad you couldn’t just leave...and I can
remember, we were damn tired. It was a mountainous area; we were going to take a
break. And to keep from sliding down the hillside or mountainside, I put my feet up
against a stump, and just laid back. And, I had just gotten to sleep and I could feel this
thing crawling up my leg. You know, I always carried at knife in a holster, and I put
my hand on it, and it felt like, 3 or 4 inches long, and I cut my jeans and here was this
great big beetle. So, those are just the little things that stay with you. You don’t know what the hell it is, crawling up your leg. You want to sleep and rest a little bit. Then from there, the fire had jumped to another area clear over by Grant’s Pass, Gelise. So, we get in the damn truck again, that was the only time, I was so tired that I laid down on the bed of the truck. You know, it had sides on it and everything, with a canvas top. We were on dirt roads, you know, they weren’t paved, but I went to sleep. And we went all the way around to Grant’s Pass and into a little town called Gelise. And we found out they were going to go in and try and save a gold-mining camp. They lived there and everything and they mined gold there. So, we walked a little bit from Gelise, and we didn’t have packs, kind of carried stuff. And here comes this pack train, a guy with horses. And I never will forget that guy because that’s what his business was, he...did you ever see anybody put packs on a horse? There is a way you tie these things on, you know, it’s not a box you just throw stuff in. And he was getting these horses ready, and he was smoking a cigarette and at that time, I was smoking too, but this guy had his cigarette in his mouth, tying this stuff on the horse. And the cigarette would get just about like that (gesturing) and he takes it out, with one hand he would reach in and pull out a cigarette and light it. And he always had a cigarette, always. So, we started out to this camp. The horses knew, he just walked in front, and they followed the trail, and when we got to this mining camp, the people were so happy to see us. It was just a family and we saved that farm. It was really neat.

That’s a good ending.

Well, you know, in those days, people would do anything to try and make a buck...we were getting ready to leave and they took us down...they followed a gold vein. There is quite a lot of gold in southern Oregon here, if you can find it. They took us to where they had followed it out. You could see this vein of gold, it was interesting. They made us breakfast, and it was the best breakfast I ever...eggs and home cured bacon and that kind of stuff.

There’s another story I could tell you. I’m going to jump a little bit. When we were working, you know, up at Timberline, there wasn’t a ski trail. So, ok, we are going to build a ski trail. So, there were stumps and trees and all this that had to come out. The stumps, a lot of them had to be blown with dynamite. So, the Forest Service guy asked me, “You want to help me with this stuff?” and so he gets me this pack, and he loads me up full of dynamite, and a whole damn reel of wire and the thing that you press down, and he said, “You can carry that.” It probably weighed more than I did, but you know, you aren’t going to crab and bitch about it. I didn’t know if I wanted to do that or not, but I done it. Anyways, I handled dynamite which had nitro-glycerine in it, and nitro-glycerine speeds up your heart. And I mean it really does, if you handle it all day long, after a while, its just like bananas or anything else, you don’t know, you don’t worry about safety or about blowing everybody up. Anyway, about the second night we got into camp, it gave me a headache, my head would just pound. He said, “I think we got a fix for it, come on over here and I’ll get you a couple beers.” So he
knew the guy, because they wouldn’t serve me anything there on my own. He said, “Say George, pour this guy a beer.” I don’t remember if I had damn beer or not! I never got to do that with anybody because there wasn’t any town, and the tavern you didn’t go into because in those days you just accepted it. So anyway, those are things you don’t forget.

I’m going to jump a little bit here and there, because if I don’t, I won’t tell you. When we first started at Timberline, on the ski trail, they had a little caterpillar tractor, a little one, I think one of the smallest ones, but it had tracks on it. They would ask people whether or not they wanted to learn how to do things, and when they asked me, I said, “Sure.” So, he asked, “You want to run this tractor and pull stumps?” or whatever you do with it. It didn’t have a bulldozer blade. But, you know, you had to get gasoline to it. So, we had a 5-gallon can of gasoline, a 5-gallon can, that we would fill up at our camp. And then we poured it in the truck and then go all the way up to Timberline Lodge, and then you take it, and carry it to where the cat was, and dump it in there. Five gallons wouldn’t go very far, but it went far enough. Anyway, it was my job to go get the can filled every morning. There was a gasoline thing there for the trucks, and the guy would fill it full, and it ran over a little bit. Well, there’s a rim on top. And I always sat in the back of truck. They were good seats, with a canvas top. And I think there was probably 5 or 6 guys on each side. And I was on the end, near the tailgate and the Forest Service guy says, “No Smoking! No Smoking!” because there was always gasoline in there. Well, here’s this gasoline around the edge (of the gasoline can), you know, here’s this guy way up here, he’s in this picture (referring to ZigZag photo). And he just automatically took out his cigarette and put it in his mouth and he went to light, a lot of time you light a wooden match going like this (gesturing), and the top flew off and it went right on the rim of the can! And that damn gasoline took fire right between my legs! It was a canvas top and no one could get out, it had a handle on it, so I grabbed the handle and I just threw it overboard. And, it was a big shit storm. It spread all over the place and the Forest Service put it out. But it was right there at ZigZag, the Forest Service there. We had pulled in there for something, I don’t know. It wasn’t my fault, I had my eyebrows singed. But, that was a lot of fun.

So, for the most part, at Timberline, you were clearing ski trails?

Well, we had a sidecamp just below Government Camp too. We were working on the ski trail and the road. It probably was a part of the WPA, they built the road. I can remember they had what they called a cut, where they would cut part of the side of the, not mountain, the hillside off, and build a road to go along here, and then they would scrape it with a grader. There would be rocks and everything coming down. One of our projects was cleaning up these damn rocks. Those rocks could be as big as that microwave, and go clear over to the other side, they just rolled down, you know. And you do that all day, you know, that’s the kind of work we done on road, just kind of going behind and doing the real grunt work. It was interesting, because you could
see progress, you could see something going on there. It was hard work, but it was good.

And you were there until 1939, is that right?

Yes. I left there, and my Dad still insisted I go to work for him. Anyway, I didn’t. You know the CCC’s..we had a sidecamp down below government camp. The reason we were there is because we were working on Timberline, the food was terrible. It got worse and worse at the sidecamp. So, ok, we were going to go on strike. We’re not going to go to work tomorrow, until they get this damn food..well, you don’t strike the U.S. of A. government! So, we all got together with the Forest Service and the Army and Navy or whatnot and it got better after awhile. I mean, it just wasn’t like at the regular camp. You got good food, wholesome food. I mean, it wasn’t French-style cooking or anything, but that up there, I don’t know, it didn’t work out. But anyway, they thought that they were going to get even. So, they made us cut stumps. Trees that had already been cut, and they are up about this far (gesturing), on some parts of the ski trail because they are in the snow. And we had to get down on our hands and knees. No power saws, a guy on each side of the saw and saw those off again. They didn’t tell us why, but we had a good idea, you don’t strike the government.

Do you remember any extra-curricular things you might have done, after the work day was over?

You know, there are some things that will always stay with me. When I left home, I didn’t smoke, because you couldn’t buy cigarettes anyway and you just didn’t. You just took things as they were, like beer. So when I got up to there, you know, they had this little canteen, they had Dominoe’s cigarettes and Adolots that were 10 cents a pack, so I thought that was pretty neat that I could smoke a cigarette. Once a month we got paid, once a month, in cash, in that recreation building. Anyway, you would walk in, you lined up outside, and they had this list with everybody’s name on it. They had your name and I think, your serial number. When you signed for it, if you went over the line, you just can’t go over the line! It had to be on the line, or you wouldn’t get paid. So, everyone would just be very careful, you know. They had kind of like cardtables, so you signed and then the next one up was the guy with the cash and he was a big deal, you know, a Navy guy. He had a .45 automatic pistol sitting there, and this big pile of cash. And he knows how much to give you and he would count it out, all just like that. But you had to send a certain amount home, you couldn’t keep it all. And then the next table was the doctor. So, you dropped you pants. Right there in front of God and everybody else and he inspected you, front and back. It’s an old military routine, you know. It’s kind of weird, when you think about it. After awhile, it was just like going to chow or something. I mean, nobody ever said, “I’m not going to do that, its demeaning” or whatever, you just did it. But I will never forget that gun sitting there, like somebody’s going to take all the money.
Did it feel like the money that was sent back to your home really benefited your family?

Yes. See, because, my folks bought this place out in Laurel, and they got 8 acres. I don’t know how they done that. You could buy things pretty cheap then. But, they were a little bit strapped for money because my Dad, he found work, but..so that money went towards buying that property. It was $800.00 dollars for 8 acres, $100.00 dollars an acre. Now, it’s probably worth $8 million. So, I didn’t resent sending the money home at all, it was just part of the big picture. You know, we were well taken care of. I sprained my wrist or something, and they took me into the hospital in Vancouver and put a thing on it. So, they took good care of you. It was a lot of good experience.

So, you left in 1939, and then you ended up in the service?

I did go to work for my Dad for awhile, reluctantly. My Dad was an old German, you know, you do it his way. I tried to talk to him about..you know, why don’t you get together with other contractors, have a company that builds houses? With painting and plumbing and all this, but he wouldn’t do that. I could see some potential there, but..and then, when the war came along..I probably wouldn’t have stayed even if the war hadn’t come along. But, it worked out much better for me. Because he, he was always ticked around when he was a kid. He never had a Father or a Mother, he had 6 brothers and sisters or some damn thing and he was always living with them around. His mother was kind of a ..But anyway, so he didn’t really know how to interact with me. He was good. But, we never went camping. Never went to a movie together. Never done anything together. You kind of miss that as you are growing up. You don’t have any money to do it. That’s just the way it was, he couldn’t help it because he didn’t know how. And then I went into the service, but that is a whole ‘nother ballgame!

Did you feel like your experiences in the CCC’s helped you during your time in the service?

Oh yeah. You know, just the little things. Like I said, you go in the washroom in the CCC’s and there is no privacy, its gone, there isn’t any. And so, that’s all kind of behind you. It is. You don’t know what the hell is going on, not that someone is going to fondle you or something. It’s awkward, and you know, after awhile, even in the CCC’s, like when we were fighting fire there, there is no john’s. And so, when I first got to New Guinea, there wasn’t any john’s either. You had to go dig a trench and find a piece of paper. So it was a good rub-off. And you knew how to interact with people. The camaraderie thing just comes naturally.
Have you kept in touch with any of the guys from the CCC's?

No. I just didn’t. I don’t think people do. They might now. No, it never worked out that way. Maybe because of the war. But, that rub-off, was one of the best experiences of my life. And I can’t understand why we don’t have that now. They have something like it, but I don’t know. There is always somebody crabbing about, you know, they're not treating me right.
So, let's start from the beginning. Where were you born? When?

Ok, I was born in Crescent, AZ 1922. My mother and father moved there from, well, they were living all over Arizona. Williams, Arizona, Jerome, Arizona, mostly around Prescott though. They bought 93 acres of land and we lived on top of a mountain there, someplace. I haven't been able to find the place. We were up there twice, trying to find it. Even the clerk's office couldn't tell us where it was. So, I never have been able to find out where I was born. We moved away from there in...well, a freeze came along...it was 1922, and freeze came along in July and it froze up all of our wheat, 90 acres of wheat. They were homesteading. So, we had no means of support, so we moved along to Englewood, California. That was 1922, July.

Did you have brothers and sisters?

I don't have any now, but I had 7 brothers and sisters. I was next to the youngest.

So, how did the Depression affect your family?

You mean in 1933? Well, it actually started in ’31, ’32. It affected us a lot, because our father died in 1925. He moved us up from Englewood to Redmond, Oregon in 1925. He bought a place sight unseen. He had heard you could make a fortune growing cucumbers. Well, he moved us all up there. He built a log cabin and moved us all into it, and then, later on he built a stucco house, and moved us into that. After the first year he found out you can’t grow cucumbers and make a fortune so he had to go into Portland and find a job. He was also a machinist. So, he went into a machine shop, found a job. Actually, he was a very well educated man. I think he had 3 or 4 degrees. But, he always thought that the grass was greener on the other side of the fence. Anyways, he died in 1925, on December the 26th. There were 8 of us children at that time. My youngest brother was born in Englewood, California. So, we had the farm out in Redmond, but we couldn’t keep it, so my oldest sister, she was born in 1909, so she must have been 16. My oldest brother was 14. So things got really really rough. So, when the Depression come along, my mother had remarried a fellow from San Rio, California, somewhere east of Los Angeles. So anyway, that lasted two years, and he wanted to kick the four oldest ones out and just keep the four younger children. So, that didn’t work too good, so we left, and after that things got really really rough. To regress, my mother tried to go down and get assistance at the
courthouse and the judge told her that, which was true at that time, that there was no assistance, there was no agency for children, there was no anything. The only thing they could do was, that's what the judge told her, and she was a woman too, she said that the only thing she could do was take the children and put them up for adoption. Well, that didn't go over too good, so we all worked where we could. If only one could go to work, we did it to contribute to the welfare of the family. And my sister went to work at Oregon City (inaudible) she lied about her age. My brother went to work rolling stumps for a farmer, he was 14. And that's about the way the Depression went. The Depression was really hard.

**So, you were already in a bad place when that happened.**

We were in a bad place. And we were in Southern California and it was bad because we had no land to grow anything. So, we were spent anyway, and so we did everything we could to survive. We did a lot of jobs. We moved out to a place south of Los Angeles, a big farming area, and we picked up potatoes, and we picked up watermelons, and we cut apricots and laid them out to dry. We just, in those days, it's not like it is now. You know, you can go down and get an allotment. There wasn't such a thing in those days, because, in the first place, the whole country was in a Depression. So, there wasn't anything anyway. So, in 1935, we decided that California wasn't the place to be because there was no work down there. So, we moved up, back up to Oregon again. Oregon City. Things got better there because in the summertime you could pick everything. We could pick strawberries and raspberries and prunes and apples and cherries. Anytime you came out to get a job, you could get work. By that time, the older ones had gone and been married off, so there was only 5 of us then. And my youngest brother, he was too young to work, but the rest of us were old enough. So, I did graduate, we all graduated from high school. My brother and I graduated from Oregon City high school when I was 17. Well, I decided I needed to go out and find a job. I don't know how much you know about the Depression, but there was a lot of..they weren't assistance programs, you had to work...like, PWA (Portland Works Administration) WPA (Works Progress Administration) and they were Roosevelt’s idea. So was the CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) Roosevelt’s idea. My brother and I were over in Idaho haying for the summertime, and after we got through all the haying over there, there was no work, so we decided, well, he had an apprenticeship at a foundry over in Portland, but I didn’t have nothing so, I went down in Idaho to join the CCC, but they wouldn’t take me because I wasn’t a resident. So we moved back to Oregon City again, that was in July of ’39, and I went down to join the CCC then.

**So, did you go to the Vancouver Barracks first?**

Nope, we went straight up to ZigZag.
And that was in 1939?


What were your first impressions of the camp?

My first impression was that everybody worked. Everyone had a job to do. You were only paid $30 a month, $5 a month, you know, $25 went home to your parents. And they could do with it what they wanted to do. My mother and younger brother were there at that time, so that took care of them. That doesn't sound like much now, but in those days, a dollar went about 4x as much as one does now. My mother went out and worked different jobs and they were able to do it that way. But, my first impression of the camp was it was a working camp. There was no doubt about that. The first day we got there, we were assigned a barracks and we were told what time chow, food, was served. They indoctrinated us for about two hours. They told us what time lights went out, what time noise stopped, what time you got up in the morning and what you do during the day after breakfast. Your time was not your own time; your time belonged to them. Until 5:00 at night, then the time belonged to you, so you could do whatever you wanted to do. They put us all to work. We weren't on a work crew at that time, I mean the men that came in on that day. We weren't on a work crew; they just assigned us work to do around the compound. Weeding and raking and stuff like that. About a week later, we were assigned to a crew. There were 4 crews up there. The only two that I know for sure, the foreman was Merle Acker and Stanley Ripinski (?). Those are the only two I can remember.

Do you remember what crew you were assigned to?

Oh, I was assigned to Merle Acker.

What did you guys do? What kind of work?

Actually, I didn't get to work on his crew at all, because, the first day I got there and we were weeding flowers outside the office, the window was open and the guy in the infirmary was going to quit. And so, they were going to look for a person to manage the infirmary. Well, I didn't have any experience with that, but I thought, I might as well, so I applied for it. So, I got it. Then I went down and lived right inside the infirmary. We had a Lieutenant Colonel for a doctor, Dr. W.P. Hunnington. He lived in Rhododendron. He wasn't very often at camp because he had a young wife. He would come down by sickbay in the morning and sickbay at night. The rest of the time he spent at Rhododendron. And I took care of...well, they offered classes, different kinds of classes, and they offered first aid classes, so I took it. I don't think I gave anyone a lot of confidence, I was going to class right along with them! Anyway, I got
a lot of information from the doctor. I knew how to give shots, give pills, treat wounds, things like that, diagnose wounds.

So, you were in charge while he was gone?

It was just me.

Do you remember what the common illnesses were that people would come in for?

They were indigenousness to working out in the woods. Axe cuts. Saw cuts. Of course, they weren’t chain saws, they were 7-foot flooring saw. Of course, always ticks. Always. The boys would sit down or they would be working and a tick would crawl up, and bite them in the leg, or they would sit down... most of the time it was on their rear ends! I tried everything in the whole world to get those ticks off of there. I tried everything that anyone... even the doctor didn’t know how to get those ticks off of there. You know what they would do, they would bury their heads into there, and if you didn’t get it out entirely, it would infect there. Plus, with the tick there, you had an infection there. Everybody had an idea how to get rid of ticks. You know, you put kerosene on it, that didn’t work. You heated up a needle and you pushed it back into the tick, and he would back out, that didn’t work. One guy said when they burrow, they screw themselves in, so all you have to do is unscrew them, that didn’t work, because unscrewing them just twisted off their bodies and their head was still in there. That generally was the case, anyway, their head was always in there. I got so I would take a scalpel and cut them out, that’s what I did, because I didn’t have anything to deaden the pain with, so I just cut them out. It did leave a small depression there. But, that was a lot better than having an infection, because you couldn’t sit down! Until the infection got over with, you couldn’t sit down. So, that was the main complaint was ticks. And then the jumping off of trees. It was mainly everything connected to working out in the woods. Everything connected with that.

We did find a lot of old medicine bottles out there at Camp ZigZag, I’m just curious if you remember any brand names or particular tonics that you may have used?

No, we had the same thing that I found later on in the Navy and they were APC pills. All Purpose Capsules. That was the favorite remedy, take two pills and come back to sickbay in the morning. I heard that so many times. There were things that we don’t use now. Iodine was about the only disinfectant that we had in those days. There was no penicillin, or anything like that. There was a powder that was used that was yellow. It was supposed to disinfect, sometimes it did, sometimes it didn’t. Disinfectant was a real problem. Alcohol was about the only thing that we had. Rubbing alcohol.

How long did you work in the infirmary?
I was there..you were in for about 6 months at a time and you could rejoin two more times, for 2 years max, unless you were..what were they called? Not a V.I.P…

L.E.M.?

There was an anacronym for them that I can’t remember. People that were indispensable to the operation. They had some sort of trade that was needed to the benefit of the camp. Like I said, this doctor, we had boy who jumped..our barracks were built about this (gesturing, hand to hip height) high off the ground, to keep moisture down. And they had a deck out there, and then they had steps. Well, this boy, instead of going down the steps, he just jumped off. He had a habit of rule-breaking anyway, and he would come in all the time complaining and the doctor look him over and the doctor would say, “You have nothing like what you say you have,” and would send him back out to work. Well, this time, he did have a problem. It looked like he had a sprained foot or sprained ankle. Well, the doctor, Hunnington, looked at it. He put him on light duty and told me to soak it in Epsom salts twice a day and put a pressure bandage on it and keep him on light duty and in a week he would take a look at it. Well, in about a week, the doctor said, its coming right along, put him on light duty for another week, and then it got so it didn’t hurt anymore, so they sent him back out on the crew. Unfortunately, for the doctor and for myself, he tried to join the Army down at Fort Vancouver, and of course he got a full examination. When it came down to that foot, they found out there had been bones broken in there, and when they set, they set wrong. So, since the Army spend most of time on their feet..this is in 1940 or late 1939. And they accepted him into the Army, but they had to re-break that bone and set it right. Boy, they sent a full contingent up to ZigZag, went through all my records to see what I was doing for him and what the doctor was doing for him and they really weren’t too happy about it. He was doing the right thing, but he should have sent him down to Vancouver to have him X-rayed, but he didn’t. He thought, “Oh, its just a sprained ankle or a sprained foot,” or something like that. That was the wrong thing to do and that’s what he did. Anyway. They weren’t too happy about it. They couldn’t say anything to me, because I was just a flunkie, but they did give Hunnington a reprimand in his record. And that went on for about..everything quieted down. And then, this boy came in from Cascade Locks, and he had a real bad pain in his side. Well, that’s a classic case of appendicitis. So, I put him to bed and when the doctor came down, he said, “Well, I don’t think its appendicitis, I think its food poisoning, its something he ate. Just keep him in bed and give him stomach pills.” So, I did. There were two other boys in sick bay at that time, and I don’t remember what was wrong with them, or why they were there, but there were 3 of them in there. We had a 6-bed ward. About three days later, the doctor looked at him everyday, and would say, “Well, its not appendicitis, because its not getting any worse.” But the reason it wasn’t getting any worse was because he wasn’t getting any food, he was on a liquid diet. I can look back on it and see why he wasn’t getting any worse because it was a liquid diet and there was nothing for the stomach to work on
and nothing for the appendix to work on. So, he started getting a high fever. I tried getting a hold of the doctor and I couldn’t get a hold of him, so I went and told the Commander. He was a full Lieutenant, his name was Theodore M. Natt, N-A-T-T. And I told him that I had a boy there that had a high fever, and I said, “I’m sure he has appendicitis” and I said, “I think you better call Vancouver and have them send an ambulance up here.” So, he did. And the ambulance got up there at about 7:00 and he immediately went into the mess hall and started drinking coffee. So, I went and told them, “If you guys don’t get this guy down to Vancouver, he is going to die, he has got a high fever.” So, they rushed him down to Vancouver, sure enough, he had peritonitis by that time.

Where it had burst?

No, peritonitis is...well, yes, it had burst, the appendix burst and he had all this poison flooding his system. So, they started operating right away and I don’t know what they gave him for antibiotics but I know they didn’t have much. If they had had penicillin or something like that, they probably could have saved him. He died. Talk about a problem. We really had a problem then, because we lost a man. It was horrible. Man, they sent a bunch of brass up there from Fort Vancouver, pulled that doctor in. After they talked to him for about an hour, then they called me in and asked me what I had been giving him, what my instructions were, what pills I’d been giving him. And I told them what pills I had been giving him, the stomach pills. One thing he did complain of was being constipated, that’s another clear sign of appendicitis. Whenever you get appendicitis, you always get constipated. So, he wanted me to give him some pills, to take care of that. But, I wouldn’t do it because the doctor didn’t prescribe that. Anyway, they didn’t believe me, because they asked him, before he died, what we had been giving him and he told them that we were giving him...there was a medicine to relieve that. Of course, if you have someone with appendicitis, and they are constipated, if you give them pills to take care of that, it will blow their appendix wide open. So, when they talked to him he told them that we were giving him this little tiny pill, I think it was pink but I am really not positive. Anyway, they really hotfooted it up there and they grilled me for about an hour and a half. They got the records out, they got those two guys that were in there, that was in there at that time, then they spread a bunch of pills out there. Most of those pills were stomach pills and there were some that were to make someone have a bowel movement. Fortunately, they picked out the ones I was giving to him because otherwise, I probably would have been in big trouble. Anyway, I thought, that doctor is gonna get me in trouble, get me in the brig, so, the best thing for you to do, Joe Bailey, is to get out of here! So, the very night that they left ZigZag, I moved all my stuff back over into the barracks again, out of my room there in the infirmary. And the next morning I went out and crawled in the truck with Merle Acker’s crew. We were waiting there to go out where we were going to go to work, the doctor came out hollering. There were four trucks lined up in a row, in that big building, you know that’s still there? We were in that building. He came out
hollering my name, and finally he came to my truck and he asked what I was doing. And I said, "I'm getting out of there before I go to jail, I'm not staying in that infirmary no more!" He said, "You can't do that, you didn't give me any notice at all." I said, "I'm not even going to back in there, for nothing!" So, he was going to go see the Captain, or Lieutenant, actually, and I said, "Go ahead." And he did, but he never came back. So, I don't know if he did.

Well, I'm surprised he didn't go to jail.

I'm really surprised he didn't go to jail. If he hadn't been a Lieutenant Colonel, I really think he would have. He was a retired Lieutenant Colonel from the Army, he was 57 years old. I cannot believe he would pull tricks like that, but like I said, he was very seldom there, very seldom there.

What kind of work did you do on Merle Acker's crew?

Well, we did a lot of things. We built a fire lookout, fell timber, and fought fire, that was the main thing, fought fire. And when it rained and they had lightning strikes we would go out and find lightning, triangulate it, and go up and put out the fire, even though it would be raining like crazy, those trees would be burning. So, we would fall a tree. Fall a burning tree. One guy standing there watching to see if those limbs, called widow makers, he'd stand there and watch and if he saw a limb start to fall he would stand there and holler. And then the two guys down there would chop an undercut and fall the tree over. Of course, if it's burning, you can't get out! So, you got to fall it over, so, you fall the tree over, then you have to put it out. We all had water in our backpack, 5-gallon cans of water. You had a sprayer, that you sprayed the tree with. Anyway, we did a lot of that. We had one nasty fire there in November 1939. It was over by (inaudible), they sent us out there, they already had two camps of southerners over there, I don't know where they came from, eastern Oregon? Then they had our camp. Then they had one camp from the coast up there. And, we fought that fire for three weeks. It was a massive fire. Boy, talk about archaic methods, we had formed probably a 15-man crew from our camp and we had 5 people go on with hoses, 5 people with axes, and they had a tool called a Pulaski which was a blade on one side and a pick on the other, called a Pulaski. So, we had 5 of those. Then, we had 5 men just who would walk along and take one chop. You walk and chop, walk and chop. The idea was to move fast and build a fire ring. We built this fire ring around it, then we brought in a big bulldozer, an RDH, with a blade on it, it cleared off... it enlarged our path. It took out all the small trees and all the big trees, we cut down. And that was to build a fire ring around the fire. That was the main thing, to build a fire ring. And then it started to crown and it could jump a quarter of a mile at a time. Here you could be working down here (gesturing) and the fire would be up here in the tops of the trees. That was the hardest thing I have ever had to do in my whole life, was to fight fire.
Was there ever any incident when the fire jumped and men were trapped?

No, fortunately, we were never trapped. But, the Pulaski was named after a forest service foreman who had a crew in Idaho fighting fire and they were trapped. It killed all 8 of them. So, they named the tool after him. While we were on that fire, I think the hardest thing I ever had to do was..we were fighting fire and it was really a steep incline and it was high uphill and there was a creek down at the bottom. So, how are we going to get the water from the creek, up to the fire? So, we had a..we still have them, they are called a Handy-Billy, a portable pump. So, we put the pump suction down in the creek, pumped it up as high as it would go, dug a big hole there and put a garbage can and put another Handy-Billy there. We pumped that up as high as it would go, until it wouldn’t pump any higher, and did that again. We went clear up that hill that way with Handy-Billies, to get water up to the top. Of course, we didn’t know anything about airplane drops and there were no helicopters or airplanes dropping retardant. That’s how you put a fire out in the old days. That was a lot of work. You know, even when you are 18 years old, you get so tired, so exhausted, that you just don’t care. There were 4 or 5 of us guys that were sent out to take out spot fires. We were just so tired, we just didn’t care. So, we laid down and went to sleep near this fire and it could’ve gone over the top of us. You just get that way, you just get so you just don’t care. I think that was the hardest job I have ever had in my whole life.

How long was that? Three weeks?

We were there for three weeks, then we went to (inaudible), until that was taken care of, so they let us go back to camp and we were there for not quite 48 hours and it jumped the fire line, so we went back out again for another 10 days. The humorous thing that went on out there is these two camps of southerners, they had gotten there first. So, they had already set up their own kitchen and stuff like that, so they actually fed us. So, what they fed us in the morning, of course, was grits. Grits! That’s what they fed us for breakfast. Then when we got out to the fire line and they would send out lunches. And this is the honest truth, I have told this to a lot of people. The lunches were two slices of bread and in the middle of that was sliced pineapple. A slice of pineapple, inside the bread, and inside that, inside the hole, was mayonnaise. And that was their sandwich. Of course, by the time you got out there, it was all soggy because of the pineapple! Then they sent us one candy bar and an orange. And the guy that brought the lunches out, always stole the candy bar. So, that’s all we were fighting fire on was one soggy sandwich and an orange! So, I don’t remember how long we did that but maybe after two or three days, we went to our lieutenant and said, “We aren’t going to fight fire any more until we get some decent food in here!” And, he went to the other fire captain and told him that we had a problem there and they said, “We don’t care, we are going to do it our way, anyway.” So we told him we weren’t going
to do it that way, we were going to get our own food in there, or else we weren’t going to fight fire. Well, they picked up a bunch of firewood and we picked up a bunch of firewood and we were just about ready to go to it and they mediated it and they ate their food and we got another cook in, and we ate our food. After that, it was better. So, we were out there for three weeks and then about 10 more days and we finally got the fire out. Then, it was time and I shipped over and re-enlisted. I went in July, so that must have been January. We were out at a side-camp and the side-camp, I used to know where that was, but I kind of forget now where that thing was.

_Do you remember the name of it?

No, it didn’t even have a name. We had to go up there and set up a generator and had tents. I don’t even remember what we were doing up there. I know it rained all the time I was out. The only thing I can remember about that episode was, one of my sisters sent up a radio. The only thing was I didn’t know anything about electricity in those days. It was AC. It wasn’t AC/DC like we have now a days. Of course, with that generator, we were on DC, so I put that thing in and just blew it all up. I do remember that. And then, I came home one weekend and my brother was laid off over there at the foundry, so he went down and to Crown Zeller, but it wasn’t Crown Zeller back then, it was a paper company. This was in 1940. He went down there and got a job. I went down with him because I was home on leave. They told him to come in the very next night, at midnight. In those days, they were working 4 shifts, 4 six-hour shifts. And then they would shut down Sunday morning, the whole mill, and start again Monday morning. So, you worked six-hour shifts and rotated every week. They told him to come in at midnight, the following night, and that very next day, the foundry called him back again. So, I went down and asked them, I said, “The foundry called my brother back to work, how about me coming down to work?” They said, “Sure!” Doesn’t make any difference to them, they get a live body down there. So, I went down there the next night, and I called up the camp and told them I had a job. That was the only way to get out of the C’s, go to work, or else ship out at the end of your enlistment. So, I worked until my next days off, and I don’t know how long that was. And on my days off, I drove up and signed out and got out of the C’s, got all my personal stuff. I think that was around February or March 1940.

_What was your impression of the military and/or forest service personnel that were training you?

I will say this. The C’s were a wonderful thing for us boys who couldn’t find a job and were too old to go to school and no way to go to college. It was a wonderful way of getting us off the streets. And man, the C’s did a fantastic job on this country. They will never, never in God’s world, ever have anything like the C’s. I know there were several things they tried, that sound like the C’s, but it’s not. Of course, we did all of our work, we built trails, we built roads, and we damned up sides of creeks to keep it
from flooding, we built a lot of structures, like about 4 or 5 years ago, they had a reenactment of when we built that structure at Tollgate forest camp. People came up, they paid, from the east coast, to see how that was done. They showed how we notched the logs and brought the logs up in place. I think maybe it was even longer than 4 or 5 years ago. I met one guy that was in the C’s with me. His name was Ed Rowland. He lives over in some place in eastern Oregon right now. That was a big deal.

Did you keep in touch with any of the guys that you worked with?

I don’t remember hardly anybody. I did keep in touch with one guy that was a cook up there. He and I came to be real good friends. When I was in the infirmary, I wasn’t doing much, I would go down and shoot the breeze with him. He was about the same age as I was and when the draft came along, I was working at the Crown, and rather than get drafted in the Army, I decided to go into the Navy. Well, he waited and got drafted in the Army, and surprise, of all things, the Army make him a cook. My younger brother went in the Army, got over to Italy and he landed in the very same depot that my friend was. When he found out, he looked him up. He lived over on the south end of Oregon City and we used to correspond and have breakfast every once in awhile until he died.

What was his name?

I can’t remember what the heck his name was. But I remember Jack Easter. He lived in Gladstone. I don’t know if he is still there or not. There was another one, we joined the C’s the same day and his name was Ross Edward Perkhauser. He was from Bolton, Oregon, over by Oregon City, West Linn actually. We saw each other a lot, then he went down south, he worked for the telephone company. He went down to southern Oregon, worked down there, and retired down there. He and I were best friends, we were friends before we went out there. We joined together the same day. That’s the fellow that got me to start smoking! He’s the reason I got in with Merle Acker. I didn’t know anyone from Adam and he was the reason I got in his truck, because my friend was there. We did a lot of things...they were building Timberline, at that time they had the tram built up to the snowfields. And, in the fall, I was on the crew, one of the first things I did when I was back on the crew, we went up everyday. They would truck us up to Timberline, get on the tram and ride as far as the tram goes, get off and work our way down the hill. The pine trees up there, down by Timberline...when the pollen blows, it deposits in these pine trees and it develops a nodule, about that big around (gesturing), on a branch. If you hit them, orange powder drops out. It actually kills the tree. So, we go around, we’d see the nodule on the trees and we would cut that branch off. We were up there, I think 10 days or 2 weeks, cutting all those branches off those pine trees. That was a good job.
Did you do any extra-curricular activities? What kind of things did you do during your time off?

Well, when I was in the infirmary, I really didn’t have too much off time, except at night. After we were secured for the night, I would never see anyone until sick call in the morning or dire emergencies. Then, my time was my own. I tried to...they would give all kinds of classes. So I took classes. I took more advanced first aide and I took all that they had to offer. I took writing and I like public speaking. I did that in high school, so I took some of that. We fished and we hiked around different parts everywhere.

Where did you fish? What rivers, do you remember?

Yeah, ZigZag River and the Salmon River.

We did find some fishing gear around ZigZag River, weights and hooks, things like that.

Oh yeah, we fished ZigZag, not big ones, but you know, we kept them anyway.

Did you spend much time in that area? Now, there is a ravine on the north end of camp, like a gully by the ZigZag River. Was the terrain like that then?

No, there wasn’t a drop-off like that, it was more of a slant. We would go upstream, which would be east. It always tends to be flat out there and we could just walk right out to it. We did a lot of fishing, because it was free and you didn’t have to be a rocket scientist to hold a fishing pole. And then every weekend, if you wanted to, you could get in the truck and they would take you to Oregon City. Then you had to make your own way from Oregon City to wherever you lived. I used to go home, maybe once a month.

How did it affect your mom and your little brother?

She didn’t have to work as much, but it didn’t supply everything.

You went into the Navy after you worked for the newspaper, is that right? Did you feel like your training at Camp ZigZag helped you in your future careers?

Yeah. Two things. A work ethic and getting along with people. Right now, people that get into the service right now, some of them have a hard time, because they were never required to interact with anybody, they were never required to give or take, you just can’t do what you want to do. You have to get along with people that’s all there is to it, otherwise you just quarrel. That’s the two things I mainly learned in the CCC’s
that carried over. A work ethic, like I said, when you were in the CCC’s you worked. You didn’t go up there to further your education, you didn’t go there to goof off, that’s the one thing you went up there for, was to work. And discipline. Discipline. Two guys got drunk. One of the names was Potash (?). I don’t know how they did it, because they were too young to drink, but anyways, they got a hold of it someway. And they came back, and they went into the barbershop. Broke open the doors of the barbershop, went in and took the electric trimmers and gave each other haircuts! They cut all their hair off! The next morning, when they called them into the mess hall, they were just bald as a billy goat, both of them! When they saw that, they knew..they knew who had broken the door into the barbershop! Both these guys, they assigned them..this was a favorite..digging out a fir stump by hand. A fir stump has very little taproot to it, that’s why fir trees roll over all the time. They have big taproots that come out and go a long ways, spread out. But they don’t have a taproot that goes very deep, straight down. Ok, so, to dig out a tree, the first thing you do is go around and dig out along all of these roots. And once you identify where all the roots are, you cut them off, saw them off. You don’t have to worry about the taproot, because there isn’t one. They had to dig out one of these stumps with a shovel. All this dirt, that surrounded this stump, keep digging out around, digging out around until you come to a root, and either shovel it off or saw it off. Well, they were at camp doing this for about all of six weeks. They had to go all the way around, identify all the roots, cut them off. But there was still that taproot that they couldn’t get out of there. So, they went until both the camp commanders were away and they went and got a caterpillar and they jerked the stumps out of there with a caterpillar. So, they got it out, so they were off restrictions.

How did the folks in Rhododendron feel about the CCC boys coming into town?

They knew they were doing a good job, there wasn’t the animosity that I felt when I first went into the Navy, before the war. When you went into a town, like San Diego or Honolulu, you were a nothing compared to a civilian. You couldn’t even talk to a daughter, they wouldn’t even allow it. But in the CCC, they were all friendly, because they knew we were doing a real good job. And I don’t remember anybody looking down on us. I never thought about that before.

Yeah, sometimes local communities can get upset if they feel like work is being taken from them..

No, because they might have had a program of their own. So, and they were doing different things than what we were doing. As far as I can remember, we never overlapped on anything.
When were you born? Where were you born? Tell me a little bit about your family.

Ok. I was born in 1919, May 26th, in Oregon City. I have pictures of myself all swaddled up because the snow was very deep, that following winter. I grew up in a multi-racial home because my great-grandparents came in covered wagons from Kansas. They had 8 children, two wagons, and Grandmother Zella was pregnant with another baby. So, they came to Oregon City and created a great mass of relatives through the years as these people settled, married, and they all had children. My multi-racial family was in a large house. I say multi-racial, I mean multi-generational. It was across from where the McLoughlin house is now. My great-grandparents lived in a small cottage on the property and so there were my great-grandparents, my grandparents on my Dad’s side, my mother, three sisters, and myself. It was a lively household with all these uncles and aunts, cousins by the dozens. They would try to come and visit my Grandmother Zella Aldridge-Green...no, Zella Boylen-Green. There were so many relatives created, that when I married in 1943, Virginia, my wife, was overwhelmed. Of course, by the time of the 1929 crash, things became very serious under President Herbert Hoover. It became more and more serious as banks failed; some of my relatives lost their life savings in the banks that shut down. When Mr. President Hoover, who had an Oregon background over in the Newburg area, maintained that things were going to be OK and he and his wife had the formal dinner every night, and very very.. with great formality re-assured everybody. It got worse. And it was worse. And finally, Franklin Roosevelt was elected, a Democrat, from a wealthy, aristocratic part of America, but who had a wonderful wife, Eleanor Roosevelt. He realized something drastic had to be done. So, immediately he..I don’t want to get into this history because anyone could find it..but, he declared a bank holiday, closed all the banks. He created a wealth of agencies that supplemented people in a different way so that they had food on the table.

What were your parents doing at the time of the crash?

I’m not real sure. My Dad had various jobs growing up in Oregon City. He was a painter, he worked in the mill for awhile, he did various jobs of that sort. He became involved politically with a number of people, Senator McNary, who was instrumental in starting the Portland V.A. hospital and as a young person living with my grandparents there was lots of contact with political people and gradually, he was on WPA (Works Progress Administration) which was one of the agencies created under
Franklin Roosevelt and it did all sorts of work around Oregon City and nationwide. They put streets through; they constructed the steps that became stone steps, under the WPA. They put roads through and built stone fences along the roads, they had all types of skilled artisans. My grandmother, to go back just a little ways, was the...at that time, it was what they called the County Court. Now, they are called Commissioners. The County Court had jurisdiction over what was done, the county and primarily rural areas, and the city had their own jurisdictions, which has changed now, so that the rural is practically urban. However, at that time, there were people who weren’t getting food and my grandmother was appointed sort of a delegate to find out about these people as much as she could, and provide some type of subsistence to them before Franklin Roosevelt’s programs took effect. My Dad being on WPA was a foreman of some sort, formed an organization to bolster the political power of those who were needing that as opposed to those who felt their should be no help at all. They held meetings in the city hall and I think the dues was .50 cents a year or some figure. So Dad became rather active politically.

_A big Union advocate?_

Yes, in fact he became active at the state level in forming the state union of state workers and in what is the state office building down in Portland, there is a plaque dedicated under his name. Later, Governor Holmes, much later, they had my mother and we youngsters, us kids, we younger people, to go down and have a dedicatory deal at his office in Salem. My experience, of course, was that I didn’t suffer the way many of the families had because my folks, my grandparents, had properties in Oregon City, they had several apartment rentals, as well as some buildings that at different times held Frederick’s Hardware Store before it moved into its own building. The Salvation Army met in one of the buildings and there was a..I’ve forgotten the name of it.. but a soft drink bottling plant. So we had food on the table and also, we had many many people sharing meals at our house because my grandmother was active in the county. Well, eventually, on the personal level, on the family level, I remember my mother before Dad was on WPA, was having a rough time too and from a human angle, she said, “Carl, you got to get library books instead of buying those pulp magazines and you are also going to have to quit buying candy, we can make fudge at home!” And, so I had a very practical mother who faced things as they came up. In fact, she was...although she was not a trained teacher, part of the program that was started...there were thousands and thousands of youth roaming the country on freight trains, older people as well as youth. But there was an agency set up to provide a feeling of stability and hope in these youth and she taught down at that Clackamas National Guard camp, where these youths were housed. She taught them more about the practical side of living. There was, at that time, one of the things I remember about that was, we had a dust storm in the Midwest. I think it was about, my date may not be quite accurate, but I think it was about 1934. The soil started to blow away under hot, dry conditions and that’s when my friend Dan Snyder (fellow Camp ZigZag
enrollee) came out from the Midwest to become a part of our local CCC camp eventually. The...oh, I’ve forgotten exactly what I was going to say about the dust storm but it..

Something about your mom teaching the youths?

Oh yes! Thanks for the reminder! One of the things that amused me is that one of these boys that was in my mother’s class said, yes, that he had heard that the damned Russians did that dust storm on us. So, there was a lack of, a great deal of education and scientific thinking among many of the youth who had not attended school. They couldn’t afford to attend school, I guess.

So you graduated then? Finished high school?

Yes. I went through high school in Oregon City. I started working when I was a sophomore or a junior, I think. About a quarter to 12 each day, I would ride my bicycle downtown to work in a restaurant. I was a dishwasher, clean-up, before and after and so on. During the couple years I worked there, before my senior year, I learned to short-order cook and prepare various foods that a restaurant serves. I didn’t do the main lunches, which were done by a lady cook, but I did salads and hamburgers and ham sandwiches and all that sort of thing.

So, with your Dad being in the WPA, did you hear about the CCC’s through that avenue?

Oh, no. It was common knowledge. I don’t know how I learned about the CCC’s but my Dad had connections with L.C. Stole was the head of the Oregon Employment Service and it could well have been that I learned about it through him. But, the camp at ZigZag, which someone may have already said, but it was primarily of boys, young men, from this locality. In other words, the Clackamas county, Multnomah county, Portland, Oregon City area. It was different from those who were shipped half-way across the country. We went to ZigZag and became part of that community in the little area of ZigZag. But many of us would have weekend passes occasionally to go home if we didn’t have duty assignments on the weekends. We perform our jobs and then be able to visit our homes, as well.

So, what year did you join, 1937?

I went in July 1937, I was graduated from high school in June. With me, were several Oregon City boys, as well as local area boys, who I grew to know quite well. At the camp itself...I might add that I was very active in high school, despite having worked and it was my pleasure to serve as student body president my senior year and that’s one reason I quit the work at the restaurant because I would have gone down there at
lunchtime and at about 4:30 or 5:00 in the afternoon for several hours. One interesting thing is, I made .20 cents an hours there and also, I was entitled to eat there. I couldn’t share the cakes that the owner’s wife made until they were a day or two old, then we could share that. But, I could have chocolate milkshakes and I figure I had over a thousand while I was working there! When we went to ZigZag, it turned out to be a very interesting thing. Initially, I was met by our friendly ZigZag host, Dan Snyder. It was later in the evening and he took us around and showed us the barracks and where we would have an assigned bunk to acclimate and get our feet on the ground. He was and is one of the finest personalities I have ever met in this life. I am very grateful to him and we have maintained a friendship through the years. You are kind of at loose ends when you go to camp, because they don’t know anything about you and you don’t know much about the camp. Eventually, you are assigned to do some work, usually its manual work and I was working with some LEM’s (Local Experienced Men) picking up wood supplies at different places, helping load the trucks and so on, getting firewood to the kitchen. Then as time went on, I suppose your high school records were reviewed because I knew typing, and at first, I was almost assigned to be a doctor’s assistant. That really didn’t appeal to me very much and then I met a fellow named Bob Miller who was truck master there. He was in charge of the CCC trucks. He was also an enrollee at the camp. They had, as well as enrollees, Local Experienced Men (LEM) who could be older, but they had the knowledge to run things through their own work experience and living. Bob Miller was there, he had a room, he and I cooked it up that I would get a bunk in his room. That lasted until Johnny Mills, the Forest Service representative, said, “What the heck are you doing here?” I don’t remember the exact sequence, but there was an opening over in the district ranger’s office across the road, at the U.S. Forest Service. Someone was leaving there. So, I replaced him as a clerk there in the office, typing up reports as well as related to the telephone switchboard there, which connected to the various fire lookouts, as well as to the outside world. Oh, and our quarters, my quarters then became a bedroom in the office. There were two of us, an interesting character named Bud Bower and myself. So, we sort of were in charge of any tasks that had to be done around the ranger station office. It had a wood-burning furnace and we took care of the furnace and things like that. We lived there, but we would cross the road over to the mess hall at the CCC camp and of course. Oh, there was one other thing too, before I went over to the district ranger’s office, there was a vacancy in the canteen which consisted of candy bars and so on and so on and the enrollees, if I remember correctly, had scripts that they could cash in for some of their toiletries as well as candy and that sort of thing. So, I ran the canteen for quite awhile. In doing so, I became well acquainted with the mess sergeant and all the other personnel who were helping run the camp. I was moved into the quarters there, which was at the CCC camp proper, and there was a First Sergeant there at that time, a man named Eugene Flood, and eventually he was kicked out because he and someone else were manipulating some weekend assignments and collecting money from the boys who would be put on a weekend assignment, then they would provide a couple dollars and
this man would do their weekend assignment for them. He had a habit of taking on... the First Sergeant would assign weekend assignments to quite a few people and he would take on quite a few people’s weekend assignments. There was a little hanky-panky there. It happened. It happened. Most of the people there...there was a great variation, some had not finished schooling. They had a fellow, his last name was Henderson, his first name I can’t remember too well, but he was an adult educator. He ran a newspaper; I helped write on that for awhile. As I talk, a lot of memories are coming up, not in sequence...but he ran the ZigZag Zephyr which was our newspaper and I wrote several articles in there. He became sort of part of the group that was really interested in the camp and helped. There was a Mrs. Conklin, who was a educator and she came in and taught classes with the idea of teaching these young men or giving them some type of guidance towards jobs. I don’t know what I told her, but I remember being steered towards a jewellery store in Portland. I never followed through on it, because it wasn’t of my interest. But, for some reason, I was steered toward that. To make a long story short, it was a most interesting time in the District Ranger’s office because he was the Forest Service representative for Timberline Lodge, which was being built at that time. As others have said, it was both WPA (Works Progress Administration), PWA (Public Works Administration), and CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps).I don’t know what other agencies might have been involved there. But, there were reports that had to be written up, typed, and that sort of thing, by the Forest Service men and that fell into our jurisdiction somewhat.

So, you typed up a lot of the Timberline reports?

Some of those things, primarily it was timber sale and that sort of thing. Also, during the fire season, there was contact with all the lookouts on these various peaks and sometime during the evening there would be entertainment on the phone line between lookouts. Some would sing songs and do different things.

Did you ever go out on any fires at all?

I never went on any fires, but while I was there, the camp went out on several fires. Yes, I never went on any fires, but they had their crew of men and they went to Southern Oregon and they went on into Washington. Later, after I had a year or two of college, I spent some time on Forest Service lookouts myself. The first time was above Rhododendron on west ZigZag, which was kind of a nice, isolated peak but there were a few visitors there. The second time, I was assigned to Mt. Hood, Lone Fir lookout, which was located about 1,000 feet above Timberline Lodge. I had alternated going to school and I had two years done then, and it was 1941 when I was there and part of the duties related to the mountain itself, besides the fire prevention, was that I was to look-out too. I climbed the mountain every weekend. There were some large, old-like needles, with an eye in one end but they were made of, perhaps, half-inch steel rod with an eye on the end, and they were sunk down into the snow.
where the flagging was supposed to go through the needles on the last part of what is called the chute, above crater rock. Then, as the snow melted, these poles would kind of bend over, and part of the duty was to go up once a week and re-plant them. As the snow melted, though, Mount Hood...it became more dangerous to climb in the summer because many times rocks would break loose and there would be people injured. Finally the mountain became a little boring actually. I never told this before, but I very crazily went up a few different routes than the usual safe chutes. In retrospect, I can only think, “You damn fool, you could have killed yourself!” But, sometimes younger people do those things.

*At ZigZag, do you remember any extra-curricular activities you may have participated in?*

Yes. Yes. While we were there, several of us got a hold of old bicycles. There were times where we were free for a while, and sometimes a truck would take us up to government camp and we would ride back down the hill. It was lots of fun. It was an easy ride. While I was in high school, I had ridden a bike quite a bit and it was quite an exhilarating feeling. It was only one gear, you pumped harder and harder in some places than others, but another fellow and I took a ride up to Olympia, Washington and over to Aberdeen and down along the Washington coast and we went to the coast here in Oregon a couple of times, riding the bicycles. That was way back in high school.

*Were there any sports?*

I didn’t participate in sports, although Henderson coached the basketball and many of the fellows who were so inclined...Bob Miller, the truck master I mentioned played basketball...and they travelled around and played different places. It was good. Once I went down to Sandy High School, for some reason, I think I was free and Captain Dittemore, who was there, I guess he was short a lineman and he said, “Will you do it?” and I said, “I don’t know anything about a being a lineman.” He said, “Oh, you just stick the poles in and when they make 10 yards, you move them up.” Well, it was fine except the ball went way down the field and I picked up the poles and we started after it and the play was called back, so we were supposed to have been where we were! So, I didn’t do that anymore.

*Did you interact very much with the local people in ZigZag?*

We went out to dances in Rhododendron and there was a group of girls who came up from Portland that we became friends with through the dances. We enjoyed having them there and had them down to the camp for a few times. I remember they all worked for the old Oregon oyster company which was down in Ankeny at that time.
So, it was a pleasure getting to know them. The one I had, had a great sense of humor, or at least I thought she did. One night after the dance, boy, I took her to the barracks where everybody was sleeping and she giggled and said, "Oh Bill, don’t do that!" and we walked right on through with a few remarks like that! I don’t know if there were comments the next day.

*Were there regulations against that, against having women in the camp?*

Oh, there must have been. There must have been.

*What about drinking? We found a lot of alcohol bottles in the camp, do you remember that coming up very much?*

Well, there were those who drank, but uh.. you know, I really don’t know much about that. I know the night watchman, the poor guy had to stay up all night. He had an affair going with a gal that was working in the ZigZag Inn. Those were the extracurricular things that nobody talks about!

*See! That’s what the archaeology is trying to get at!*

There were a couple of gay men.

*Really? In the camp?*

Yes. One was a cook. The other one was a forest service employee and they stole a forest service pick up. An old Ford and had an accident somewhere down near the valley, I don’t know where it was. It killed the cook. But, I don’t know what happened to the Forest service employee.

*Did one of these guys have the last name Jakeway?*

The Forest service man?

*Possibly.*

Possibly.

*I will have to look into that, I think I remember someone else telling me this story, but I didn’t know they were together. Were they a couple?*

Ships that pass in the night, I think. The people who were in charge of the camp, Delmar Westlund was the mess sergeant. When I went down to college, he was able to let me buy canned goods at the price that he paid for it. So, I took several cases of
different things. I think the peas were about .05 cents a can. So, it was perhaps illegitimate, but not really illegal because no one lost on it and all gained. It was a favor.

*What was your impression of the food, in general?*

Well, I always felt it was pretty good. I know there would be, for some of those people, they gained weight and that was expected.

*Did you have any distinct impressions of the LEM’s? Or of any of the personnel that were training you?*

Yes. I liked them. I liked them. The first fellow I worked with, loading a truck and bringing firewood and so on, he had just recently married. A very, quiet, hard-working man and I tried to keep...I was more talkative than he, but I soon learned to just shut up and work hard. I liked him. And I liked most of them. At the ZigZag reunion that was sponsored here, just recently, about the 30-year celebration of all these programs, it was a pleasure to run into the offspring of Larry Espinoza, the sign painter. I knew him from just being in the office. There was another fellow from Oregon City, who had a car. He made the mistake of using Forest Service gasoline and that was end of him there. But, I don’t think there was too much of that overall. It was run pretty strictly. I greatly enjoyed the Forest Service personnel. Oh, I also worked for, was detailed to work for another Forest Service man, Scotty Williamson, who was one of your pioneers up there. He was instrumental; he later became Keep Oregon Green. One of the nicest persons we met was an elderly lady employee in the office there who came over when we had to go lunch and that sort of thing and man the phones. Her name was Bernice Hampton, I don’t know whether you have heard of her or not. She also had a cabin at the ranger station where she lived. She was very nice. She occasionally would share a luncheon or something, at her home. She had a good sense of humor and had lots of experience in that part of Oregon and she was still there when I left. Later, I think she came to one of our reunions of the ZigZag camp. There was a closeness among all of us. They weren’t above playing tricks, though. After I was out of the CCC’s and had gone to college, I think I mentioned, I came back and worked two summers as a lookout. Prior to going on to the lookout station...I think this was a dirty trick, but they said that there were some burrows loose up around Portland’s water supply, way up about 20 miles. They asked me to ride a horse up there and see what I could find. It was a little bit like being the lineman in the football game. That was the furthest thing from my mind, but of course I said sure. So, I rode this horse way up into the woods and I didn’t see any burrows and I don’t know if there ever were any but they told me, they warned me, they said, “Don’t run the horse.” So I rode him carefully, except after riding there all that distance and riding back, it was getting along toward evening, as we got closer to the ZigZag barn, which was adjacent to the camp, the began to get a little faster, and then he got into a little bit
of a gallop, and I thought, “Well, you son of gun, Whoa!” and the next day I was so sore, I couldn’t walk!

In terms of the layout of the camp, do you remember if the north side of camp had a drop-off into the river or if there was any kind of ravine in that area?

Well, it couldn’t have been too steep because we did pile rocks and backwater and make kind of a swimming area, where we could go in and I have forgotten how deep it was, but we did pile rocks and we could go down there and cool off. Freeze off.

How large was the swimming area?

I don’t remember. Most all of these things I mentioned, Danny Snyder was involved in. He enjoyed it. Without naming names, but you know who I’m talking about, he decided...we had a party at a summer cabin up there...and Danny had never drunk a thing, alcohol, I mean. He decided that was the night we was going to do it and the damn fool drank a cup of straight liquor. Oh, did he get sick and fortunately vomited it up. I think he just decided, “Well, I’m going to do it.” But I don’t know if he ever did it again, I will have to ask him if he ever drank anything else! I mean, good lord, a cup of straight liquor!

Where was that summer cabin?

It was the cabin that belonged to the folks of a young fellow who worked at the Sandy Market. We knew the young fellow, I don’t know how it was arranged. But later, when I was in the Army, I had leave and was married then, so it was after 1943, came down...well, I can’t remember their names, but they let Virginia and I stay at the cabin and we stayed there during part of my furlough, before I went overseas. We hiked from there up to West ZigZag where I had stationed in the summer of 1940, the first mountain, and that was up above Rhododendron, looking down. And we looked forward all day to coming down and cooking some steaks we had purchased. And when we got down there, for some reason, I don’t know, lapse in taking care of them, but they had spoiled.

Wow. Well, that’s so interesting that somehow, even though you were all still in camp, everyone got up there for the weekend?

Well, not everyone. You form relationships.

Ok. Well, so you were there until 1939?

Yes. September 5, 1939. I was going to Oregon State. Three or four or five of us had an upstairs apartment. I had a bicycle down there and rode around. I worked NYA
(National Youth Administration), have you had any contact with them? I think that was 2 bits an hour, helping the teachers’ mimeograph stuff, you know way back in the mimeograph days. And also typing again. I recommend everyone type, now they should know the computer. Yeah, I had a lot of nice teachers and secretaries. I worked over in the athletic department quite a bit to type up their tests. I didn’t do too much of the stencil work. That’s what the secretaries did, then they would give it to me to mimeograph.

So, you graduated from college?

No. Two years and I was...in 1941 up on ZigZag. Lots of overseas visitors were coming out of Europe and they were at the Lodge a lot. I served cups of tea there. Incidentally, when I went to the cabin that spring, my supplies went up to (inaudible), that was the old ski lift over to the east. Then I took a toboggan and ran them over to the cabin. As the snow melted down through the summer, I would find all kinds of sunglasses. Nothing of real value.

Were you drafted or did you enroll then into the Army?

No. I had gone down to Oregon State originally with my minister’s letter protesting that I was a conscientious objector. That was 1939, and the Colonel down at Oregon State, they have ROTC, he was really angry about...but I was very sincere. I had read All is Quiet on the Western Front and Merchants of Death, where the munitions maker’s had made such excess profits in prior wars. Johnny Get Your Gun, a sad story about a youth that was gravely wounded in WWI and spent the rest of his life in a semi-conscious state. There was lots of anti-war sentiment until things chilled...well, you asked if I was drafted. Well, I was working at Boeing in the fall of December, 1941, and BANG there it was, you know Pearl Harbor. So, I went home for Christmas and came back and enlisted January 2, 1942. Actually, I hate to say this in a way, because for many it didn’t, but my Army work was very interesting. I got into messages, where they were coded and we had a rather small, select group. It was the Alaskan communication system, which in peacetime and through the war, was the only telegraph outfit into Alaska. When war started it was put into the system for the communications in Alaska, the Army communications, and to handle the Army communications out on the Aleutian Islands, all the way when that affair was going on. I went there later, in 1944 to 1945, I was in the Aleutian Islands, again handling the classified communications. Then, I came back in 1945, as an interesting sideline... The United Nations Conference was starting down in San Francisco and I had just came back and I was assigned to go there and work and it was in the Secretary of State’s Stetania’s message office, classified. All these secret messages and such coming in from all over of the world. The headquarters’ was the Fairmont Hotel, where our center was, like I say, I was lucky in the Army. Virginia was down there with me and we rented a house, out toward the Sunset District, and lived there but
came into town to work in the Fairmont Hotel. And, it was very impressive for a young man from Oregon City to ride up and down the elevator with Molotov the Russian and Jan Schmidt the General from South Africa. These representatives were all there. So, we felt quite a part of the United Nations. Then, Roosevelt died in April and he didn’t finish the conference so then, who is this Missourian who was now President? It was a time of great turmoil. I left, we left there, I think most everybody left there with high hopes. Very high hopes. And, as it turned out, it’s been positive in some ways and it hasn’t been in others. But that was really an interesting time of life.

*Did you feel like in some ways, your experiences at the camp expanded into your future life?*

Oh yes. I think so. Both that and the Army. Both made me decide that I wasn’t going to be affected by a lot of things that happened. I’m living within myself and I don’t have to become agitated or take things that happened and let them upset me too much. In some ways, I think that’s good, and in some ways you can build a shell around you. So, now I try to work things out at this level. I have been extremely fortunate, I don’t believe in fate or anything like that, but I have a partner that is just great for me. We are both good for each other. She’s 91 and I’m 89, I’m amazed!