A small patch of land located eight miles outside of Poplar Bluff, Missouri, was home to an African-American Civilian Conservation Corps company from 1935 to 1941. Company 3760, one of four African-American companies formed in Missouri, was the only one welcomed from the outset by the neighboring white community. Although racial violence and lynchings had occurred in the area in the early part of the twentieth century, Poplar Bluff's white leaders recognized the economic value of a CCC camp in the county and not only accepted it but worked to keep the African-American camp in their community despite racial tensions.

THE 3760

AN AFRICAN-AMERICAN CCC COMPANY

he Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was created shortly after President Franklin Roosevelt took office in 1933. During its nine-year life, the emergency relief agency employed three million men between the ages of 18 and 25 "to provide for the restoration of the country's depleted natural

resources" and to improve forests to make them fit for public use. Although the unemployment rate among African-Americans was twice the national average in 1933, only a quarter of a million of those employed by the CCC were African-American.

In the early years of the CCC, racially integrated camps could be found everywhere but in the South. Each camp was like a "selfsufficient model city"3 and included recreational facilities like swimming pools, horseshoe pits, tennis courts, boxing rings, baseball fields, and basketball courts. In general, there were few racial problems in these integrated camps; however, in 1935, CCC Director Robert Fechner, under pressure from local leaders as well as CCC and U.S. Army administrators, ordered all integrated camps disbanded unless there were not enough black enrollees in a state to field a company. The National Association of the Advancement of Colored People accused Fechner of discrimination, but Fechner explained that "the negro enrollees themselves prefer to be in companies composed exclusively of their own race."4 He also asserted that the work, equipment, food, and quarters were the same as for white enrollees, and that he had not heard any complaints. Fechner's decision to segregate increased the number of all-black camps, some of which would be adjacent to communities wary of having 200 young black men living near white women and children.

When white communities were notified that an incoming company would be composed exclusively of African-Americans, town leaders often responded with letters of complaint and sent petitions for the withdrawal of support for the camp. No camp meant that economically beneficial projects would not be completed and businesses would lose revenue. Nonetheless, some communities willingly accepted such losses to keep blacks away, making the placement of black companies difficult, even outside the segregated South.⁵

When two Ohio senators questioned Fechner about how the agency chose where to send its men, Fechner responded: "[T]here are communities and States that do not want and will not accept a Negro Civilian Conservation Corps company. This is particularly true in localities that have a negligible Negro population. There were so many vigorous complaints and protests that I felt it was necessary to direct Corps Area Commanders to find a location within their State of origin for all Negro Civilian Conservation Corps companies." Many states, however, did not want even their own African-American citizens in camps within their own borders, citing concerns about the safety of white citizens. Fechner often moved black companies to less hostile areas to avoid forcing a community to accept a black company.

Fechner told the Ohio senators that when "the citizens of [an

BY SARAH M. ZARAGOZA



This page from the 1937 CCC Annual shows the variety of activities available specifically to the men of Company 3760. Sports included basketball and baseball; recreational activities included pool and music.

Ohio] community learned that a Negro company was to be sent to the camp, they absolutely refused to permit the company to occupy the camp and we were forced to completely abandon the project." In contrast, the citizens of Poplar Bluff, Missouri, did not resist the placement of an African-American company in the community. Rather, the historical record reflects gratitude for the young men's work and the belief that their buying power and that of the camp's for supplies would help the local economy.

THE CCC COMES TO MISSOURI

Companies of approximately 200 young men—some from the surrounding area—lived in the CCC camps. They were given housing, clothing, educational opportunities, and a small salary



Projects like this one—thinning in shortleaf pine—were done by CCC companies in Missouri.

of \$30 a month, \$25 of which was automatically sent home. On weekends, depending on the camp's location and the work schedule, they could visit the nearest town. Usually located near small, economically depressed towns, their money was welcomed by local businessmen. The men received job training in forestry, blacksmithing, carpentry, truck driving, cooking and baking, construction, and other occupations. Land restoration work included planting trees, building roads and dams, fighting fires, controlling pests and erosion, putting up telephone lines, and building administrative and residential buildings for the Forest Service. The men also learned a work ethic, how to take orders, safety, rules of conduct, and "the value of order, regularity, neatness, and independence." In sum, wrote Fechner's successor J. J. McEntee in his final report about the accomplishments of the program, "The CCC camps did make good citizens." 10

In all, the CCC formed ninety-three companies in Missouri. The state's four African-American companies resided in at least six camps around the state, four of them in eastern Missouri. Company 1728 formed in May 1934 and lived in Liberty, near Kansas City. Company 3748 organized on July 1, 1935, and moved to its permanent camp in Delta in southeastern Missouri a few weeks later. 11 Company 1743 (originally Company 694) organized in 1933 and was sent to South Dakota but returned in October 1933 and set up camp near St. Joseph, in northwestern Missouri. In June 1934, the company moved to Washington State Park in Cadet, southwest of St. Louis, and then to Florida, Missouri, just north of St. Louis. On June 1, 1935, twelve men from the 1743 formed Company 3760, the last African-American company organized in Missouri. The rest of the company arrived in Poplar Bluff on June 28, 1935, and remained until at least 1941. 12

Companies 1743 and 3748, both based in eastern Missouri, were initially rejected but then embraced by their local communities. The 1743, known as the Thunderbirds, is the best known

and documented of the three companies. While working in Washington State Park, the Thunderbirds earned a good reputation with the nearby town of DeSoto. When the announcement came that the company was to be reassigned to work on the Mark Twain State Park, the local chamber of commerce, the American Legion, and the DeSoto city council all sent petitions requesting that the 1743 remain.¹³

The town of Florida, however, was initially apprehensive and petitioned against the 1743's placement at the nearby camp. One petition stated, "Our view is that we do not think a colored camp should be placed in Mark Twain Park. There are no colored people within a radius of sixteen miles of Florida. It is believed a camp composed of white boys will fit into our economical and social life much better than colored boys." Another community petition went into more detail about why they did not want African-Americans in the camp:

We the undersigned citizens of Florida, Missouri, and Monroe County hereby certify that we do not desire to have a colored Civilian Conservation Corps Camp established in Florida, Missouri. We feel that situated as we are surrounded by thirteen (13) towns that have a negro population that it would just be a matter of time until this town and county would also have an excess population of negroes. The women folks of Florida, Missouri, fear that the establishment of a colored Civilian Conservation Corps Camp in Florida, Missouri, would be a menace to their safety and welfare. However, we are willing to cooperate in every way possible to establish a Junior White Civilian Conservation Corps Camp at Florida, Missouri, and will give our support and cooperation in helping to establish, and maintain this said Junior White Civilian Conservation Corps Camp, if and when same is established. 15

The community eventually learned that their opposition to the 1743 would likely mean no CCC camp at all. Florida businessmen and many citizens recognized that they needed CCC labor to develop the Mark Twain State Park, and that the community could not afford to lose the economic benefits of a camp. The businessmen organized a bus trip to Washington State Park so that residents could see the work that the 1743 had accomplished. The tour worked, and the community decided they would rather have an African-American camp than no camp at all. A new petition stated that the people of Florida did not object to the presence of the 1743 in their community. In December 1939, the company transferred to the Mark Twain State Park, where they remained until they disbanded in July 1942.

On July 15, 1935, the small town of Delta learned from the Cape Girardeau Southeast Missourian that a contingent of CCC enrollees was scheduled to arrive that week in the partially constructed camp four miles from town. Although the U.S. Army usually notified a town in advance that their camp would house an African-American company, the arrival of 185 African-American men from Company 3748 the next day apparently surprised the citizens of Delta. The paper stated, "It had been generally understood here until today that the workers would be white men."17 The article also described Delta as a town with no black residents and the nearby community of Allenville as only having a dozen black families. On June 17, the Southeast Missourian described the activity in the camp, including the presence of several local observers. The locals had little to say about what they saw, but they did state that they planned to request that the black company be replaced with a white one. They also did not believe they would have to see the enrollees very often, since the men would be taken to Cape Girardeau for their time off and not come into town. The reporter went on to describe the enrollees as "idle," one enrollee as "a strapping Negro," another enrollee as possessing "big arms and shoulders"; he wrote that there was "no hustle" in the camp, and that the men played cards and gambled.18

While the 1743 worked in state parks, the men of the 3748 worked on the Little River drainage district. Much of their work consisted of manual ditch digging. The Seven Counties Malarial Control Unit held a meeting at the Delta camp in October 1935 to discuss the use of CCC labor in the district. U.S. Representative Orville Zimmerman of Kennett explained that the government allocated 47 camps to work on malaria control, and that they hoped to eventually have eight to ten CCC camps in the district. Lewis Jones of the U.S. Department of the Interior reminded the community that its cooperation was a major factor in keeping a camp in the area. The importance of the drainage system was probably a factor in the 3748's remaining in Delta, even though the community was not pleased with the color of the enrollees' skin. It is unknown how long the company remained in Delta, but they were there at least until 1937.

COMPANY 3760 ARRIVES IN POPLAR BLUFF

Though usually located in state or federal forests and parks, camps were sometimes established on community land. When the small town of Hayti, Missouri, learned in early 1935 that the camp local businessmen and the Lions Club had raised money to build would house the all-black 3760, the community complained that the presence of the black men would cause racial violence in their town

and demanded their money back. The protests from Hayti residents forced officials to find a new location for the company. In May 1935, the town of Poplar Bluff learned that a CCC camp was under construction approximately eight miles northwest of town. Even though officials believed there would be less racial tension in Poplar Bluff than in Hayti, the area did have a history of race problems. There had been at least two attempted lynchings of young black men in the county, one around 1905 and another in 1911. In both cases, law enforcement officials were able to remove the men from the area before the lynch mobs could kill them. The 1920s had seen Ku Klux Klan activity throughout the surrounding county.²¹

In late June, the Poplar Bluff *Daily American Republic* announced that a dozen enrollees had arrived to ready the camp for the rest of the company. Like the residents of Delta, the people of Poplar Bluff apparently did not know that their camp would house African-Americans. On July 9, the newspaper announced the arrival of the 200 "Negroes" to officially open the CCC camp. Although the paper mentions "concerned" residents, there is no evidence that the citizens of Poplar Bluff tried to stop or were against the location of the company in their community.²²

Life in the camp for the African-American enrollees was demanding and the discipline strict, yet inspection reports describe camp morale as good to excellent throughout its seven-year existence.²³ Aleene Sanders, a Poplar Bluff resident, interviewed Robert Sloan and James Johnson for her unpublished book, *Remembering the CCC*, and included descriptions of camp life. Sloan, a local enrollee, recalled that a typical day started with making the bed, cleaning the barracks, eating a good breakfast in the mess hall, and then going to work. Sloan remembered that enrollees received hot lunches in the field in insulated cans, which may have been a result of an incident Archie Moore recounted in his autobiography. Moore, who was an enrollee in 1935 or 1936,²⁴ mentioned a small protest over cold lunches in the field, for which several enrollees were dishonorably discharged.²⁵ At dinner, rules required the men to wear their dress uniforms, including ties. One enrollee realized that the rule did not state that the ties had to be tied. Sloan recalled that "dangling ties" became the popular way to wear ties from that time on.26

The 3760 was a very athletic and musical company. Cheeks recalled with pride that the baseball team won the district championship in Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1938. The basketball team was also very good and finished second in 1937 in the Missouri-Kansas District.²⁷ Poplar Bluff's African-American high school, Wheatley, won the state basketball championship in 1938 with the help of CCC enrollees who attended the school half-time. Archie Moore, who would eventually become the light-heavy-weight boxing champion of the world, started a boxing club that participated in tournaments across the state and trained fellow enrollees.²⁸ The 3760 also formed a twenty-one piece orchestra to entertain the community.

Education was an important aspect of camp life. James Johnson, who attended Wheatley High School half a day and worked half a day, recalled having good teachers. Each camp had an educational adviser who organized night classes and lectures. Night classes ranged from basic, elementary courses to university correspondence courses. In 1936 the most popular class was "Citizenship," with twenty-nine attendees, and the second most popular, with twenty-eight students, was "Negro History." Camp



Erosion on the Castor River District, taken on June 24, 1937, by Walter H. Shaffer of the U.S. Forest Service. CCC companies like the 3760 undertook restoration of badly eroded areas like this one north of Poplar Bluff.

inspection reports from 1938 and 1940 list "Table Waiting" as an educational course.²⁹ Olen Cole found in his research on California's African-American CCC camps that table waiting or serving was commonly taught in African-American camps but not in white camps—one of the few differences in CCC educational programs.³⁰ Lectures—"Prevention of Venereal Disease," "Negro Problems," "Christian Character"—were also a part of the curriculum.

On the Mark Twain National Forest, which has districts scattered across the state, the men from twenty-three CCC camps aided in firefighting, planting trees, and building roads, dams, wildlife refuges, telephone lines, recreational buildings, lookout towers, and residential and administrative buildings. As a designated forestry camp, much of the 3760's work centered on planting trees, fighting fires, and building roads. James Johnson remembered getting so cold while planting trees in the winter that he built a fire to keep warm. After that incident, the camp commander reassigned Johnson to design signs around the camp and sharpen tools. Johnson also recalled fighting a fire near Williamsville, Missouri, for three days. Archie Moore wrote that crews cleared roads in the area for engineers and surveyors.31 The 3760 also built the Poplar Bluff Ranger District administrative building and residence and worked on the Wolf Island Project on the Mississippi River repairing levees.32

COMMUNITY AND RACE RELATIONS

After reporting Company 3760's arrival on July 9, 1935, the *Daily American Republic* did not mention the company again until September, when the CCC boys played the "colored" Poplar Bluff baseball team.³³ Interviews with black and white members of

the community revealed that the community was pleased to have a CCC camp in the area regardless of the enrollees' race. Edward Cheeks, an African-American man born and raised in Poplar Bluff but not an enrollee, remembered that the local African-Americans, especially the "young ladies," were "very excited" to have the camp nearby. A member of the 3760 and a longtime resident of Poplar Bluff, James Johnson recalled that the African-American community welcomed the camp, and that many of its young men were hopeful that they would be able to join the CCC. Johnson did not remember anyone's being upset about the black company's presence.

Cheeks recalled that Poplar Bluff was a small enough community in the 1930s that everyone knew each other. He said that although racial tension surfaced in the community every once in a while and fights broke out, most of the time people got along. He recalled that the all-black baseball team did not have any problems with the white teams they played from neighboring communities. Johnson believed that the town's black residents did not mind that Poplar Bluff was segregated because they had their own places to go for entertainment and food. He did not remember much racial tension in the community and stated that African-Americans stood up for themselves and would not take any "mess" from anyone. He recalled that black and white kids played together, mostly baseball, and that he never had any problems with the white boys he played with.

A. E. Christie, a white who was only seven years old when the 3760 arrived, recalled that although there was prejudice, he remembered only positive comments about the enrollees, usually about their good work. Ralph Freer, a white man who lived near Poplar Bluff and was himself a CCC enrollee stationed elsewhere, remembered that people were very happy

about the camp and were glad that the boys would earn money.³⁷ He believed that people did not care that the enrollees were black.

While these interviews provide a generally positive view of race relations in Poplar Bluff, Archie Moore, from St. Louis, where there was a large African-American population, recalled circumstances in the community differently. An amateur boxer at the time, Moore recounted an incident in which he handily beat a local white boy in a match. After he had knocked out his opponent, a local man exclaimed, "For two cents I'd shoot that n****." The camp commander took the threat seriously and rushed Moore and the other CCC boys to the trucks and back to camp. Angry locals followed, but the commander stood at the entrance with a submachine gun to prevent the mob from entering or causing any more trouble. Moore wryly summed up the locals as "never [being] too friendly to us." 39

Nevertheless, just four months after the camp opened, when the *Daily American Republic* announced that the 3760 was one of nine camps scheduled to be closed in Missouri, the response from the chamber of commerce was swift. The next day the paper reported that its president, P. G. Haag, had sent telegrams to Missouri's senators and representatives to "vigorously" protest the closing of the Poplar Bluff CCC camp. Haag believed that its closure would bring hardship to the city. The article explained that the chamber had gone out of its way to ensure a positive relationship with the company and had visited the camp several times to show support for the enrollees and make them feel welcome in the community. The chamber had even brought musical entertainment to the camp. Haag also mentioned that local businessmen benefited from the enrollees' money and work and would feel their loss.⁴⁰

Civic leaders had good reason to be concerned. In 1934 as many as a thousand families in the county were receiving some type of public relief.⁴¹ The enrollees' buying power was important to the area. Although business leaders found it hard to believe the camp would be closed so soon after it had been built, they knew that DeSoto had already failed in its bid to keep its African-American company. When the camp commander, Everett Wynn, received orders on October 18 to prepare the Poplar Bluff camp for closure, civic groups and business leaders sent a letter through him to Robert Fechner demanding that the camp be designated a permanent camp and remain open.

It is difficult to understand why Fechner decided to close the Poplar Bluff Camp, given the troubles he faced in placing African-American companies. In Poplar Bluff, he had a community that not only tolerated an African-American company but was fighting to retain it. In his reply to the Poplar Bluff civic groups, he stated that the Forest Service recommended the camp be closed because it had not received the expected funds for acquiring land and therefore did not need the camp's labor. He also stated that the community should not worry because the camp's closure would not be permanent.⁴²

It is also not clear why Fechner changed his mind. Perhaps he realized that leaving the 3760 in Poplar Bluff would avoid the difficulty of placing an African-American company in a less welcoming community, or perhaps he was impressed by the community's embrace of the company; regardless, on October 28, 1935, the *Daily American Republic* informed the community that Company 3760 would remain. A camp in Greenville, Missouri, approxi-



The Poplar Bluff Ranger Station was built by the 3760.

mately 25 miles north of Poplar Bluff, would be closed instead.

After this close call, the CCC and local leaders went to great lengths to keep relations between the company and the community stable. The CCC even suppressed news about a serious crime. In July 1939, twelve men of the 3760 received dishonorable discharges for raping a local African-American woman who had attended an anniversary celebration at the camp. The police investigation found that the woman had indeed been gang-raped, but because she was of "low repute," authorities did not feel they could secure a conviction and did not press charges. The company commander and the prosecuting attorney made sure that the incident was not published in the local paper, to prevent "adverse public opinion" about the camp or the company. 43 The letter to the CCC's national director clearly shows an effort to cover up this incident so that the clean image of the CCC and the 3760 would not be jeopardized. The effort appears to have succeeded. James Johnson stated that although he was enrolled in the 3760 at the time of the incident, he had never heard anything about it. Coverups of this kind were apparently common for the CCC. Olen Cole found in his research of African-American CCC enrollees in California similar efforts to bury any negative publicity involving enrollees.44

Although there were sometimes problems between the white officers who ran African-American camps and the enrollees, Johnson did not recall having problems with any of the white foremen, captains, officers, or other supervisors in the camp and in fact remembered them as good to the enrollees. Archie Moore's recollections in his autobiography indicate that the camp commander treated the men well, but that the Forest Service employee who supervised their work in the field did not care that the men received cold food and did nothing to remedy the problem until the men protested. Edward Cheeks, though not an enrollee with the CCC, often rode his bicycle to the camp and was welcome to stay and eat with the enrollees—an indication that camp officials made an effort to maintain friendly relations with the community's citizens.

LEGACY AND IMPACT

CCC Company 3760 was a fixture in the Poplar Bluff community for nearly seven years, until it was disbanded in 1941. During that period, the community received not only the benefits from the enrollees' work but also their spending power; the families of local enrollees added to the purchasing power as well. Many of the men in Company 3760 stayed in the area after they left camp. The community also enjoyed—and continues to enjoy—the fruits of the 3760's labor, from the roads the men built to the trees they planted in the Mark Twain National Forest.

As for the Poplar Bluff CCC campsite itself, in the 1960s, the Forest Service built a Job Corps Center on the site. The Forest Service eventually sold the land, and the Job Corps Center became the state-owned W. E. Sears Youth Center, an educational facility for delinquent youths. Of the twenty-three CCC campsites located on the Mark Twain National Forest, it is the only one no longer owned by the Forest Service.

The bill establishing the CCC guaranteed African-Americans the right to participate in the program; however, it did not guarantee acceptance of African-American companies by communities. Although other towns refused to accept all-black companies on racial grounds, Poplar Bluff valued the economic benefits that a CCC camp could bring to the area and mostly welcomed the African-American enrollees of Company 3760. Economic concerns trumped racial ones. The hard work of the enrollees and the camp's economic value secured the 3760's acceptance in the community.

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NOTES

- J. J. McEntee, "Federal Security Agency Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps: April 1933 through June 30, 1942," R.G. 35, National Archives, 50.
- John A. Salmond, The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942: A New Deal Case Study (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1967), 88.
- 3. McEntee, "Final Report," 25.
- 4. Robert Fechner to Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., September 21, 1935, accessed at http://newdeal.feri.org/aaccc/aaccc04.htm.
- 5. For more discussion on the difficulties faced by African-Americans during the enrollment process, during camp location selection, and in trying to gain positions of authority and power in the CCC, see: Olen Cole, The African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999); Calvin W. Gower, "The Struggle of Blacks for Leadership Positions in the Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933–1942," The Journal of Negro History, Vol. 61, No. 2 (April 1976): 123–135; Charles Johnson, "The Army, the Negro and the Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-1942," Military Affairs, Vol. 36, No. 3 (October 1972): 82–88; John A. Salmond, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Negro," The Journal of American History, Vol. 52, No. 1 (June 1965): 75–88; and Salmond, New Deal Case Study.
- 6. Robert Fechner to Robert J. Bulkley and Vic Donahey, June, 4, 1936, accessed at http://newdeal.feri.org//aaccc/aaccc05.htm.
- 7. Ibid.
- 8. Edgar Brown, *The CCC and Colored Youth* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Offices, 1941), accessed at http://newdeal.feri.org/aaccc/aaccc03.htm.

- 9. McEntee, "Final Report," 59, 60.
- 10. McEntee, "Final Report," 75.
- 11. It is not clear whether Company 3748 temporarily stayed at the camp occupied by Company 1728 or whether it was a different camp. It is unknown when Company 1728 disbanded, but it appears to have been prior to 1937, since there is no picture or history of the company in the Missouri-Kansas District Civilian Conservation Corps Seventh Corps Area Official Annual 1937.
- 12. Missouri-Kansas District Civilian Conservation Corps Seventh Corps Area Official Annual 1937 (Baton Rouge: Direct Advertising Company, 1937), 186. The exact date the camp closed is unknown. Forest Service sources list 1941 as the closing date, but the Complete History of Butler County, Missouri lists 1942. Robert H. Forister, Complete History of Butler County, Missouri (Marble Hill, Missouri: Stewart Publishing & Printing Co., 1999), 294.
- John Cunning, "CCC Company 1743: The Thunderbirds," Preservation Issues Vol. 6, No. 1 (January/February 1996), accessed at http://law.wustl.edu/staff/taylor/preserv/v6n1/cccco.htm.
- 14. Petition, 26 August 1939, on file at Missouri Department of Natural Resources, Jefferson City.
- 15. Petition, 30 August 1939, on file at Missouri Department of Natural Resources, Jefferson City.
- 16. Petition, 19 October 1939, on file at Missouri Department of Natural Resources, Jefferson City.
- 17. Cape Girardeau Southeast Missourian, 16 July 1935.
- 18. Cape Girardeau Southeast Missourian, 15-17 July 1935.
- 19. Cape Girardeau Southeast Missourian, 15 October 1935.
- 20. Missouri-Kansas District Official Annual 1937, 166-167.
- 21. Forister, Complete History of Butler County, Missouri, 294, 296, 297.
- 22. Poplar Bluff *Daily American Republic*, 26 May; 3 June; 28 June; 9 July 1935.
- Camp Inspection Reports 1936–1942, in U.S. National Archives & Records Administration, RG: 35, Stack 530, 65:25:7, Box 122, Folder F-18.
- 24. It is unclear from Moore's autobiography when the boxer was stationed at the camp. He described sleeping on the floor because beds had not arrived in the camp yet, indicating he was there early in the camp's history. Archie Moore, *The Archie Moore Story* (London: Nicholas Kaye Limited, 1960), 33.
- 25. Archie Moore Story, 37-38.
- 26. Aleene Sanders, *Remembering the CCC*, unpublished manuscript, Three Rivers Community College library, Poplar Bluff, MO.
- 27. Missouri-Kansas District Official Annual 1937, 186-187.
- 28. Archie Moore Story, 33.
- 29. Camp Inspection Reports 1936–1942.
- 30. Cole, African-American Experience, 50.
- 31. Archie Moore Story, 30.
- 32. Sanders, Remembering the CCC.
- 33. Poplar Bluff Daily American Republic, 14 September 1935.
- $34.\ Author interview with Edward Cheeks, 24 September 2005.$
- 35. Author interview with James Johnson, 1 October 2005.
- 36. Author interview with A. E. Christie, 10 September 2005.
- 37. Author interview with Ralph Freer, 7 October 2005.
- 38. Archie Moore Story, 33.
- 39. Ibid., 34.
- 40. Poplar Bluff Daily American Republic, 15, 16 October1935.
- 41. Forister, History of Butler County, 93, 95, 96.
- 42. Poplar Bluff Daily American Republic, 25 October 1935.
- 43. F. B. McConnell to J. J. McEntee, 24 January 1940, in U.S. National Archives & Records Administration, RG: 35, Stack 530, 65:25:7, Box 122, Folder F-18.
- 44. Cole, African-American Experience, 24.
- 45. Archie Moore Story, 37.