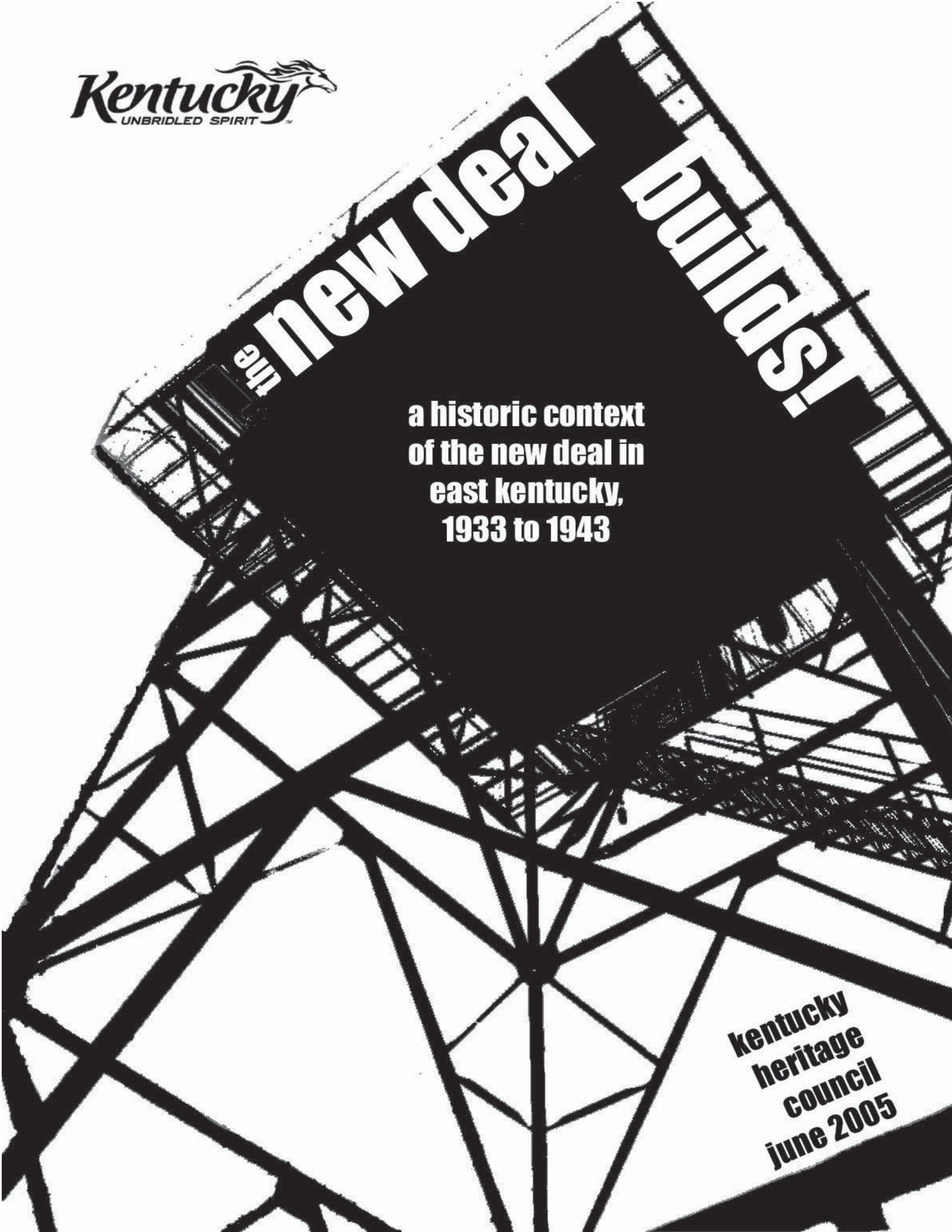
Kentucky
UNBRIDLED SPIRIT
the new deal
a historic context
of the new deal in
east kentucky,
1933 to 1943
kentucky
heritage
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Kentucky Heritage Council
State Historic Preservation Office

The New Deal Builds: A Historic Context of the New Deal in East Kentucky, 1933 to 1943

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Cover and title page images: Pinnacle Knob Fire Tower, located at Cumberland Falls State Resort Park. Photos taken in 2004.

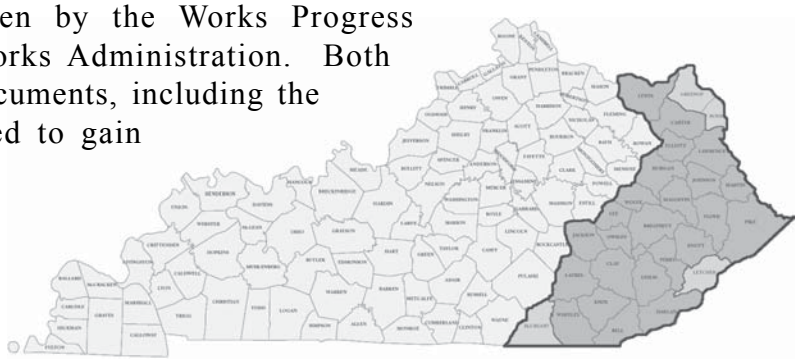
Introduction

> *…the New Deal has had a lasting effect on the state. Early and incomplete statistics revealed that federal programs during the 1930s spent more than $650 million in the state, or roughly $250 for every resident. The immediate effect of this financial infusion was obvious in the revival of Kentucky's economy, and its Keynesian aftereffects remained usable and visible in new roads, bridges, and public facilities… Life was different than it had been, because the New Deal introduced new ideas and accelerated other trends that had already begun in the commonwealth.*
>
> George Blakey, *Hard Times and New Deal in Kentucky*, 1929-1939, 196.

The New Deal has left an enduring legacy upon Kentucky's landscape. In fact, it could be argued that the New Deal's building program altered the Commonwealth's landscape to a degree experienced only during the drastic changes of the settlement period. In sum, new buildings, roads, bridges, whole communities, forests, and even programs to change the cultural landscape of farming came into being in this time period, because of direct federal government involvement. To say this was unprecedented is an understatement at best.

This study intends to examine New Deal history in one area of the state, the Eastern Kentucky Cultural Landscape Region. This region was formally established by the Kentucky Heritage Council as a planning unit to study historic themes and develop preservation contexts. The study area includes the following counties: Bell, Boyd, Breathitt, Carter, Clay, Elliot, Floyd, Greenup, Harlan, Jackson, Johnson, Knott, Knox, Laurel, Lawrence, Lee, Leslie, Letcher, Lewis, McCreary, Magoffin, Martin, Morgan, Owsley, Perry, Pike, Whitley, and Wolfe Counties. While data from all the counties in this study is included, the focus was limited to four specific focus counties. This boundary allowed us to get a more accurate impression of New Deal programs on the local landscape and represent the urban, rural, industrial, and agricultural diversity that exists in the region.

Eastern Kentucky is not, as some have assumed, a culturally homogenous geographic area. Ethnic, cultural/historical, and natural diversity exists throughout the region. To allow for these differences, Letcher, Greenup, Boyd, and McCreary Counties were chosen to represent the region. This selection permitted an analysis of northeast urban Ashland, industrial southeast Letcher County, industrial and forested south-central McCreary County, and Ohio River-oriented Greenup County. In addition to focus counties, we have also examined resources that were representative of particular New Deal agencies, like the Farm Security Administration's Sublimity Forest Community, or ubiquitous resource types, like resources related to improving public health, including the sundry water works, sewers, and outhouses projects undertaken by the Works Progress Administration and the Public Works Administration. Both secondary sources and primary documents, including the sites themselves, were investigated to gain needed information.



Map of Kentucky, showing Eastern Kentucky New Deal study area shaded. The lighter shaded areas are the four focus counties.

"Poster for Works Progress Administration encouraging laborers to work for America, showing a farmer and a laborer." Federal Art Project Artist: Vera Bock. Poster date unknown. (Library of Congress, American Memory WPA Poster Collection. Online at: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/wpaposters/wpahome.html. Hereafter LOC WPA Poster Collection).

Original Cabin at Pine Mountain State Resort Park. Constructed by the CCC. Photo taken in 2004

While we attempted to work with diverse areas across eastern Kentucky, we also encompassed resources from a dizzying array of New Deal era agencies. Following the lead of Joe Brent's 1990 report "New Deal Era Construction in Western Kentucky, 1933-1943," we investigated the New Deal's major building agencies: the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the Public Works Administration (PWA), the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA, known as the Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration or KERA in KY), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the well-known Works Progress Administration (WPA), the National Youth Administration (NYA), and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) from 1933 to 1943. Other New Deal agencies with lesser focus on building, but with a mission to alter Kentucky's relationship with the land were also examined. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), the Rural Resettlement Administration, the Farm Securities Administration (FSA), the Rural Electrification Administration (REA), and the Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC) were all crucial in the federal effort to change farming practices and home ownership patterns, and thus the rural and urban cultural landscapes of Kentucky.

The goal of this study was not just to develop a history of the immense impact of the New Deal in East Kentucky, but to document extant resources from the time period, place them in the Heritage Council's survey, and provide guidelines for nominating and evaluating them within the National Register of Historic Places. To accomplish this goal, we conducted a large-scale survey within the focus counties and sent out special survey forms to all localities within the region. The information received has allowed us to incorporate information about determining eligibility standards for New Deal resources in the region. This section will assist preparers of National Register nominations and Section 106 assessments.

This report is organized into six sections. After the project methodology, the second section gives a brief history of the Great Depression and the New Deal

nationally. Since the remainder of the report focuses on the history of the New Deal in Kentucky, this information will not be examined in the brief history, though Kentucky's plight during the Depression will be highlighted. The third section outlines the various New Deal agencies, their impact on Kentucky, and gives examples of property types associated with their tenure. The fourth section is comprised of the results of the comprehensive survey of case study counties. Brief county histories and assessments of extant resources are offered in this portion of the report. The fifth section is also concerned with case studies. In particular, special property types are illuminated by type and by theme. And finally, suggestions for future research and a conclusion complete this report. Appendices with data regarding New Deal projects in the region are located at the end of the report.

Section One

Methodology

The Kentucky Heritage Council and the Kentucky Transportation Cabinet initiated the Eastern Kentucky New Deal Cultural Landscape Study in January 2003. The study began as a mitigation project due to the demolition of a New Deal era school in Elliot County. Because this school was eligible for the National Register and because transportation officials needed clear standards of significance and integrity for New Deal resources, KYTC funded a study of the New Deal in eastern Kentucky. The project was conducted by the Kentucky Heritage Council's Research and Planning Coordinator and a Research Assistant hired specifically for the project.

Project Design

As previously mentioned, the Eastern Kentucky New Deal study is an examination of resources related to eleven New Deal agencies in a 28 county area known as the Eastern Kentucky Cultural Landscape. In order to complete what could have been a multi-year study in a condensed time frame, a decision was made to comprehensively survey three geographically distinct counties and to list potential resources in the remaining 25 counties. This sample strategy would permit a micro-level perspective on the New Deal's impact as well as raise awareness of potentially endangered resources. Shortly after inception, Boyd County was added to the list of focus counties, due to its proximity to Greenup, the availability of local contacts, and the need to include an urban area with great WPA involvement.

In addition to the micro-level survey and study, it became clear that certain resource types outside focus counties should be highlighted as well. Project staff began to compile a list of important resource types that needed additional attention and/or were not covered in the focus counties. Section Five is devoted to these important property types.

Augmenting this effort, the KHC sent special survey forms to local officials, including historical societies, tourism commissions, county judges, school boards, legislators, and mayors. The letter referenced projects built by the seven main study agencies and asked the reader to contribute information regarding any known New Deal era associated resources. This effort yielded 82 survey forms from 14 counties in the survey area, documenting such resources as Campton Elementary School in Wolfe County (WPA) and Jackson City Hall in Breathitt County (WPA). A database with the survey results is located in the Appendix One of this report.

As discussed in the Introduction, the seven main New Deal agencies with a mission in work relief were the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the Public Works Administration (PWA), the Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration (KERA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the National Youth Administration (NYA), and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Other New Deal agencies are noted in this report for their impact on the rural landscape, but very little survey work has been done to document their presence.

Issues with Information Sources

Comprehensive project lists for New Deal agencies were difficult, if not impossible, to obtain, due to poor record keeping practices at the time. The WPA, which is one of the better documented agencies, has two main project lists for the state of Kentucky. One is the Goodman-Paxton photographic archive at the University of Kentucky (GP, 64M1) and the other is the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) WPA Project Index at the Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives (KDLA) (NARA Record Group 2920). While the discrepancies among these lists will be discussed in the WPA agency synopsis in Section Three, it is clear that they are not comprehensive, as projects not on either list have been documented. The CCC archives are likewise incomplete. Information about CCC camps and projects were garnered from CCC Camp newsletters at the Kentucky Historical Society and at the CCC website online: http://www.cccalumni.org. Additionally, some information about specific camps was uncovered at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA Record Group 35). Again, secondary source research from the counties has made it obvious that these records are not inclusive.

PWA records were uncovered at NARA. Regrettably, the list of PWA projects includes only non-federal projects, that is those projects with a state or local sponsor, and does not even contain the proper name of the resource. For example, project number 2829 is a school in Stearns. We just don't know which school in Stearns was constructed or remodeled. The CWA records, on the other hand, are much more specific. Like the WPA records, they list the county, city, and name of the resource. However, they do not list the location of the project, and you may or may not find a photo of the completed structure. In spite of this oversight, the CWA records (NARA Record Group 2920, Series 65-67) at KDLA actually include county summaries of work that notes whether the project was completed. The WPA NARA index does not tell us whether a project was either started or completed. Similar project lists for TVA, KERA, and NYA were unable to be found by project staff. Resources associated with their tenure were revealed through primary source research in *Kentucky City* magazine, and through the very few annual reports published by respective project administrators in the state. Thus, an attempt was made to list all resources located in the project area,. Unfortunately, the disheveled state of the records have not allowed for such discovery.

In addition to these sources, numerous secondary and primary sources were consulted to gain a broader perspective on the New Deal, both in Kentucky and on the national level. Books like George Blakey's *Hard Times and New Deal in Kentucky, 1929-1939* and T.H. Watkins' *The Great Depression: America in the 1930s* were important to development of a context for the New Deal. Primary sources were also crucial in gaining a better understanding. Reports of the various agencies, such as the *Annual Report of the Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration Work Division April 1, 1934 to July 1, 1935*, shed light on New Deal projects. Specific information about the project area was obtained through county histories and journals. *Kentucky City* magazine from 1930 to 1943, a publication of the Kentucky Municipal League and Kentucky Firemen's Association, and *Mountain Life and Work* in the 1930s were extremely helpful. *Kentucky City* was especially useful, as it contained information about the region and New Deal work projects, as well as general contextual information about broad concepts that concerned New Deal planners, like public health and recreation. The magazine only includes information on urban or small town projects.

Issues with Fieldwork

In the meantime, local officials in the focus counties and in the area with special case study resources were contacted and asked to assist with field work. Field work for this project was particularly difficult. The data on WPA and CCC rarely give exact locations for the resources. Because of this gap in information and because project lists, drawings, and photos were readily available for CCC and WPA, a decision was made to survey these resources in their entirety. Other agencies, like the PWA, were presumed to have little impact on the survey area, because of secondary sources that asserted that PWA was only concerned with large federal enterprises. However, it became apparent, upon further research, that the PWA actually conducted many small-scale non-federal projects in Kentucky and in the region. Regrettably, this discovery did not happen in time to survey PWA resources for the report. Another agency that is under-represented in the survey section of this report is the CWA. The CWA was assumed, because of research in secondary sources, to be not as prolific as the WPA or CCC. Again, this assumption was proven false, upon primary source investigations. In sum, the project staff became aware of this information too late to actually include it in the county survey portion of this report. In the future, New Deal researchers should be aware that fairly adequate information exists for both of these agencies in particular. Researchers who are interested in the New Deal should also understand that the WPA was not the only builder, in spite of its large progeny.

In order to find the WPA and CCC resources, project staff had to rely on a large group of local historians and city/county officials to decide where resources were located, whether they were standing or had been demolished, and in some instances whether they had been built at all. While all of the local informants were excellent and generous with their time, there were a few cases in which a building thought to be extant could not be found and cases in which a building believed to be demolished was actually extant. In some instances, no local informant had heard of the project, so staff was unable to survey it.

The latter difficulty is particularly true of road projects. Roads constructed by the WPA were identified from the Goodman-Paxton Collection. County highway maps were used to locate identified roads. This endeavor met with little success, though some roads were documented using this method. Assumedly, roads names changed over time as they transitioned from farm-to-market roads to numbered county roads. Local contacts proved to be a helpful resource regarding the location of certain rural roads, especially in McCreary County. Urban streets listed in the Goodman-Paxton archive were only identified by the community in which they were located. No specific street names were provided, making documentation of these resources impossible without more details.

McCreary County also contained a number of truck trails constructed by the CCC that were identified in CCC Newsletters. Since the forest lands in this county are managed by the U.S. Forest Service, truck trails would likely be located within the boundaries of the Daniel Boone National Forest. The U.S. Forest Service contact, Randy Boedy, was consulted to verify whether the locations of the truck trails were mapped. He reported that there was no such documentation. Without maps, the identification of truck trails was not possible. Since truck trails are often located in remote locations with rough terrain, a four-wheel drive vehicle would also be required for documentation. In sum, the process of survey and field work was

imperfect from its inception, but it was the best way to attempt to comprehensively survey a large number of resources within the focus area.

Other difficulties existed in the field work design that should be noted here. Some of the New Deal agencies dealt with projects that were by nature not easily recorded. For instance, sanitary sewer systems are nearly impossible to document, since they exist below ground. In addition, some of the resources are better studied by archaeologists, foresters, or landscape architectural historians, as they concern earthworks done for CCC projects or CCC reforestation projects that drastically altered the way land was used in the project area. In sum, not all resources could be documented by the project staff of architectural historians.

Field work was conducted in the four project counties and on special case study sites. As noted previously, Letcher, Greenup, Boyd, and McCreary Counties were selected as focus counties. Field work began in Letcher County in March 2004 and was completed in November 2004. Boyd and Greenup Counties were surveyed in June and October 2004, and McCreary County was surveyed in May 2004 and again in November 2004. Counties were surveyed for all WPA and CCC sites, as adequate information was assumed not to exist for the other New Deal agencies. The results of the focus county fieldwork are located in the Section Four of this report.

Section Two

Brief History of the Great Depression and the New Deal

> *Odie Stallings had been seduced by the same dream, settling in Inkster after finding work in the "black department" at the Ford Plant in River Rouge. He married, and he and his wife, Freda, soon produced two sons. She was pregnant with their third when Ford shut down operations in August 1931. Shortly thereafter, Freda gave birth to another boy. With no income, the Stallings family, like most of those in Inkster, lived on a diet that was often reduced to nothing but starches and water, and Odie dropped from 160 to 125 pounds. His wife was even more wasted, and her breasts were nearly dry; she fed the baby from a bottle filled with flour and water when she could not nurse him herself. Odie trudged the city streets and county roads all over Wayne County in search of any kind of work until his shoes were worn to less than shreds and he could no longer walk long distances. He patched his lightless and heatless shack with newspapers to keep out the cold but when winter closed down on the ghetto like a fist, the children hacked and coughed incessantly, including the baby, who grew increasingly sick. The parents slept with the infant between them on the narrow bed to keep him warm, but nothing helped, and one morning when they woke he was dead. They put the tiny body in a cardboard box and walking close together under a gray morning sky the family carried their burden up the rutted muddy street and buried it in the makeshift cemetery next to the little community church.*
>
> T.H. Watkins, *The Great Depression: America in the 1930s*, 74.

Stories like those told of Odie Stallings, a factory worker in Michigan, can seem somewhat sensational to our modern eyes. Was there ever a time when good American people were starving in the streets? In fact, the Great Depression was that time. Narratives like those of the Stallings family are fairly typical of the early 1930s, before Roosevelt's New Deal. Stories of extreme deprivation such as those of Iowa farmers desperate enough to threaten county judges if a mortgage holder was not released from their obligations; miners in Appalachia storming local grocery stores for food to feed their emaciated families; businessmen so distraught that they commit suicide rather than live in poverty; fruit pickers in California living in shanty towns moving from job to job; and transient families like those depicted in Steinbeck's classic *The Grapes of Wrath*.

"Mountaineer with his two grandsons whom he raised in his home with the help of the neighbors. He had been crippled with arthritis most of his life. On the steps of a schoolhouse on South Fork of Kentucky River. Breathitt County, Kentucky." Photo: Marion Post Wolcott, September, 1940. (Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, hereafter FSAOWI).

Statistics support these anecdotal observations. For instance, between 1930 and 1931, 3,646 banks failed, taking over $2.6 billion in private deposits with them. During the same period of time, 54,640 businesses failed at a rate of 133 failures per 10,000 businesses. The value of farm property declined from $78.3 billion in 1920 to $51.8 billion in 1931. Unemployment by early 1932 was at an all time high of nearly 12 million persons. Elsewhere across the country, farms were foreclosed upon at records rates, shack communities called "Hoovervilles" sprung up outside major cities for the new homeless population, and transiency rates among the young and old alike were appallingly high. It was not just the poorest of the poor that were unemployed and starving, but a whole generation of working and middle class Americans whose futures were in peril the magnitude of which never has been seen. (Watkins 1993, 55-56).

Historians have rankled for the last 75 years about what caused the stock market crash and subsequent ten year long economic

Depression. While there are a multitude of reasons for the unprecedented decline, most historians concur that the crisis was due to a decline in wages and an increase in debt among the working and middle classes both here and in Europe. A scarcity of global capital to purchase American-made goods coupled with a significant increase in American productivity in the factory and on the farm logically followed the former problems. In other words, the downturn was an issue of supply and demand. The American economy, the world's most productive at that time, was efficiently producing more goods for consumption, but the wage-earners here and in Europe couldn't afford to purchase much, as real wages did not increase during the period. Meanwhile, speculation on the stock market and on the farm, which involved purchasing and planting more and more land to make additional revenues, was at an all time high. The money, however, was not based upon savings, but upon borrowed money from a feverishly speculative banking industry. In terms of the farm economy, taxes began to skyrocket and labor and production costs increased. At the same time, agricultural produce declined in price, creating many personal financial disasters. The banking industry shared much of the blame, as bankers encouraged speculation and made many questionable loans and mortgages. In the end, all of these factors combined to create the severe economic crisis that became the worst worldwide social and economic Depression in modern history. (Watkins 1993, 40-47).

In order to assist with this crisis, President Herbert Hoover enjoined private charities, like the Red Cross and church-based organizations, to appeal to the "natural generosity of the American people" through fund-raising relief efforts. But, with little capital available through private sources, endeavors such as these were doomed to fail. Hoover's philosophy on relief fueled these failed efforts. Hoover believed, as did a great many Americans at the time, that the federal government's role in private citizen's lives should be minimal. The free market should provide all the benefits of modern life to those who were honest and worked hard. After all, Hoover himself came from humble circumstances and was now the President of the most powerful country in the world. It is important to remember here that federal-state government programs, like Social Security, Federal Deposit Insurance, unemployment insurance, and other so-called safety nets had not been created. Thus, when you were unemployed or elderly, you had to rely on the kindness of others. If you were lucky, you could live on savings— if your bank didn't fail. There was no guarantee against starvation or deprivation, as it was not considered the responsibility of the federal government. These programs had to wait until the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his New Dealers.

Given Hoover's reluctance to intervene with direct federal government power and his bizarre insistence that, "No one is going hungry and no one need go hungry and cold." (Watkins 1993, 56), it was with great reluctance that he initiated federal intervention into the realm of private business. FDR is frequently given credit for governmental intervention into the private sector, but it was Hoover that founded one of the New Deal's main organizations, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC). The RFC was established in 1932 to stimulate industry and agriculture through direct congressional appropriation, and was one of the only agencies to survive and prosper in FDR's White House. The RFC provided loans for public work projects, long before the initiation of the PWA or WPA. Other agencies created by Hoover were less effectual, mainly because they relied on voluntary enforcement. The National Credit Corporation, for example, was established as a vehicle for healthy banks to voluntarily assist unhealthy ones; it collapsed after two years of very little activity. (Watkins 1993, 62).

The Great Depression in Kentucky

> *This is just a matter of news, in the last few minutes a fight started out in front of our office, and one man tried to enter our office, the doorkeeper opened the door and was run over by the first man, the second stopped by the doorkeeper, who stabbed the doorkeeper, hearing the commotion I rushed out and the street was full of men fighting each other with drawn pistols, I called the Police and tried to separate some of the fighters, soon the riot squad arrived and cleaned up the whole mess of them…We are sitting on a keg of powder, we start up tomorrow with about 175 men to cut off, lots of them desperate and mean as the devil, it is my job to go out on the job and notify the men of the reduction, there will not be many smiles when they hear the news…*
>
> Bell County CWA Project Officer, J.H. McGiboney, January 22nd 1935 to CWA Officials in Louisville. NARA Record Group 2920, *CWA Kentucky Correspondences* at the Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives, Archives Room, Drawer 502, Roll 38.

The effects of the Depression in Kentucky were no different than those in the nation at large. As the quote above illustrates, many Kentuckians were thrown out of work and suffered the consequences of a depressed national economy, which included desperation and sometimes violence. In fact, Kentucky's economy had shown symptoms of poor health, long prior to the 1929 stock market crash.

It has often been noted that Kentucky entered the Depression after the first Great War ended. (Harrison and Klotter 1997; Blakey 1986; Eller 1982). Prices for key agricultural produce had fallen each year since the late 1910s. Coupled with overproduction, glutted markets, and systemic misuse of lands by timber and mining companies, income from agricultural endeavors plummeted in the state. Tobacco was the only exception to this rule, as people were still smoking. But, tobacco farmers and processors soon felt the impact of a gradually decreased purchasing power as well. Further exacerbating the situation was approval of the Eighteenth Amendment to the US Constitution in 1919, outlawing beer and liquor. This amendment, which prohibited "the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes," in essence destroyed one of Kentucky's most important industries—production of bourbon whiskey and beer. (http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/data/constitution/amendment18/) "Before the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, more than two hundred Kentucky distilleries and breweries had supplied bourbon and beer to international markets and had employed more than four thousand workers. Only a handful of distilleries remained in operation in 1930, and their product was now marketed through narrowly constricted pharmaceutical channels." (Blakey 1986, 7). Added to this was a downturn in the coal industry, which resulted from an increasing utilization of electricity and oil for energy purposes and a subsequent decline in use of the shiny black rock. "In 1927 more than 600 mines, employing sixty-four thousand miners, were operating in the state; by 1929 only 451 mines were still open, and only fifty-seven thousand miners worked there." (Blakey 1986, 7). In eastern Kentucky, the decline in coal production was particularly devastating.

"Abandoned tipple and coal miners' homes, some of whom still remain on relief, near Chavies, Perry County, Kentucky." Photo: Marion Post Wolcott, September, 1940. (FSAOWI).

All of these factors, along with a severe drought in the early 1930s, combined to create a bleak situation. When the effects of the national Depression became evident by the early 1930s, Kentuckians were dealt a fatal blow. As with the rest of the nation, Kentucky banks closed at record rates. While the usual rate of closure was ten a year in the 1920s, over 120 Kentucky banks shut their doors from 1930 to 1932, taking depositors' cash with them. Some banks reopened later, and returned up to 60 percent of depositors' assets. But, the majority did not restart operations, leaving businesses and the struggling middle and working classes strapped for cash. In sum, this situation not only frightened customers from making deposits, further creating more crises, but also severely constrained operating funds for commercial and retail businesses. As a result, many businesses closed their doors. "In 1929 there were 2,246 industries operating with approximately seventy-seven thousand production workers. By 1933 almost one half of those industries were closed, and twenty-one thousand of their workers idled. These industrial collapses gradually took down with them retail and commercial businesses; 245 Kentucky firms declared insolvency in 1930, a larger number the following year, and in 1932, 356 businesses failed." (Blakey 1986, 11). "By 1930, 29 thousand Kentuckians were unwillingly unemployed; in 1931, that number exceeded 42 thousand." (Blakey 1986, 12).

In eastern Kentucky, the economic crisis was even more pointed. Because many East Kentucky communities relied on coal as the single industry and because some workers lived in towns owned and operated solely by coal companies, the effects of the Depression were intense. Put simply, many coal miners were out-of-work and out of a place to live, as they were evicted from company housing. "In the coal fields, company after company folded under the pressure of falling prices, and unemployment claimed an ever-growing number of miners. Operators abandoned the worst of the company towns and neglected to maintain the rest." (Eller 1982, 238). Further, "Of the 622 mines that had operated that year [1927], only 380 survived by the end of 1932, and twenty-four thousand of the sixty-four thousand miners employed during 1927 had lost their jobs." (Blakey 1986, 12). Other statistics show that workers' incomes were significantly curtailed during the decade, as "the average per capita earnings of coal miners declined from $851 in 1923 to $588 in 1929, and to the unbelievably low point of $235 in 1933. In that year, a relief worker in eastern Kentucky reported that 'cold, hunger, and disease' had taken a tremendous toll, closing in on the coal camps 'to an extent almost without parallel in any group in the country.'" (Eller 1982, 239). Added to this turmoil was the insistence by workers for a fair wage, safety, and a sense of job security, and the equally firm position by coal companies to keep the workforce un-unionized. Much has been made of the so-called coal wars of the 1930s on the national, state, and local scene; most of which is sensational, inaccurate, and denying the complexity of the situation. In sum, the coal wars and "Bloody Harlan" in particular, represented a fight to survive through extremely hard times, after several decades of promise. A 1935 state investigating committee laid the blame, in the case of Harlan, at the feet of coal operators who had created "a virtual reign of terror." (Harrison and Klotter 1997, 366). But, the coal wars represent an even larger struggle—a battle for the lives of the miners and their families through the dark days of the Great Depression.

As noted before, agricultural prices had experienced extreme declines in the decade prior to the 1930s. So, efforts by mountain families to sustain a livelihood through farming were unsuccessful. But many families, including out-migrants, attempted just that. As historian Ron Eller notes, "Although the amount of land in farms remained relatively stable from 1930 to 1940, the number of farms rose significantly during the Depression years. As migrants to

urban centers beyond the mountains returned with larger families, they found that the land which had sustained their ancestors could no longer support the population in a manner even marginally consistent with the demands of modern life. The returned migrants added an extra burden to an already ailing agricultural system." (Eller 1982, 239). The result of all of this turmoil and deprivation was, of course, devastating. Even in areas where coal production was not as essential to economic health, the depressed economy made its mark. The national, state, and local economies were more connected than they had ever been, and there was no escaping the consequences.

For Millions of Yet Unborn

> *Who can assure jobs to the millions of employable men and women in this country now on the dole or work relief, and pay them wages adequate to buy and sell the goods and services which others of us want to sell—and must sell before we can reemploy our idle workers? …One agency alone is able to give us such assurance. It is the agency which represents us all collectively—the Federal Government.*
>
> David Cushman Cole 1935, *Brass Tacks*, 78.

By 1932, Hoover's reelection seemed in doubt. The worsening Depression combined with a bloody confrontation with veterans of the First World War in Washington, known as the Bonus Army, that fall contributed to a landslide victory by former New York Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Roosevelt took office in March 1933. Before FDR could take office, the crisis intensified. In the first two months of 1933, over 4,000 banks failed with $3.6 billion in deposits. (Watkins 1993, 115). One of FDR's first accomplishments in office was to close banks for a holiday until the situation could be stabilized. By 9 March, the democrat-controlled Congress, swept in on FDR's coat tails, passed the Emergency Banking Act of 1933 that would halt decline in the financing industry through a combination of loans from the RFC and other measures. Many banks were able to reopen within the month.

"Roosevelt sits at the steering wheel of his automobile in April 1939." (http://www.time.com/time/time100/leaders/profile/fdr.html).

The first few months of the Roosevelt administration are often referred to as the "first Hundred Days." According to T.H. Watkins, historian of the New Deal, "In the dizzying span of weeks that would come to be called the first Hundred Days, Roosevelt and his people set in motion more administrative actions and initiated more legislation than at any similar period of history before or since." (Watkins 1993, 122). Including the banking overhaul, which created the Federal Deposit Insurance (FDIC) and expanded powers for the Federal Reserve, the New Deal swept through the halls of Congress with little to no debate. It seemed that FDR had been handed a mandate to get the country back on track. It must be stressed here that Roosevelt was not a left-wing ideologue. He tended to be fiscally conservative and created programs that attempted to regulate the capitalist system. He feared communism, but understood that without systemic changes a workers' revolution was likely. His reforms were efforts to support the fledgling capitalist economy through incentives to restart ailing businesses and to ensure higher wages, and thus purchasing power, by the working and middle classes.

Among the first programs established was the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)[1] in May 1933, financed by an appropriation of $500 million from the RFC. (Watkins 1993, 124). FERA was intended to provide immediate relief to indigent families across the nation. As its colorful director Harry Hopkins said, "Hunger is not debatable," and famously, when a more gradual program was suggested, Hopkins replied, "People don't eat in the long-run—they eat every day." (Watkins 1993, 123 and 127).

Generally conceived as a federal-state partnership, in that the federal government offered $1 to every $3 by the states, the program provided much of its relief in the form of vouchers for food, rent, coal, and heating oil. (Blakey 1986, 46). The federal government, in a sad irony of the hungry Depression years, was responsible for destroying agricultural goods from farmer's surplus in order to stabilize markets and bring prices down. Upon intense outcry across the nation, the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation (FSRC) began donating surplus to FERA and other relief efforts. Through the FSRC, FERA distributed "9.4 million pounds of fresh apples, 6.8 million pounds of beans, 290.9 million pounds of tinned beef, 190.5 million pounds of flour, and 297.6 million pounds of pork," before its end in 1935.

The program's popularity was overshadowed by the reliance on the "straight dole." Roosevelt, and indeed most Americans, found direct government charity shameful. Contemporary observers declared that work was much preferable to welfare. While FERA had maintained a small work program, it became clear that there was need for a larger works program—one that could put the unemployed back to work.

The Civil Works Administration (CWA) was founded in November 1933 by the President and Harry Hopkins to fill this void, and create "self-respect" for the country. (NARA Record Group 2920, Series 65, Federal CWA Administration, 3). The program, which was administered by FERA, was intended to carry the nation through the winter of 1933-34, beginning in November 1933 and ending in May 1934. Although a short-lived program, the CWA was responsible for an enormous public works program, the likes of which had never been seen. In mid-January, for instance, nearly four million persons were employed on public works projects across the nation with over $62 million spent on roads, parks, playgrounds, schools, airports, and etc. (Watkins 1993, 126). All told, nearly a billion dollars was spent by CWA's closure in the spring of 1934. Perhaps more importantly, CWA established precedent for a federal government sponsored work program. Indeed, it captured the imagination of the American public until the creation of a new agency specifically charged with this purpose, the Works Progress Administration. In the meantime, the FERA took over the remaining uncompleted CWA projects and administered a few new projects.

At the same time that FERA was experimenting with relief approaches, the President created one of the most ubiquitous federal work programs—the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Like his cousin, former President Theodore Roosevelt, FDR was intensely interested in conservation issues, especially concerning silviculture. Early in his term in March 1933, Roosevelt successfully merged two of his main interest—work relief and a concern for the natural environment. Congress gave the President full authority to create what was initially known as the Civilian Corps Reforestation Youth Rehabilitation Movement, thereafter

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[1] More will be said of all the main New Deal agencies in the next section of the report.

FDR at a CCC Camp in Virginia, 12 August, 1933. "L-R: Maj. Gen. Paul B. Malone; Col. Louis Howe, Secretary to President; Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of Interior; Robert Fechner, Director Emergency Conservation Work; FDR; Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture; Rexford Tugwell, Administrator of Resettlement Administration." Photo source: National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). (New Deal Network Photo Library. Online at: http://newdeal.feri.org/library/default.cfm. Hereafter: NARA (New Deal Network)).

shortened to Civilian Conservation Corps. The President returned the CCC to Congress as the Emergency Conservation Act by the end of March. The CCC had as its charge to rehabilitate young men, and they were all men, in healthful forest surroundings by doing needed conservation work on state and federal lands. CCC enrollees planted trees, built fire towers, made improvements at recreational sites, assisted local farms with modern farming techniques, created soil erosion programs, and the like. Administered by four separate federal agencies, the CCC hired single men (though this was later changed) ages 18-25 from families on relief rolls and placed them in camps for training and work. Their pay was around $30 a month, $25 of which was to be returned to their families. By the end of the program in 1943, the CCC had employed over 2.5 million men and had planted approximately 2.3 billion trees. (Blakey 1986, 80). The CCC was administered by Robert Fechner, a representative from the newly burgeoning labor movement. Fechner is important to mention because of his role in the CCC. While an able and enthusiastic director of the program, Fechner was a white southerner not particularly interested in attempting racial equality in the camps. Consequently, CCC camps were typically segregated by race and African Americans were given a national quota that they did not exceed until the coming of WWII in the early 1940s.

Fechner is somewhat symbolic of New Deal efforts in general. The personality of the agency's director was influential in deciding whether race or gender was celebrated or ignored. Aubrey Williams, Director of the National Youth Administration, made every effort to integrate blacks and whites and provide for young girls, while Fechner allowed institutional racism to occur with little protest. FERA and CWA, spurred on by Harry Hopkins and Eleanor Roosevelt, created a women's division that promoted work relief for females, but the efforts toward this were never on par with those for men. Thus, many of the New Deal programs contained an inherent bias. While the President and particularly the First Lady were progressives, politically they could not risk dismantling of their agenda by more conservative Southern Democrats, whose votes they needed in Congress. This situation, combined with the fact that many of these programs were administered on the local level, where views might have been more conservative, tended to mean that the benefits of the New Deal were not equally shared by all.

Another of the main New Deal agencies came about during the first Hundred Days. The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) Title II created the Public Works Administration (PWA). Title I of the Act concerned the establishment of the National Recovery Administration (NRA), which was responsible for developing wage and price codes, as well as standardized working hours and conditions. These conditions and controls, which were to be agreed upon by labor and industry, were overturned by the Supreme Court in 1935, later to be revived in separate legislation. The controversy also extended to the establishment of the National Labor

Board, which gave labor unions the right to organize and collectively bargain. The PWA, though, had no such problems. Under the enigmatic, perfectionist personality of Harold Ickes, the agency thrived. Often criticized for its slow pace, the PWA was one of the major builders of the New Deal. The agency constructed large-scale federal projects and non-federal projects, like local waterworks, sanitary sewer systems, bridges, schools, courthouses, and hospitals. Unlike Hopkins, Ickes insisted that every project have a complete and thorough review and that money was used most efficiently. By the time of its dissolution in 1939, the PWA "would finance a total of 34,508 projects at a cost of a little more than $6 billion" (Watkins 1993, 144).

Other important New Deal efforts initiated during the first years of FDR's presidency include: the 1933 Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) whose charge was to provide cheap electricity and fertilizers as well as projects to insure flood control and navigation in the Tennessee drainage basin; the 1933 Farm Relief Act, which created the Farm Credit Administration for assistance with farm mortgages and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) that began the federal government practice of controlling production by paying farmers not to cultivate their land; and the 1933 Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC) responsible for rewriting mortgages for urban homeowners at longer terms and lower interest rates, thus preventing many foreclosures.

The Second New Deal

The 1934 congressional elections were supposed by the New Dealers to be a bellwether for approval of the reforms carried out so far. If the Democrats held or gained seats, the voters approved of the President and the democratic program. In fact, the Democrats did quite well in the fall 1934 elections, gaining nine seats in the House and held a large ruling majority in the Senate. To FDR and the New Dealers, the election was a relief and a mandate. The people wanted more of the same. (Watkins 1993, 240).

But while the economy was improved, it was not appreciably better. At the end of 1934, average worker salaries were below the poverty level and unemployment stood at twelve million. (Watkins 1993, 246). Industry had not yet recovered. Again, Roosevelt and his allies gathered strength and began a new "surge of reform" that became known as the Second New Deal. (Watkins 1993, 247).

Given the successes of the initial work programs, like the CWA, it is no surprise that a works relief plan was among the most important newly conceived schemes. Roosevelt, Hopkins, and others felt that work programs gave relief recipients pride in their accomplishments and a degree of self-respect. And, people liked these programs. In 1935, upon the dissolution of FERA, the President went to Congress with the Emergency Relief Appropriations (ERA) Act. Interestingly, ERA contained few details about the new program, other than it was to be a work program and the initial appropriation was $4 million. In a striking vote of confidence, Congress passed the bill with only a vague notion of the program to follow. By early summer 1935, the Works Progress Administration (WPA, later known as the Works Projects Administration) had begun work projects with the indefatigable Harry Hopkins at its head.

The WPA is probably the best known of all the New Deal agencies, other than the Three Cs. Historian T.H. Watkins waxes poetically about it in his book, "It was the most massive and comprehensive effort ever undertaken in the nation's history up to that time to ensure that every able-bodied American male—and even some able-bodied American females—would be able to earn at least the basic needs for themselves and their families. Even more than the New Deal's earlier relief programs, it was responsible for the creation of a new and immutable intimacy between the people and their government—an intimacy so thoroughly in place today that it is difficult to remember that this was once a revolutionary concept." (Watkins 1993, 248).

The WPA was the major public works builder of the New Deal, other than PWA. From 1935 to its conclusion in the early 1940s, the agency was responsible for millions of public buildings, bridges, roads, schools, parks, and airports. "Over the course of its life, the WPA would employ more than 8.5 million people in three thousand counties across the land on 1.4 million individual projects. " (Watkins 1993, 249). In addition to bricks and mortar projects, the WPA supported numerous artists, writers, musicians, historians, and theatrical performers through work projects. Among the many important projects undertaken by these groups were the Federal Theater Project, the *American Guide* state book series, the Historic American Building Survey (HABS), and the Federal Art Project. Women were also included in the WPA's promise of work. Jobs were provided in sewing, recreational projects, nursery school work, school lunch programs, and the like. Additionally, professional jobs were encouraged by the program. Employment ranged from developing property value assessment programs on the local level, to cataloging and copying wills and deeds for county officials. Probably because of its large progeny, WPA has become synonymous with many people as The New Deal.

WPA worked as a partnership among the local, state, and federal levels. Projects were typically sponsored on the local level and then sent to the state WPA office for approval. If accepted, then it was on to Washington. Workers were selected off local relief rolls and could be employed as professionals, skilled or unskilled laborers, for women's projects, art projects, etc., depending on their interest and expertise.

The Second New Deal also addressed the nation's youth. Eleanor Roosevelt was particularly concerned with the generation that was growing up during the Depression. Contemporary observers concluded that the effects of the decline were increased cynicism and a sense of desperation and alienation. Novelist Martha Gellhorn wrote in a letter to Harry Hopkins, "I would find it hard…to describe the understandable and terrifying cynicism of these children…I don't know whether this hopelessness will turn into suicidal Depression or into recklessness." (Watkins 1993, 258). The First Lady had noticed this alarming propensity herself, and asked, "What are we going to say to our youth who are not wanted in industry?" (Watkins 1993, 258).

" Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt taken while addressing the National Conference, on the problems of the Negro and Negro Youth." 12 January, 1939. Photo source: NARA. (New Deal Network).

It wasn't so much what they said, as what they did. The National Youth Administration (NYA) was created by Presidential Executive Order in June 1935 to be administered under the WPA. With former FERA deputy director Aubrey Williams in charge, the agency attempted to uplift the lives of the nation's youth through programs intended to keep them in primary and secondary school, send them to college, or help them find appropriate work. The NYA, unlike the CCC, was intended for young girls as well as boys. Though this was a mandate of the program, Williams was a strong proponent of women and African Americans rights and never allowed the agency's charge to stray from its actual workings. As with the WPA, NYA students and workers were selected from families off the relief rolls.

There were a few main programs of the NYA. The most popular of these was the student work program. This project gave high school and college students part-time jobs in exchange for small salaries and a promise to stay in school. Around two million students participated nationwide. The out-of-school program was less well-known, but it contributed to students' self-worth through small scale work projects, vocational training and placement, and other educational enrichment programs. In terms of building projects, the NYA workers constructed public buildings, recreational facilities, landscaped and improved public sites, and cleaned and maintained public buildings and grounds. Though not their primary mission, the NYA are responsible for some of the handsomest buildings of the New Deal era. The NYA is also noted for residence centers, which were intended to teach rural children culture and social skills. Often constructed by NYA or CCC workers, these structures served as a temporary home to selected NYA students. (Watkins 1993, 259).

The Second New Deal did not ignore farmers and rural people. Because the plight of farmers was so essential to the nation's prosperity, Roosevelt made several tries at ameliorating the worst rural conditions. Aside from price controls, the New Deal established programs to assist and sometimes relocate rural residents who were farming unproductive land. Whether victims of severe drought and overworked land, landholders with few tillable acres, or sharecroppers and tenants, the President attempted to meet their needs first in FERA's rural rehabilitation program in the early part of his administration. It quickly became clear that the effort was not sufficient. In 1935, the Rural Resettlement Administration (RRA) was established, from its roots as the Subsistence Homestead project in the Department of the Interior, into an agency devoted to these issues. Its director, Rexford Tugwell, was a strong proponent of decentralization into small farming communities and, as the name suggests, relocating farm families to better holdings. Under Tugwell's leadership, the agency constructed a few decentralized communities, including the "greenbelt" towns of Greenville Ohio, Greenbelt Maryland, and Greendale, Wisconsin. RRA was much less successful in moving farmers off marginal lands, as only 4,441 families were resettled. (Watkins 1993, 262). This agency was eventually merged into the Farm Securities Administration after passage of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenancy Act in 1937. Similar aims were at play in its new home at the Department of Agriculture, but it had new responsibilities to tenant and sharecropper families of assisting with purchase of rented lands, animals, feed, seed, and machinery. (Watkins 1993, 296). The idea was to cease the decades-old exploitation of the rural poor and rehabilitate their farmsteads. The program enjoyed a few successes, but was not generally well-received.

Perhaps the most sweeping changes came in the guise of the Rural Electrification Administration (REA), a New Deal agency established in May 1935. The REA, which was

financed by the RFC, delivered the most significant changes for farm families of any New Deal attempt. The agency was charged with getting more farm families equipped with modern electricity. As strange as it may sound to urban dwellers, who had benefited from electricity since the late nineteenth century, most farm families lived and worked in a dark, cold world. (Blakey 1986, 140-141). "As late as 1935, only 12.6 percent of all American farms were electrified." (Watkins 1993, 262).

The difficulty with electrification was not from a lack of desire among rural residents; rather there were no incentives for private electric companies to conduct such work. Since customers were scattered across the countryside, it was cost-prohibitive for private companies to develop the lines. Banks, for their part, were not eager to offer easy terms to rural cooperatives willing to undertake the work themselves. The REA changed all of this. By offering low-cost loans to rural cooperatives and incentives to private companies, light could be shed across the countryside. Though REA became an independent entity in 1936, its progress could still be held accountable to the New Deal. As of 1941, there were "771 systems with 348,000 miles of transmission lines serving more than nine thousand customers representing 35 percent of farms…" (Watkins 1993, 263).

Among the other major provisions of the middle 1930s was the development of an old-age pension system. Lobbied for years by eccentric California doctor Francis Townsend and Louisiana populist Huey Long, benefits for the elderly was a top priority for the second New Deal. Roosevelt had crafted a system like this in 1930 with a statewide old-age pension program for New York, but nothing like it had ever been proposed on a national level. The initial proposal called for an old age pension plan, unemployment insurance, a worker's compensation plan, and a national health insurance program. Though health insurance was dropped from the final legislation, the Social Security Act of 1935 was signed on 7 August 1935. The plan, according to Roosevelt, was "politics all the way through. We put those payroll contributions in there so as to give the contributors a legal, moral, and political right to collect their pensions and the unemployment benefits. With those taxes in there, no damn politician can ever scrap my social security program." (Watkins 1993, 271). In terms of its workings, the program was intended to be a partnership between state and federal governments, matched by the employer. Though widely considered a confusing piece of legislation, the Act has meant comfort and security to elderly and unemployed Americans for generations.

In 1936, FDR faced reelection for a second term. In spite of labor unrest, unleashed by Title I Section 7(a) of the NIRA, a slowly rebounding economy, and dissatisfaction by radicals on the right and left, Roosevelt easily defeated Republican candidate Alfred Landon of Kansas. Democratic candidates in the House and Senate won as well, leading to an unprecedented majority in both chambers. In sum, the programs instituted by the New Dealers had given Americans optimism about the federal government and the economy. Most Americans knew that Roosevelt would not wait for things to get better, if it got bad, he would act right away.

Roosevelt did not inaugurate any additional New Deal programs after 1936, but augmented existing programs when necessary. In fact, the President, always cautious about budget deficits, asked for decreased funding for popular programs like the WPA and PWA. As the economy had remained stable, this move made sense. But, another recession loomed in the background.

Beginning in 1937, several factors combined to create this small recession. Understandably, Americans were saving more and spending less, which led to a sluggish economy. This situation, along with the removal of the first social security taxes from paychecks and a decline in funding for the WPA and PWA, led to a small crisis, the first hint of which was another minor stock market crash and a subsequent rise in unemployment.

Given the potential crisis, the New Dealers acted quickly to "prime the pump" by adding additional monies to the WPA and PWA in 1938. The PWA received an extra $1 billion, while the WPA acquired $1.4 billion. In spite of some very public disagreements with the President over appointees to the federal courts, Congress quickly acted to disburse these funds. By summer 1938, economic indicators appeared to be returning to 1936 levels.

The economy, though, was the least of anyone's worries. Americans were beginning to look nervously at German, Italian, and Japanese aggression toward neighboring countries. The Germans and Italians had become increasingly involved in the Spanish Civil War, while the Japanese attacked an American vessel, the Panay, that was in China for a peace-keeping mission. In the meantime, Jewish citizens across the world became alarmed over reports of anti-Semitism and Hitler's concentration camps. England stood alone in the fight against the aggressors after Austria fell in 1938; then Poland, Czechoslovakia, Albania in 1939; France, Denmark, Belgium, Luxembourg in 1940 to the Nazi-fascist threat. While stunned and disgusted by the events worldwide, most Americans wished to stay out of the impending conflict for as long as possible, though they kept an uneasy eye toward England, Europe, and Japan.

In the context of fear and destruction of former allies, the American industrial economy was resuscitated fully. The burgeoning war and the need for munitions, food, and other goods, by England especially, opened new markets for American goods. New factories geared up and employment was at all time high. Given this revival, many New Deal programs immediately became obsolete. Roosevelt had always viewed large-scale federal government employment as temporary— just until the economy revived. Therefore, the coming of war meant the end of the New Deal.

The New Deal began to be officially dismantled in 1939 by Congress. Congressional Democrats, some of whom had engaged in rancorous debates over the last few years with the President, teamed up with Republicans to gut the 1939 Relief Act. Over $150 million was trimmed from Roosevelt's modest request and the WPA Theatre and Art projects were dismantled. Later that summer, 775,000 WPA workers were fired. Roosevelt assisted, albeit perhaps reluctantly, in the dismantling. In 1939, he moved the PWA from the Department of the Interior, renamed it the Federal Works Administration, and severely cut its funding. Harold Ickes left the agency in June 1939, while formerly approved projects were being completed. The WPA and CCC continued on in greatly reduced form until 1943, under the umbrella of the Federal Works Administration (FWA). The FWA was intended to finish incomplete projects and train civilians for war efforts. Some New Deal agencies continue on today, like the TVA, FDIC, and the Social Security Administration. Others such as the REA, which closed in 1994, were discontinued when their job was done.

Kentucky and the New Deal

> *I tell you it isn't any fun, but what can you do? Here's the state of Kentucky. It would not put up any money and you say, 'You put up some money or we won't give you any." What happens? They do not put it up. Who gets licked? The unemployed. They always get licked…Believe me that is a tough order to give. It is going to be a long time before I give another one. There will have to be somebody else here to cut this food off from the unemployed.*
>
> Harry Hopkins, FERA Director. In George Blakey, *Hard Times and New Deal in Kentucky*, 51.

The state of Kentucky participated fully in New Deal programs during the 1930s. Despite political struggles between Washington and the state, as well as friction among leaders within the state, as a whole the New Deal experience was positive.

All of the major New Deal agencies were active in Kentucky. The PWA, for example, conducted 600 non-federal works projects that included waterworks, schools, roads, trash incinerators, and power plants. The WPA was responsible for channeling "more than $162 million through thousands of state projects and had as many as seventy-two thousand Kentuckians on the payroll in the September 1938 peak." (Blakey 1986, 59). The majority of these projects were heavy construction of roads, schools, government buildings, and recreational facilities, though a significant sum was also spent on professional work, such as art projects, writer's projects, and white-collar work projects. The CCC, for their part, were responsible for the development of numerous state parks including Cumberland Falls, Levi Jackson, and Pine Mountain State Parks, and fire prevention work on federal and private forest lands. A total of 80,000 Kentuckians served in the CCC over the life of the program, of which ten percent were required to be African Americans. (Blakey 1986, 80).

"Road in Elliott County, 1941." Photo date unknown. (Goodman-Paxton Photographic Collection, 1934-1942; hereafter GP Collection. Online at: http://kdl.kyvl.org/cgi/f/findaid/findaid-idx?xc=1;c=kukead;idno=kukavpa64m1).

The New Deal was not without its critics in the state. While there have always been those who disliked any type of federal government involvement in the state, some of the more enduring criticisms have come from historians of East Kentucky, in particular. (Eller 1982; Whisnant 1980). Some Appalachian historians see the New Deal era as one of lost hope for the region, especially as it related to land use. Eller states, "Ironically, actions taken by the federal government in the 1930s further complicated the desperate conditions in the mountains. Not only did the new social welfare legislation shift the region's dependency onto the federal government, but expanded programs of land acquisition undertaken by the government also displaced hundreds of additional families from the land. When the Forest Service began to consolidate its holdings and when the Park Service and TVA condemned hundreds of family farms for parks and hydroelectric facilities, it appeared to many mountain residents that the government was delivering the final blow to the region's independence and traditional way

of life. As the amount of federally owned land increased, the resentment and resistance of the population grew as well." (Eller 1982, 240).

In spite of these criticisms, the bequest of the Kentucky's New Deal was to put people back to work, and to construct solid buildings and structures as testament to these difficult times. Put simply, the New Deal left a lasting legacy on Kentucky's landscape that includes: new forests, state parks, recreational facilities, government buildings, schools, roads, streets, bridges, airports, entire communities, water and sewer systems, and nearly any other type public works. The remainder of this report will investigate the massive influence of the New Deal in the state.

Conclusion

The Great Depression was a watershed in American history. To those who didn't live it, the experience seems far removed from our present date and time. However, much of the elements that we consider essential to modernity were conceived to ameliorate the crisis that was the Depression. From public water to consolidated schools to concrete highways to social security to agricultural price controls, the Great Depression necessitated new ways of dealing with problems that were ages old. Roosevelt and his New Dealers began the process of federal government experimentation to improve the lives of Americans. It is difficult to say what would have occurred without their efforts. Suffice it to say that our built environment and our lives would not be as rich without the hopes and dreams of the people and the places that were the New Deal.

Section Three

New Deal Agency Synopsis
Introduction

The following text highlights New Deal agencies that were important builders of public infrastructure both in Kentucky, the East Kentucky study area, and nationally. These agencies include: the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the Public Works Administration (PWA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the National Youth Administration (NYA), the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), the Rural Electrification Administration (REA), the Rural Resettlement Administration (RRA), and the Farm Securities Administration (FSA). Information is included regarding their history, property types that are likely to be encountered in the field, sources to consult for project information, and provisional National Register integrity standards. The history portion of the synopsis, which examines national, statewide, and regional efforts, should prove useful when considering historic significance of particular property types and with regard to all examples of an agency's historic resources. The sections on sources should allow the reader to more easily uncover extant information.

Integrity standards for each agency are not comprehensive, as the range between roads, schools, and sanitary sewers systems, can be difficult to capture with one set standard. However, some general guidelines are offered that will assist the National Register of Historic Places reviewer with making eligibility decisions. It is strongly suggested that the reviewer also consult specific case studies that may also shed light on the particular resource in question. Thus, if the reviewer is assessing a road for WPA significance, they should consult the section on Transportation Infrastructure and the WPA agency synopsis. It should also be noted that the reviewer has the responsibility for providing integrity decisions. This information is intended only as a guide to assist in making National Register determinations.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration
Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration

> *The American City and local community have experienced a discouraging and wholly unsatisfactory system of financing relief. Since 1929 the communities have shifted the responsibility from private agencies to local governmental subdivisions and from one subdivision to another. We have experienced hand to mouth methods of financing relief and the continual robbing of other necessary phases of local government so that people might not starve… Since that time the demand on federal governments has grown increasingly until the month of April the new Federal Emergency Relief Bill was passed providing $500,000,000 for federal direct aid to state and local governments. This policy on the part of the federal government will be of assistance in relieving distress, not only from the standpoint of the money provided, but because of the position federal government can assume in demanding uniform standards of administration and adequacy in relief.*
>
> Fred K. Hoeler, Commissioner of Public Safety for City of Cincinnati. In *Kentucky City* July 1933, 7-8.

History

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) was established by Congressional Act in May 1933. Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's trusted friend and former relief administrator in New York state, administered the new agency. Initially funded by a $500 million grant from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), FERA was intended to furnish expedient, temporary relief to millions unemployed nationwide. The revolutionary principle that made its way into public policy in this act was that the federal government should assist local or state relief efforts. As American Municipal Association Director Paul Betters put it, "It has now been pretty largely settled that the federal government does have some definite responsibility for meeting the relief needs of the nation. In 1930 when the 'doctrine of local responsibility' seemed to be the slogan of the day, the cities in practically every state carried the burden." (Betters January 1934, 9). Roosevelt and his colleagues acted quickly to relieve the suffering, of states, municipalities, and the destitution caused by the Great Depression. FERA was among their first legislative actions.

FERA was a partnership between states and the federal government. Ideally, states were supposed to fund $3 for every $1 contributed by FERA, though the agency set aside monies for extreme state and local situations with no matching funds. In reality, states frequently abdicated responsibility for the unemployed and attempted to pressure FERA to pay all related expenses. In some instances, as was the case in the state of Virginia, they were successful. Other states, like Kentucky, did not fare as well. (Blakey 1986, 51).

"Wool furnished Kentucky by Federal Surplus Relief Corporation was processed on WPA comforter projects by relief women and made into warm comforters." Relief Worker in Pike County. (GP Collection).

In terms of administration, states were required to have a state FERA administrator and local relief offices in order to receive monies. Policies and procedures came from the federal level to the State Emergency Relief Administration (SERA). (Carothers 1937, 5). The SERAs approved local requests and notified local offices of administrative changes. Local offices interviewed, investigated living conditions among enrollees, and placed needy families on the relief rolls. The amount of relief was based upon an estimate of the weekly needs of the recipient and an

estimate of their weekly income. (Carothers 1937, 7). Relief for the unemployed came mainly in the form of cash payments, provision of fuel and clothing to the indigent, and occasionally employment on public work projects. FERA also asked that monies be used for care of homeless or transients not associated with state or local institutions. Food stuffs for the unemployed were obtained from surplus agricultural products taken off the market to stabilize prices through the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation (FSRC). At various times during the program, canned meat, cheese, beans, flour, and cotton to make blankets and mattresses, were distributed to those on relief. Later on, state work programs disbursed goods from various canning and sewing work projects. Items like mattresses, canned tomatoes, firewood, clothing, and soap were produced by local relief workers. (KERA 1934-35, 14).

Rendering of Carter County Board of Education. (KERA 1935, Annual Report).

Work projects were not the sole charge of FERA. The agency was intended primarily to get necessities to millions of starving unemployed people as quickly as possible. However, FERA had always maintained a small work section, dedicated to employing relief recipients on public projects. Upon initiation of the CWA, as a division of FERA, its employment program was expanded significantly. In fact, it became evident when CWA was closed in March 1934 that FERA would begin an extended work program to satisfy the great demand. According to a Kentucky observer, "This step was the result of careful and extensive surveys which proved conclusively that not only were the employable clients averse and inherently opposed to accepting unearned help, but the thinking public officials throughout the State were anxious to obtain lasting results in the form of public improvements in return for the Federal, State, and Local funds so disbursed." (KERA 1934-35, 1). Unfinished CWA projects were transferred to FERA Work Division in March 1934.

The new FERA work program, established 31 March 1934, was created to assist employable relief recipients in cities of more than 5,000 in population or areas that were primarily industrial. The unemployed in rural areas, it was thought, could fend for themselves through subsistence farming.[2] Projects, which were planned on the local and regional level by SERA engineering staff and the local sponsor, were to be "of a public character, of economic and social benefit to the general public or to publicly owned institutions." (Carothers 1937, 49). FERA provided six main project areas: planning (3 percent quota), public property (30 percent), housing (15 percent), production and distribution of goods needed by the unemployed (15 percent), public welfare, health, and recreation (7 percent), and public education, arts and research (10 percent). (Carothers 1937, 51). Male and female workers were selected off the relief rolls and were paid the prevailing wage for the area. This wage could be no less than 30 cents an hour. Examples of FERA work projects include local property tax surveys; production of mattresses and clothing for the poor; construction of schools, courthouses, and canneries; public health initiatives; traffic studies; and historical research.

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[2] The folly of this exclusion became clear in May 1934. A Rural Rehabilitation program was begun by FERA to assist families with becoming self-sufficient in areas with less than 5000 in population.

FERA was discontinued in December 1935. Work relief continued on through the Works Progress Administration, and direct relief was considered the state or localities' responsibility. (*Kentucky City* Jan 1936, 12).

Kentucky and FERA

In Kentucky, the first federal-state partnership for relief was strained. The Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration (KERA) was established in May 1933 and headed by former RFC director Harper Gatton. (Blakey 1986, 47). The main issue arising in the state was a lack of commitment by the state legislature and the governor alike in providing matching funds for the KERA. Over the period of a year, FERA field agent Howard Hunter and Harry Hopkins withheld funds several times in an effort to force action on the state level. Eventually, the state committed adequate funds for relief in the form of a sales tax in June 1934, but not without backroom maneuvering on the state and federal levels. In sum, Hunter caught Gatton in some questionable activities, forced him out of office, and nationalized Kentucky's relief efforts in November 1933. This meant that FERA, not KERA, controlled relief efforts in the state. Gatton's successor, former Louisville Public Welfare Director Thornton Wilcox, was not well-liked by Governor Laffoon. Wilcox was forced from office in October 1934 upon allegations of misuse of funds by Laffoon, and was replaced by George Goodman, a Paducah newspaper man. Goodman, who maintained political neutrality, was able to calm a stormy state-federal relationship.

FERA field agent, Howard Hunter. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

In spite of a turbulent beginning, KERA "poured more than $35 million into programs for Kentucky's destitute, and state government added approximately $2.5 million…" (Blakey 1986, 53). *Kentucky City* magazine noted the impact of KERA programs by March 1934, " From 22 May, 1933 through 28 February, 1934, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration made grants to Kentucky totaling $5,915,118 distributed as follows:

> "General Relief Purposes…$4,916,060
> Transient Relief…. $125,000
> Educational Programs….$112,600
> Commodities….$796,000" (*Kentucky City* March 1934, 7).

As historian George Blakey notes, "The rapid planning of the program and its precarious financial status, did not allow for an extensive work program." (Blakey 1986, 54). However, upon inception of KERA's work division, the number of work projects blossomed. The KERA work division was directed by Roland Pyne, Perry Rowe, and then Edward Mayre, all engineers. The state office also contained numerous field engineers to assist local communities with planning complex work projects. Administratively, the state was initially divided into 40 areas and six districts, though this number changed several times. Additionally, each county had a County Work Supervisor, who was responsible to the Area Work Supervisor. District engineers rounded out this huge bureaucracy, and were responsible for project approval on the area level.

KERA sponsored a large number of local work projects across the state (See Appendix Two). From 1 April, 1934 to 1 July 1935, 91 planning projects, 2,121 public property projects, 614 public buildings projects, 330 sewer, drainage, and public utility projects, 146 recreational construction projects, 58 waterway and flood control projects, and 19 projects to make needed building materials were undertaken. (KERA 1934-35, 15). Additionally, various white collar and women's projects were conducted, which included 18 health projects, 54 library projects, and nine traffic studies.

Examples of KERA resources in the East Kentucky project area include: Morgan County High School in West Liberty (completed in 1937 by the WPA), Loyall School in Harlan County, Cumberland City Hall in Harlan County (completed by the WPA), Caney Consolidated School in Breathitt County, Straight Creek Road in Boyd County, Burning Fork School in Magoffin County, and a 1935 project to repair damage from intense flooding in eastern Kentucky. In the latter endeavor, highways and bridges were repaired, and houses were rebuilt. (KERA 1934-35, 80).

Sources

There are very few sources that give detailed information about KERA. The *Annual Report of the Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration Work Division, April 1, 1934 to July 1,1935* has general statistics about project types, and very little information about particular projects, such as a name or location. There is a small section of achievements under each field of activity that contains data about specific projects, like the development of the KERA Seneca Park Golf Course and Caddy Shack in Louisville. Regrettably, there is only one such description of a project in the East Kentucky study area. Straight Creek Road in Boyd County is discussed in the KERA report. In any case, these summaries of achievements, regardless of location, could offer detail into the development of similar project types.

Warfield School, Martin County. The Building was begun by KERA and competed by the WPA. (GP Collection).

Oddly, a study of *Kentucky City* magazine entries has garnered no additional KERA project information. It is probable that searches of local newspapers would be fruitful. Searching under the time frame for KERA work projects from April 1934 to December 1935 could uncover project information.

Works Progress Administration records, such as those noted in the WPA agency description, or Civil Works Administration sources could also uncover specific project information; incomplete CWA projects were transferred to KERA Work Division and not-yet completed KERA projects were accomplished by the WPA.

The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) has a record group for KERA. According to NARA archivist Gene Morris, "There are FERA records for Kentucky, but here is no discrete collection I can point out that would serve your purpose [composing a database of KERA projects in the study area]. There are about a dozen or so boxes worth or material that may of use, but it would take in-person research to winnow out what you're looking for.

Even then, I couldn't guarantee that you would find everything." (Morris 2005, email correspondence with author). The information is cited as follows: National Archives and Records Administration Record Group 69, PC 37, Central Correspondence File of the WPA and Predecessors, Entry 10, FERA State Series, Boxes 107 to 112. No follow-up study has been undertaken at this time.

Associated Property Types

Abattoir
Airports
Amphitheatre (improved)
Armory Riding Hall
Athletic Fields
Auditoriums
Bath House
Children's Camps
City Halls
City Streets and Roads
Community Buildings
Concrete Stadium
Court House
Curbs and Sidewalks
Dams
Drainage Ditches
Electric Power Plant (improved and repaired)
Fair Buildings (improved)
Fire Cistern
Fire House
Fish Hatcheries
Game Preserve (improved)
Garbage Transfer Stations
Gas Mains
Golf Course
Gymnasiums
Hospital
Houses (repaired and remodeled)
Incinerators (improved and repaired)
Jails
Lakes
Landscaped grounds
Levees
Libraries
Masonry Grandstand
Military Reservation
Miscellaneous Courts (croquet, etc.)
Municipal Garages
Park Buildings
Parks
Playgrounds
Pumping Stations
Relief Offices
Sanitary Privies
Schools
Septic Tanks
Sewage Disposal Plants (improved and repaired)
Sewer Systems
State, County, and City Poor Farms
Stone Retaining Walls
Swimming Pools
Tennis Courts
Transient Shelters (Ashland and Corbin)
Water Main
Water Reservoirs (improved and repaired)
Wells
Wooden Grandstands

Integrity Considerations

Because of a lack of sufficient primary sources, i.e. a small number of buildings or structures encountered in the field, it is difficult to proscribe integrity standards. However, some provisional integrity standards can be noted based upon archival research. As with other New Deal agencies, KERA was highly labor intensive. Thus, integrity of *workmanship*, *feeling*, and *association* with this handwork should be evident in the historic resource.

It is not clear whether materials were made by KERA workers, but FERA did require materials to be provided by the local sponsor. Additionally, according to KERA archives, production of construction materials did occur, as 350,000 bricks were made, 103,068 board feet of lumber cut, and 57,000 concrete blocks were fabricated. (KERA 1934-35, 15). It is not clear if these were for one project or for many projects. In any case, it is not unreasonable to conclude that some materials could have been handcrafted. Therefore, integrity of *materials* should be important.

Integrity of *setting* may be of minor importance, but the *location* should not have been altered.

Depending on the property type, integrity of *feeling*, *association*, *location*, *workmanship*, and *materials* should combine so that the resource is a recognizable New Deal resource.

Each of the following elements of integrity could be considered important to conveying significance for KERA resources. All of these elements do not have to be present, but enough should be observed to demonstrate a building or site's importance. The level of integrity for all property types should be medium. Please see the case studies section for more information on specific property types.

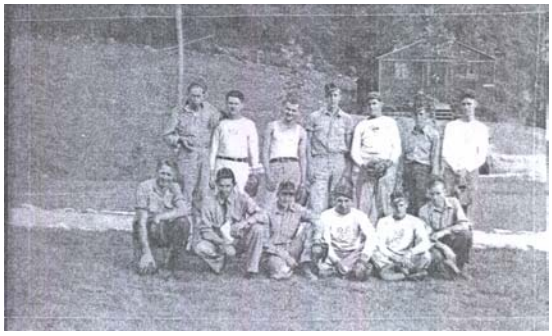
Materials
Workmanship
Location
Design
Feeling
Association

The Civilian Conservation Corps

> *I have proposed to create a civilian conservation corps to be used in simple work, not interfering with the normal employment, and confining itself to forestry, the prevention of soil erosion, flood control, and similar projects. …The type of work is of definite, practical value, not only through the prevention of great financial loss, but also as a means of creating future national wealth….*
>
> President Franklin D. Roosevelt message to Congress March 21, 1933. In *The Forest Service and The Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-42*, 6.

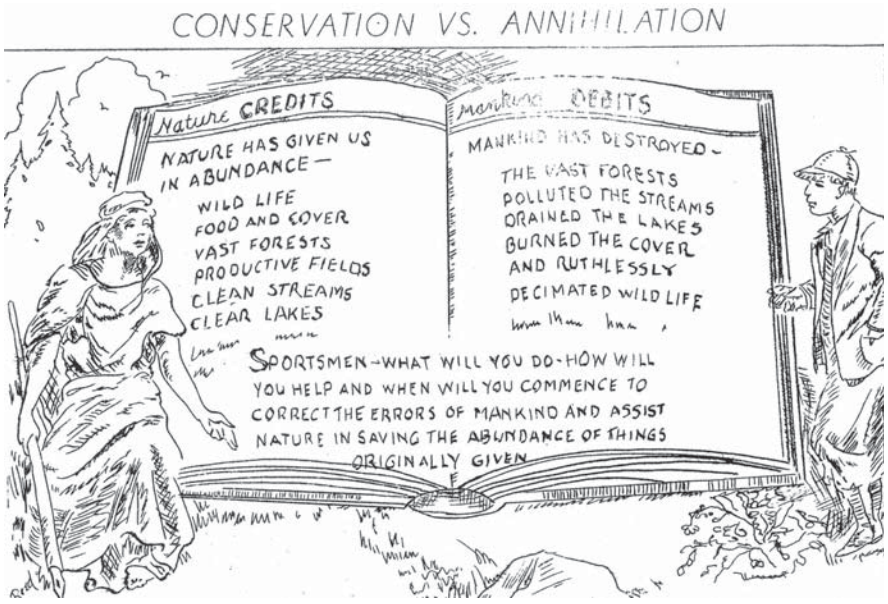
History

One of the most successful and popular New Deal programs was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Widely known as the CCC or the Three CCCs, this work relief program's mission was to promote conservation of the country's natural resources. The program was originally created in 1933 under the Emergency Conservation Work Act (ECW). The duration of the Act was limited to two years, after which it was continued by annual appropriation until 1937. It was then formally established for three years with the Act of June 28, 1937. The CCC continued with yearly approvals until 1943 when Congress ended the program. (Collins 1975, 215).



CCC Company 3355 Baseball Squad, July 1938, Bledsoe, KY. (The Bledsoe Frontier, 1 July, 1938).

The need for an intensive conservation program for the country's natural resources had reached a critical point. Three generations of exploitative American occupation and a lack of appropriate conservation measures brought disastrous results to the formally verdant American landscape. Destruction of forests was especially pronounced. Forests had originally covered 800,000,000 acres of the continental United States but by 1933, only 100,000,000 acres remained of "virgin" forests. As a consequence, soil erosion had become a serious problem. (Salmond 1967, 4). Intensive restoration of forest resources was required to protect land from further depletion. President Franklin D. Roosevelt envisioned the CCC program as response to this urgent situation.



CCC mission illustration. (CCC Camp P-75 (Harlan Co.) Newsletter The Clover Leaf, September, 1937).

Central to the conservation program, the CCC provided employment to jobless young men 18-25, though the age

requirements were altered several times during the program's life. Due to efforts of the Bonus Army, Veterans of World War I were also permitted to enroll, regardless of age. Veterans and the younger men were generally assigned to separate camps.

The CCC official policy of non-discrimination was left to individual states to decide how to select enrollees. This led to widespread segregation among the camps. (Otis 1996, 7). States used quota systems that misrepresented the actual percentage of the African American population, making the percentage of black CCC enrollees artificially low. (Blakey 1986, 81).

Under the direction of Robert Fechner, four federal government agencies oversaw CCC operations and coordinated their efforts. The Department of Labor was responsible for recruitment of the men. Camp supervision was left to the War Department which set up a quasi-military type of system in the camps. Project identification and development was left to the Departments of Interior and Agriculture. (Collins 1975, 216).

The CCC in Kentucky

Kentucky was in the CCC Fifth Corps area along with Ohio, Indiana, and West Virginia. A total of 80,000 Kentuckians served in the CCC over the life of the program. (Merrill 1981, 130). Of this amount, more than 5000 men came from eastern Kentucky. (Frame 1935, 20). Although there was an effort to keep enrollees within 200 miles of their home, not all of the Kentucky enrollees served in the state. Many were assigned to camps in the western states, since the program was based on project need. (Blakey 1986, 80-82).

CCC workmen at Pine Mountain Lodge Site. Photo date unknown. (Photo courtesy of Pine Mountain SRP Naturalist Dean Henson).

Because conservation efforts in the East Kentucky region were mainly focused on federal, state or private forest land, the CCC camp projects generally centered around activities dealing with forest husbandry, such as timber surveys, tree planting, clear cutting, and fire presuppression. At least, 32 CCC camps have been identified in the study region. (http://www.cccalumni.org/states/kentucky1.html).

CCC work projects fell into ten general classifications. Work in eastern Kentucky CCC camps encompassed six of the ten. (Merrill 1981, 9)

1. Structural Improvement: bridges, fire towers, service buildings
2. Transportation: truck trails, minor roads, foot trails
3. Flood Control: irrigation and drainage, dams, ditching, rip rapping
4. Forest Culture: planting trees, timber stand improvement, seed collection, and nursery work
5. Forest Protection: fire fighting, fire prevention, and fire presuppression
6. Landscape and Recreation: public camp and picnic grounds development.

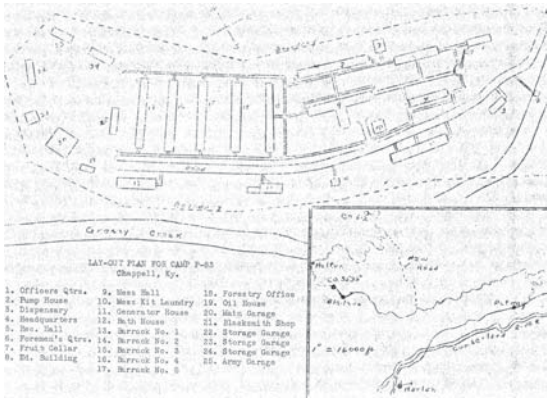
CCC camp newsletters referenced 168 projects in the study region, though this list is by no means complete. These projects ranged from constructing fire towers and truck trails to developing state park facilities and administrative facilities. (See Appendix Four for an approximate listing of CCC work projects in the region). Many buildings associated with the CCC were designed by CCC or Forest Service architects and reflect a rustic aesthetic. The CCC camps in the study area also managed natural landscape features. Projects like timber stand improvements, firebreaks, and dams altered the physical landscape of the region. (Kentucky Historical Society Special Collections, RG2001M01).

The impact of the CCC on the Eastern Kentucky Cultural Landscape is quite pronounced. Forest development in this region of the state was greatly advanced by the work of the CCC. (Merrill 1975, 217). The system of fire towers, truck trails, and telephone lines ensured that forests would be protected. Another benefit of CCC work in the region was improved transportation and communication networks, through development of roads, hiking paths, and extending telephone wires into some areas for the first time. Additionally, the development of the state parks in the area greatly enhanced recreational activities for all Kentucky citizens and allowed them to take advantage of the scenic forests and natural beauty of the region. This particular work of the CCC created lasting sources of tourist revenue. (Frame 1935, 20).

CCC workers building a truck trail. (Kylie, Hieronymous, and Hall 1937, CCC Forestry. Hereafter Kylie 1937, CCC Forestry).

Sources

There is no one comprehensive source for project records available for the CCC. Several sources exist in a piecemeal fashion. Perhaps the most extensive primary source is the *Civilian Conservation Corps Camp Newsletters, 1934-1941* archived at the Kentucky History Center in Frankfort in Special Collections as RG2001M01 (hereafter KHS, RG2001M01). The newsletters are organized in five boxes divided with folders that contain camp newsletters for a particular location.[3] These newsletters give insight to camp life and individual work projects. Several of the newsletters also have illustrations and maps that are useful. One problem is that there is no uniform consistency for the newsletters. Some publications may have numerous projects listed, while others have no projects discussed at all. This uneven reporting of facts can lead to frustration for the researcher of a particular camp.



Site Plan for Camp P-83 in Chappell, KY. (CCC Camp Newsletter The Mountain Echo, May, 1940).

[3] Note: The name of the closest city that the camp was located is listed on the folder. There are no camp or company numbers listed. It is recommended that the researcher have some knowledge of the camp location prior to accessing the archive. Additionally, it should be considered that the newsletters for the same camp could have different names over time.

CCC newsletters should not be considered a comprehensive source for project identification. It is likely that there are many more CCC associated projects in an area. For instance, research of the Putney Archive at KDLA (Record Group 2825) revealed CCC work plans for a few camps in the region from 1939-1943. These plans illuminated many more projects than originally found in the newsletters. Locating work plans for the other camps, however, may require more creative research.

It should also be noted that the Kentucky History Center houses Kentucky CCC oral history records that have been transcribed (Kentucky Oral History Commission Special Projects, "CCC" Collection #45). This source was not consulted for the report, but could serve as a useful tool for further research.

Another resource for certain camps in the study region is the Putney Records (Record Group 2825) and the Kentucky Natural Resources Cabinet, Forestry Division records (Record Group 1900F) at KDLA. These archives have information concerning the following camps: P-74 (Blackmont), P-77 (Putney), P-80 (Garrard), P-81 (Pikeville), P-83 (Harlan), S-82 (Mallier), and S-84 (Harlan). Included in this information are: maps, blueprints, and work plans for the years 1939-1942. Work plans describe projects being carried out by a particular camp during a reporting period. These files can help in identifying CCC resources in a particular area. Maps with camp and project locations are included in the archives and in a few work plans. Architectural drawings for certain property types are also included in the archive.

The National Archives Records Administration (NARA) in Washington D.C. is another source for information on the CCC. (http://www.archives.gov/index.html). Housed in Record Group 35, the CCC archive is organized by Camp number. Information from this source includes correspondence, camp inspection reports, and photographs. In order to access this information, the researcher must have the specific camp number. The researcher can call or email NARA and request available information for the camp. A NARA representative will send information on how many pages they have and the cost for photocopies. Copies of these records may then be ordered from NARA. These records can provide good information about CCC camps. There is, however, scant information concerning work projects. The camp inspection reports sometimes offer a mention of a project, but this is not guaranteed. If work plan records are available, then identification of individual projects accomplished by a specific CCC camp is much easier.

Several websites are also available for the researcher. The National Association of CCC Alumni Organization (NACCCA) (http://cccalumni.org) is particularly useful. This site has some information about CCC camps in each state including company and camp numbers. This source is helpful in finding CCC camps located in a specific county or region.

Knowing camp numbers is also useful for doing research in other archives. The CCC Museum and Research Center is located in St. Louis at the headquarters of NACCCA, and is open to the public. The James F. Justin Civilian Conservation Corps Museum (http://members.aol.com/famjustin/cccgov.html) is an online museum that has a variety of information concerning the CCC. This site contains CCC related histories, photographs, and other links.

Associated Property Types

CCC camps
- barracks
- dams
- dynamite magazines
- education buildings
- garages/maintenance buildings
- landscaping
- latrines
- mess halls
- officers quarters
- reservoirs
- showers
- tool storage buildings
- water supply

Lookout towers
- cisterns
- telephone lines
- towers
- trails
- watchman cabins

State and National Forests
- dwellings
- Forest Service Administrative buildings
- garages
- maintenance buildings
- ranger headquarters
- warehouses

State and National Parks
- amphitheaters
- barbecue pits
- bridges
- cabins
- camp grounds
- concession stands
- culverts
- dams
- dynamite magazines
- garages/maintenance buildings
- guardrails
- incinerators
- landscaping
- lodges
- overlooks
- parking areas
- picnic shelters
- pump houses
- ranger stations
- reservoirs
- roads
- steps
- ticket offices
- trails
- water fountains
- water supply

Truck trails
- bridges
- culverts
- trails

Integrity Considerations

Although it will depend on the property type encountered, a few general statements can be made regarding integrity. The conservation mission of the CCC shaped the types of projects it accomplished. In the study region, generally, the CCC was generally involved in forestry protection and development. A key characteristic of CCC architecture is the use of natural materials. This is especially evident in buildings associated with parks and forests. The use of log and stone was quite prolific in CCC associated resources. Integrity of *materials* is, therefore, a key component for evaluation. CCC resources were built by hand under the direction of supervisors, therefore integrity of *workmanship* should be assessed at a relatively medium level. Integrity of *design* should also be considered in the assessment of eligibility. The resource should retain a moderate degree of its original form, plan, and style. Some

resources, such as, lookout towers, CCC camps, and dams are more functional in nature. These property types should also retain a moderate degree of integrity in *materials* and *design*, since these elements are related to their functional use. CCC resources were associated with natural forest settings in the study region. Integrity of *setting* should be intact and should not be compromised by a large degree of modern intrusions or lack of forest land. The resource must retain integrity of *location*. Additionally, integrity of *feeling* and *association* should also be considered in evaluating CCC resources.

Each of the following elements of integrity are important to conveying significance for CCC resources, and are listed by priority. All of these elements do not have to be present, but enough should be to demonstrate a building or site's importance. The level of integrity for all property types should be medium. Please see the case studies section for more information on specific property types.

Setting
Location
Materials
Workmanship
Design
Feeling
Association

The Public Works Administration

> *Here is an opportunity to build necessary and desirable public works on more favorable terms than you have ever had before or than you may ever have again. Do you need a new water works, or an extension of your present plant? Do you want a new or improved sewage system? Do you require bridges or viaducts or public buildings or roads or new schools? These things and others you may have on unbelievably generous terms.*
>
> PWA Administrator Harold Ickes. In *Kentucky City* October 1933, 25.
>
> *Franklin D. Roosevelt has made Cheops, Pericles, Augustus, Chin Shih Huang Ti, the Medicis, and Peter the Great look like a club of birdhouse-builders. For one Great Pyramid or Great Wall, PWA has raised up scores of tremendous dams. For one Parthenon, it has reared thousands of glistening city halls, courthouses, post offices, schoolhouses. For one 366-mile Appian Way, it has laid 50,000 miles of highway over the hills and valleys of America.*
>
> *Life* Magazine, "PWA has Changed the Face of the U.S." April 1, 1940.

History

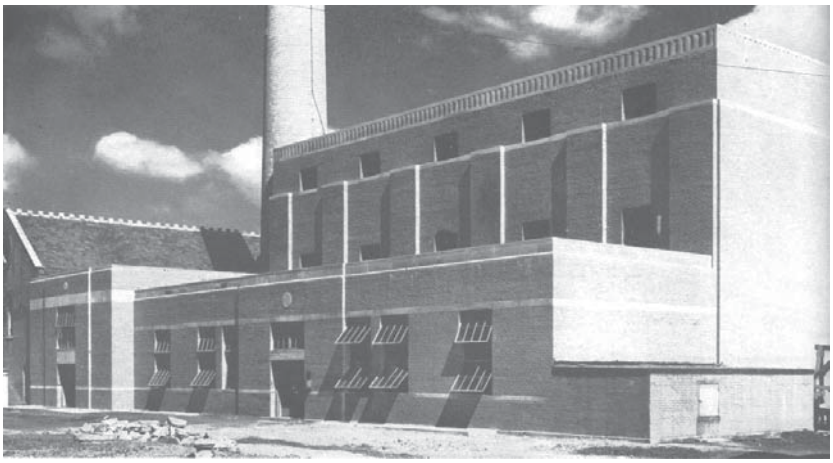
The Public Works Administration (PWA) was established in June 1933 as Part II of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NRA). Over $3 billion was set aside initially to sponsor federal works projects, road construction, and non-federal (local or state) works projects. PWA was intended to "entice the Nation back to normal status by starting the flow of money through wages and the purchase of materials..." (Ickes 1935, 13). In other words, PWA's purpose was to stimulate the economy through useful public work construction projects and secondarily the agency meant to put the unemployed back to work.

Reviving the ailing construction and transportation industries was especially important to PWA founders. Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona remarked at the time, "The types of projects thus financed have resulted in a vast amount of indirect labor, an intangible benefit which, while difficult to record, nevertheless is reflected in increased orders for equipment, materials, and supplies oftentimes places in communities far removed from the site of the project itself. I am informed that more than 60 percent of the Public Works money thus far expended has gone for purchases of materials that have blanketed the country with indirect industrial and transportation employment…" (*Kentucky City* April 1936, 5). PWA then was meant to be a pump-primer for private industry.

PWA Construction Site in Washington, D.C., 1933 (Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library & Museum. Digital Archive online. http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/, hereafter FDR Library)

PWA was also very much interested in public works.
A comprehensive public works program would not only put people back to work, and stimulate private industries, but it would also help build much-needed modern infrastructure in the form of sanitary sewers, efficient water systems, and evenly surfaced roads, in communities

across the United States. Public health projects were especially looked upon with high regard. Thus, PWA financed large numbers of sewers, waterworks, and waste disposal plants. "When economic conditions are such as to prevent our citizens from having a reasonable amount of food, then you are paving the way for a lowering of resistance to communicable and dietary disease …Generally speaking, water supplies, sewerage and sewer treatment projects are given priority, as it is felt that these types of projects are the most important in the protection of the public health and at the same time furnish employment to many." (Dugan December 1933, 24). Power plants were also important to PWA building efforts. As Secretary Ickes put it, "For a hundred years the municipalities of America have been fighting for the right to build and operate their own public utilities…[for] municipalities to manufacture and distribute electric energy at a minimum cost to their citizens." PWA intended to ameliorate this situation by permitting localities to build and manufacture their own electricity and gas through the non-federal loan and grant program. PWA also favored public housing projects (See Section Five, the New Deal and Housing for more details). As Administrator Ickes put it, "Money spent to eradicate slums is a sound and safe investment in citizenship, in character, in health; an investment that for all time to come will pay rich dividends in the form of happier and more worthwhile lives." (Ickes 1935, 181).



(Short and Brown 1939, Public Buildings: A Survey of Architecture of Projects Constructed by Federal and Other Governmental Bodies Between the Years 1933 and 1939 with the Assistance of the Public Works Administration. Hereafter Short and Brown 1939).

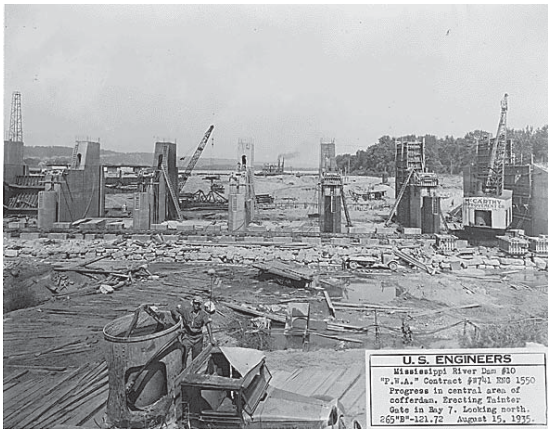
The Tri-borough Bridge in New York City was a PWA project. Photo date unknown. (FDR Library).

"During the six effective years of its life, the PWA would finance a total of 34,058 projects at a cost of a little more than $6 billion, employing in any given year half a million workers." (Watkins 1993, 144). A PWA study notes that up to 1939, the agency spent $1,703,000,000 on federal projects and $2,757,500,000 on non-federal projects. (Short and Brown 1939, IV). Numerically speaking, the majority of these projects were non-federal or local in nature, though PWA is known mainly for its large-scale federal undertakings. In the initial stages of PWA, a significant share of the appropriation was given to large federal projects, like the Hoover/Boulder Dam, and to federal agencies, such as the National Park Service. However, the intent was always to invest more in non-federal projects, as they were thought to have better potential for industrial revitalization.

Administratively, PWA was a centrally operated agency with much weaker regional offices. Each state had a State Director or State Engineer, who was responsible for publicizing the program, soliciting applications, and sending worthy projects on to Washington for approval. Expedient approval was not among the virtues of the PWA. The agency, and its cautious director Harold Ickes, moved methodically through the applications and made every effort to assure that PWA projects were free from graft and corruption. Given such careful accounting measures, it was several years before the impact of PWA was felt. In any case, projects were developed on the local level with assistance from the State Engineer, then they were forwarded to Washington for a thorough review. If approved, the project was let out to the lowest bidder among private construction companies. Unlike the WPA, workers were not required to be on relief rolls; most were skilled construction laborers and were paid the local prevailing wage.

In terms of non-federal projects, local communities were offered a grant that paid for 30 percent of the costs with possibility of a 70 percent low-interest rate loan from PWA, though later the grant was raised to 45 percent of the cost. Cities could apply only for a grant and pay for the project costs themselves, but many elected to finance improvements with PWA loans and grants. PWA loans were basically municipal bonds that were purchased by the PWA, as the bond market was extremely weak, and sold at a later date. Given the self-liquidating nature of the projects, the bonds often were sold with a great profit for the PWA. Regrettably, the loan provision of PWA created delay in many states, as many small cities could not legally issue bonds or enter into contractual agreements with the federal government. State legislatures had to meet in special sessions to pass the needed enabling legislation.

Federal projects, on the other hand, were financed through grants to the managing agency. For example, the National Park Service was granted PWA funds to improve Mammoth Cave National Park in Kentucky and the work was complete by the Civilian Conservation Corps. Other agencies that received PWA funding include: the Bureau of Yards and Docks of the Navy Department, the Quartermaster Corps and the Corps of Engineers of the War Department, and the Public Buildings Branch of the Procurement Division of the Department of the Treasury. (Short and Brown 1939, XIII). PWA is not typically recognized as the source of improvements in the case of federal projects, as monies were added to the particular agency's budget.



PWA federal project with the Army Corps of Engineers, the Mississippi River Dam, 1935. (FDR Library).

The PWA was largely phased out by 1940, when it was folded into the Federal Works Administration (FWA). The FWA, created by the President in 1939, was intended to serve as a clearinghouse for reducing the large number of New Deal work agencies. Though Ickes lobbied heavily for a permanent Department for Public Works in the federal government, his appeals went unanswered. (Ickes February 1937, 18).

Kentucky and the PWA

In Kentucky, the PWA sponsored many federal and non-federal projects. According to historian George Blakey, "Initial planning began shortly after the PWA's creation in summer of 1933; the major work did not begin until well into 1934, however. Most of the projects were finished and phased out, or absorbed into other municipal programs by 1940. During its tenure, Ickes' agency had undertaken six hundred [non-federal] projects in the state, hired thousands of workers, and spent $49 million." (Blakey 1986, 73). A total of 15,295,490 man hours were spent on construction projects in Kentucky, of which 7,694,110 were related to non-federal projects. (*Kentucky City* June 1937, 18). Therefore, at least by 1937, federal and non-federal projects were equivalent in work performed.

PWA Public Housing in Louisville KY, College Court, 1938. (NARA Special Media Archives Services Division, Still Picture Reference Team. Hereafter NARA (Special Media)).

Administratively, Kentucky was located within PWA Region 10, the Central Region, which included Tennessee, West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and North Carolina, though later on Kentucky was moved to the Southern Region. Hourly wages for the central zone were initially $1.10 for skilled labor and 45 cents for unskilled. (*Kentucky City* September 1933, 21). The State Engineer and Director of the PWA in Kentucky for most of the 1930s was George Sager. He was responsible for approving projects on the state level and forwarding them on to Washington for review. Like most other states, fifth and sixth class Kentucky cities were limited and could not issue revenue bonds before the passage of enabling legislation in late 1934. (Blakey 1986, 73).

Federal projects included several post offices, constructed in conjunction with the Department for the Treasury, including one in Pineville and one in Hazard, and river improvements in partnership with the Army Corps of Engineers. In terms of non-federal endeavors, health projects were predominant, as approximately 140 waterworks, 31 sanitary sewers, and 18 waste disposal plants and incinerators were constructed across the Commonwealth for a total of 32 percent of projects. (NARA Record Group 135, Entry UD-19). Additionally, Kentucky's educational plant benefited enormously from PWA funds; 247 university, elementary, and high school buildings were constructed with PWA monies, or 41 percent of all PWA projects. (NARA Record Group 135, Entry UD-19). As with all New Deal building agencies, roads and bridge construction were preferred undertakings. Non-federal road projects were sponsored in local communities, while the federal Bureau of Public Roads gave PWA funds to the State Highway Department to accomplish better thoroughfares across the Commonwealth. Other frequently approved project types include: electric and gas power plants, jails, courthouses, fire department buildings, and municipal buildings.

Madisonville Courthouse and Jail, circa 1939. NARA (Special Media).

According to the 1939 *Public Buildings* PWA Architecture book, Kentucky, which was located in Region 3 by this time, was responsible for few design innovations, which the authors equate with ultra-modern design. "Traditional architecture of the Colonial period still dominates design here…With the exception of a few noteworthy buildings, this area has not contributed much improvement in design." (Short and Brown 1939, XII). In other words, many of the non-federal PWA buildings were more traditional in design, though not necessarily traditional in terms of services provided (i.e. water treatment plants). The 1939 assessment goes on to note that steel, limestone, marble, granite, cement, brick, clay products and lumber were the native materials used in construction and that fire-proof construction was being utilized with more frequency. (Short and Brown 1939, XII).

In the project area, there were approximately 100 PWA non-federal projects. (See Appendix Five). Forty-three of these were school projects[4], and 31 involved waterworks, sewer, or waste disposal plant construction. PWA projects also included an electric power plant in Middlesboro, that may not have been built, and a gas plant in Paintsville. Examples of PWA projects in the study area are a $43,000 auditorium and gymnasium in Catlettsburg, a $42,000 waterworks in Salyersville, and a $25,616 school building in Manchester.

Sources

There are few sources that give great detail regarding specific PWA projects. At this time, no such information has been uncovered at archival repositories in the state, like the Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives and the University libraries.

The National Archives and Records Administration maintains a set of PWA documents. NARA has an alphabetical list of non-federal projects, which is ordered by state. (NARA Record Group 135, Entry UD-19). This list includes the project location, the type of project (no name is given), and the project file number.[5] There is also a list of available project files on microfilm. According to Gene Morris, NARA archivist, most detailed PWA project files were destroyed at the time of the agency's dissolution in the late 1930s. However, the destruction was halted midway through the process, so a few PWA files are extant at NARA. Detailed project files

[4] Many of these projects contain more than one school. Therefore, the number of PWA schools in the area is likely much larger.

[5] It is fairly certain that this list includes projects that were approved, but never built. However, at this time, we do not know how large the number of uncompleted projects is.

would include drawings, financial documents, labor information, and project location. As one might imagine given Ickes' personality, these PWA files are in meticulous order. A list of PWA projects and available project files from the East Kentucky study area is included in the appendices. As noted previously, the alphabetical list does not contain the name of the project. Therefore, unless a project file is extant, it would be difficult to know exactly which school in a particular town or county, for example, was constructed by the PWA.

Information on federal projects could potentially be found in the archives of the federal agency involved in construction. So, archives regarding Mammoth Cave might be uncovered at the National Park Service Archives, and information about post offices should be included in the Department of the Treasury's archives. In terms of this report, no federal agency's archives have been examined for contents related to Kentucky.

NARA also maintains a PWA photo document file. It is possible that these photo archives could give much more information about a specific project. The NARA Still Pictures Reference Room contains around 15,000 images of PWA projects in Record Group 135. Currently, it is unclear how many of these images are related to projects in Kentucky. According to photo archivists at NARA Still Pictures, there are photographs, negatives, and photo albums in Record Group 135. The photos are listed by project type and are located in RG 135, Series KY SAR, Print Box 7. The oversized albums and negatives are also included in RG 135, Series KY SAR. The best way to find images for your project would be to call the NARA still pictures section (301.837.0561), and request all related images by proper name.

Researchers of the PWA are fortunate enough to have a large monograph of PWA work projects, entitled *Public Buildings: Architecture Under the Public Works Administration, 1933-1939,* published in 1939. This book contains photographs and plans of a variety of project types, like incinerators and schools, as well as general information about the PWA. In particular, the book has a slant toward describing design and good architecture. The PWA book includes several photos of Kentucky PWA non-federal and federal projects. There are no photos of projects in the East Kentucky study area.

As with the WPA and NYA, *Kentucky City* magazine has some project information, though specific project names are rarely mentioned. The magazine typically lists the project type and city/county along with the cost of construction. Cross-referencing the NARA project list with local newspapers and *Kentucky City* magazine could give the researcher enough information to document PWA involvement, if no project file or building plaque exists.

It is important to remember that PWA was constructing projects similar to that of WPA and CWA. Therefore, the researcher should not assume that all PWA projects were large in nature and only check other agencies for their involvement, especially when it concerns the following associated property types.

Associated Property Types

Bridges
Community Buildings
Court Houses
Federal Buildings
Federal Parks, in conjunction with CCC workers
Fire Stations
Hospitals and Clinics
Jails
Libraries
Municipal Garages
Municipal Swimming Pools
Parks and Playgrounds
Post Offices
Power Plants
Public Housing
Railroad Infrastructure
Schools, including primary, secondary, and university buildings
Sewer Systems
Streets and Roads
Waste Disposal Incinerators
Waterworks

Integrity Considerations

Although it will depend on the property type encountered, a few general statements can be made regarding integrity. Integrity for PWA resources is similar to that of the WPA or KERA, however, integrity of *workmanship* and *materials* is different from the other make-work agencies. The *workmanship* on PWA projects was mainly provided by skilled workers on contract with materials purchased from around the country. Therefore, PWA buildings and sites will not necessarily express local, vernacular values as much as WPA or CWA projects. PWA projects are typically of a grander scale, and appear more uniform both within the state and throughout the nation. That said, local governmental entities sponsored applications for these resources, so their influence on *design* is expected to be important. Integrity of *design* and *materials*, then, is important to conveying the significance of a PWA project. *Workmanship* is less important to PWA projects. Integrity of *location*, *feeling*, and *association*, should be intact. The *setting* for these projects can be altered, as it is not essential to conveying the story of the PWA. More field work needs to be done to understand integrity as it relates to waterworks, sanitary sewers, and incinerators.

Each of the following elements of integrity are important to conveying significance for PWA resources. All of these elements do not have to be present, but enough should be to demonstrate a building or site's importance. The level of integrity for all property types should be medium. Please see the case studies section for more information on specific property types.

Design
Materials
Location
Workmanship
Feeling
Association

The Civil Works Administration

> *By the height of the CWA effort in the middle of January, a shade more than the promised four million were in fact working, with a payroll of more than the $62 million spent on thousands of projects, among them the construction and repair of highways and roads, bridges, schools, parks and playgrounds, hospitals, airports, flood control facilities, privies, and other public works. Overall, the program was enormously popular…*
>
> T.H. Watkins, *The Great Depression: America in the 1930s,* 127.

History

The Civil Works Administration (CWA) was created by Presidential Executive Order on 7 November 1933. (Federal Civil Works Administration 1933, 1). The program, which was administered by Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), was intended to carry the nation's unemployed through the winter of 1933-34, beginning in November 1933 and initially ending 15 February 1934, although it was later extended to 1 May. (Betters January 1934, 9). In order to administer the program in such a short time frame, Harry Hopkins, FERA director, immediately named state and local Civil Works Administrators. Existing state and local FERA staff were often used.

A CWA Highway in Minnesota, 1939. (FDR Library).

The guiding principle behind the development of CWA was that work was preferable to direct governmental relief. Roosevelt, Hopkins, and the general public agreed that relief recipients maintained a sense of self-respect when they were actually working to meet their needs. The President also saw an opportunity to experiment with a works program that would furnish much-needed public infrastructure improvements across the nation. If the CWA was successful, New Dealers thought a more permanent work program could be developed.

CWA projects were selected on the local level by county fiscal courts, municipalities, or school boards and were approved by the State Administrator. The projects were tehn sent to Washington for final approval. The process was much abbreviated, as a stated goal of CWA was to get many employed as quickly as possible. Occasionally, a project was directed by a federal agency. These projects are referred to in the records as federal projects. In terms of types of projects, the CWA established the following criteria: "All public works projects of the character heretofore constructed or carried on either by the public authority or with public aid to serve the interest of the general public are eligible, provided that: (1) they are socially and economically desirable, and (2) they may be undertaken quickly." (NARA RG 2920, Series 65, Federal Civil Works Administration 1933, 2). Employees on CWA projects were selected from local relief rolls of those able to work. The goal was to get the unemployed off the relief rolls and on the job by 16 November 1933.

The CWA was the first solely public works entity established by the President, and is a direct precursor to the WPA. As the New Dealers expected, the program was wildly popular. CWA was responsible for the most important public works project to date; that of adding to and improving the nation's poorly planned public works plant. By May 1934, the CWA was discontinued. Projects that had not been completed were transferred to the state's FERA Work Division.

"6,000 Men and a Scenic Boulevard." The CWA in San Francisco, 1934. (FDR Library).

Kentucky and the CWA

In Kentucky, the CWA was just as successful as it was nationwide. CWA was administered by Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration (KERA) director Thornton Wilcox and State Engineer Roland Pyne out of the Louisville KERA office. The state was divided into twelve administrative districts. Of these, Districts 7, 9, 10, 11, and 12 contained counties included in this study. According to a May 1934 article, the CWA "on November 16, 1933 placed nearly 100,000 men at productive labor within the short space of 25 days. These men were employed on 3,500 work projects located in every city and county in the state. At the end of the program nearly $900,000 had been expended for labor and an additional three-quarters of a million had been spent for material, equipment, and team hire… The results it seems, can be grouped into two or three major subdivisions. The first of these of course would be the benefits to the unemployed. The second, the benefits to the retail business of the state, and third, the benefits to the public plant of the state." (Pyne May 1934, 5).

The CWA program provided great improvements in Kentucky's public infrastructure during its brief tenure. The most ubiquitous types of projects were those relating to road and city street improvements, which included concrete paving (handmade in some instances), grading, draining of roads and streets, and construction of concrete curbs and gutters. Because these projects needed very little planning and could be undertaken fairly quickly, they comprised 53.6 percent of projects done under CWA work relief. Additionally, cash-poor counties found these projects easier to undertake, since the federal CWA office furnished the labor, the payroll, and a small amount of material. The sponsor was required to provide equipment and most of the materials.

Another main goal of state and federal CWA officials was the construction of airports and emergency landing fields. The program provided for "wherever a municipality would furnish the necessary ground, CWA labor and material might be used for the construction of an emergency landing field." (Pyne May 1934, 6). As "Kentucky as a state has lagged far behind in the matter of airport development," state officials were eager to promote the development of airports. In sum, 19 cities began building fields and landing strips. In the study region, Middlesboro, Jackson, Williamsburg, Beattyville, and Louisa initiated air field development under CWA. (*Kentucky City* February 1934, 21).

CWA malaria control project near Little Rock, Arkansas, 1934. (FDR Library).

In addition to these endeavors, development of municipal infrastructure was undertaken. City parks and playgrounds, sanitary sewer systems, and projects to clean and construct masonry retaining walls around urban waterways were completed by cities across the state. Other important CWA projects concerned school construction and improvements. Statewide, 81 counties participated in CWA school projects and a total of 306 programs were approved. (Pyne May 1934, 7). Of these projects, 17 were new school construction, 35 were for major repairs, 122 were for minor repairs, and 100 were for construction of school playgrounds. (Pyne May 1934, 7).

In Kentucky, these projects were sponsored by County Fiscal Courts (44.2 percent of all projects), municipalities (19.3 percent), and school boards (5.5 percent). It was noted in *Kentucky City* that municipalities represented such a low number not due to a lack of interest, but rather because of mounting urban tax delinquencies and a subsequent lack of revenues.

In the East Kentucky study area, project types reflect the state as a whole. There were approximately 90 road and street projects undertaken, in which multiple roads were repaired or constructed, 17 school and playground projects, again with multiple schools repaired or constructed in a county, and 13 county courthouse/city hall projects. Other important projects in the study area include: sanitary sewer construction, construction of sanitary toilets in some counties, and flood control projects. Examples of CWA projects in the study region are: a Middlesboro flood control project, construction of Prestonsburg City Hall, and repairing twelve "old-type" school buildings in Magoffin County. Please see Appendix Six for a database of CWA projects in East Kentucky.

Sources

An important source to examine for CWA information is the Kentucky Department of Libraries and Archives' Civil Works Administration microfilm collection from the National Archives. The CWA records are located in Record Group 2920, Series 65-67 and are houses in Drawer 502, Rolls 37, 38, 237-251, and 1402-1407 in KDLA's Archives Research Room. Included on this film are federal CWA rules and regulations, state CWA correspondence, fairly thorough district reports, and county-by-county narrative summaries. Summaries contain detailed information not found in district reports, as well as interesting local data. Local newspapers should also be perused for CWA project information. To examine a list of CWA projects in the study area, please see Appendix Six.

Associated Property Types *(state statistics)*

Airports and emergency landing fields (construction or improvements) 22 airport projects
City Streets (construction or improvements) 331 city street projects
Parks and Playgrounds (construction or improvements) 41 parks and playgrounds projects
Public Buildings (exclusive of schools, construction or improvements) 138 public building projects
Public Schools (construction or addition) 270 public school projects
Roads (construction or improvements) 1,552 road projects
Sanitation projects (water works, incinerators, sewer systems) 202 sanitation projects

Integrity Considerations

Although it will depend on the property type encountered, a few general statements can be made regarding integrity. The CWA was a highly labor intensive program. Hence, CWA is commonly referred to as a "make-work" agency. In many cases, CWA laborers were employed to hand make commercially available items, like concrete, in order to keep them employed and receiving pay for a longer period of time. The quality of materials and workmanship on CWA projects is important to conveying significance, though their presence alone does not make a site eligible. In terms of the integrity of CWA associated resources, then, *materials* and *workmanship* are among the most important elements. *Design* can be somewhat compromised, because CWA project designs were hastily done, though this too tells the story of the desperate times. Integrity of *location*, *feeling*, and *association* with the New Deal should be evident as well. Integrity of *setting* can be compromised, as it is not essential to telling the story of the CWA.

Each of the following elements of integrity are important to conveying significance for CWA resources. All of these elements do not have to be present, but enough should be to demonstrate a building or site's importance. The level of integrity for all property types should be medium. Please see the case studies section for more information on specific property types.

Materials
Workmanship
Location
Design
Feeling
Association

Works Progress (Projects) Administration (WPA)

> *The year 1935 will stand out in the history of the United States because in that year another great stride was taken in our march toward economic security. In 1933 we had accepted the principle that the federal government had a share of responsibility for the relief of destitution. In 1935 we laid the foundations for a broad program of economic security. Furthermore, we accepted the fact that security of the jobless involves more than a grocery order; that the needs of the community and the unemployed both demand that we use our wasted manpower on honest work at useful tasks. We expanded our activities into a gigantic public investment program in 1935, a program designed to utilize our manpower and make this country a better place in which to live.*
>
> Corrington Gill, Assistant Commissioner, Works Projects Administration. In *Wasted Manpower: The Challenge of Unemployment*, 178.

History

The Works Progress Administration (WPA) is one of the best known New Deal programs. During the program's existence, just about every county and most communities were touched by some type of WPA project.

The WPA was officially created on May 6, 1935 by Presidential Executive Order 7034. (Natural Resources Planning Board 1939, 303). Conceived as a work-relief program, the WPA provided jobs to the unemployed on relief rolls. Work accomplished by the agency focused on public projects sponsored by federal, state, and local agencies. WPA projects ranged from constructing public buildings and facilities to "white collar" projects like educational, clerical, and artistic related undertakings. By August 1939, when the program was renamed the Work Projects Administration, more than 8 billion dollars had been allocated for WPA projects and more than 3.2 million people had been employed by the program. (Natural Resources Planning Board 1939, 303). At the time of its dissolution in 1943, the WPA had become one of the nation's largest and most expensive relief program. (Blakey 1986, 58).

Harry Hopkins, the former director of CWA and FERA, was named director of the newly created WPA. Hopkins' background was in social work. He had also administered then Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt's Temporary Emergency Relief Administration (TERA) program in New York state. This program provided state money to local communities for the care of the unemployed. (Adams 1939, 6). As President, FDR instituted a similar program at the federal level first with CWA and FERA, and then more permanently with WPA. The federal government recognized that local and state authorities had to contend with both the unemployed and the unemployable. With the WPA, a system was created that provided work to employable people on relief rolls. (Blakey 1986, 58).

Harry Hopkins, WPA Administrator, 1938. (GP Collection).

The WPA was organized as a bureaucracy of national, regional, state, district offices, and finally local offices for administration

of work projects. (Howard 1943, 109). Recognizing that communities could best identify needed projects, the federal government enabled branches of local and state government to sponsor projects. The importance of local control became a defining hallmark of the WPA legacy. It was consistently emphasized by officials that project decisions were not being made at the federal level. The sponsors outlined basic plans and drew up specifications, including a complete project description, cost estimates, and labor requirements. These projects were submitted to the state WPA office for approval. Then, federal matching funds were approved at the national level. (Natural Resources Planning Board 1939, 303).

Initially, the agency continued work projects initiated by the CWA and FERA. (Adams 1939, 16). As these projects were completed, new WPA projects were proposed by local sponsors. The Division of Engineering and Construction was the largest WPA bureaucracy and oversaw administration of construction projects. Through this division, four main types of major public works projects were administered that comprised nearly 75 percent of WPA work. (*Kentucky City* January 1936, 10). Road and public building construction were by far the most numerous types of projects undertaken by the WPA. Public health projects, such as water purification and sanitary sewers, and construction of public recreation facilities were also popular types of work-relief undertakings. (*Kentucky City* January 1936, 10). These projects supported the WPA's mission of creating permanent improvements for communities. Public buildings, streets and roads, public facilities, and infrastructure construction represented physical improvements that most communities could not have accomplished without the assistance of the WPA. (*Kentucky City* April 1938, 1-2).

WPA stonework. Date and location unknown. (GP Collection).

It was stipulated in Congressional legislation that WPA projects could not compete with private businesses. Therefore, use of local materials and unemployed workers was stressed. Also, In order to keep project costs minimized, the use of locally available materials was emphasized. (Brent 1991, 16-17). This regulation explains the regional diversity of materials used in WPA construction, including locally quarried native stone, handmade brick, and wood. Additionally, work undertaken by the WPA was highly labor-intensive with little use of machinery. Construction methods, materials, and architectural design varied widely due to the localized nature of the projects.

The WPA was not without its critics. When the program was first endowed with funding through the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, many people erroneously thought that the entire $4 billion funding package was to be used at Hopkins' discretion. (Adams 1939, 13). Given that Hopkins had a reputation as a free-spender, the distribution of funds caused some concern among critics. In fact, monies appropriated were divided among at least 35 New Deal agencies including the Public Works Administration (PWA), the Rural Resettlement Administration (RRA), and Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). (Adams 1939, 13). Perhaps more serious were critiques regarding the public perception of the program's projects as "make-work" endeavors. A popular moniker of the day, "We Piddle Around,"

illustrates this point. Hopkins worked to quell this misperception through press releases that provided real statistics about the WPA. Stressing the value of the WPA to local communities, he underscored the fact that projects originated at the local level and greatly benefited communities' public work facilities. (*Kentucky City* January 1936, 10).

By 1939, the WPA was renamed the Works Projects Administration. Instead of being an independent agency, it was moved into an umbrella agency called the Federal Works Administration that also administered the PWA, the US Housing Authority, and the Bureau of Public Roads. (*Kentucky City* August 1939, 7). With the threat of World War II looming, appropriations for continuing the WPA lasted until June 30, 1941. The anticipated national defense program, largely eliminated the need for the WPA, since the labor force was now needed for war-related projects. (*Kentucky City* November 1940, 12).

Kentucky and the WPA

WPA District Directors, left to right: Jesse Creech, J.B. Boddie, P.M. Brooks, George Goodman, Arthur Gamble, George F. Shaw, and Ernest Rowe, 1936-37. (GP Collection)

"WPA State Headquarters, 4th floor, Gibbs-Inman Building, 9th and Broadway, Louisville." Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

The work accomplished by the WPA in Kentucky was extensive. For example, from July 1935 to January 1938, the WPA was responsible for 90 new athletic fields, 320 new bridges, 310 new schools, 173 new libraries, over 59,276 miles of new roadway, and 116 miles of new sidewalk, 20 swimming pools, and 46,528 hours of study each month for city traffic surveys statewide. (*Kentucky City* April 1938, 7). While there were WPA sewing projects, art projects, and writing projects, the majority of work in Kentucky concentrated on public construction projects, just as it was across the country. At least 75 percent of the WPA money spent was for the construction of roads, public buildings, parks, and infrastructure. By 1938, over $56 million had been expended in federal funds with an additional $13,807,414 approved, but not yet spent. (*Kentucky City* April 1938, 7).

Administratively, the WPA state office was headquartered in Louisville. George H. Goodman, owner of the *Paducah News Democrat* newspaper and former director of KERA, was named the state director of the WPA. (Blakey 1986, 58). Under the administration of Goodman, the WPA headquarters approved projects for Kentucky's 120 counties which were initially divided into six districts, though the number of districts changed frequently.

WPA projects undertaken in the eastern Kentucky region were quite varied, as well as numerous.

According to the Goodman Paxton photographic collection, 374 total construction projects were accomplished in the study region. Of these, there were 127 schools and gymnasiums, 35 bridges, 78 roads and streets, 14 city halls and courthouses, ten quarries, six sewers, four stadiums, two armories, two waterworks, and two fish hatcheries. Examples of typical projects in the area include: Pineville City Hall (Bell County), Hazel Green School (Wolfe County), Ashland Fish Hatchery (Boyd County), the Barbourville Bridge (Knox County), and Highland Road (Breathitt County).

Hazel Green School, Wolfe County, KY, 1935. (GP Collection).

Counties in this study were initially located in the fourth and fifth WPA districts with district offices located in London and Paintsville, though the district's county composition changed frequently.[6] According to the photographic records, a full range of projects were accomplished by the WPA including roads, sidewalks, libraries, schools, gyms, pools, golf courses, water works, city halls, courthouses, jails, and parks. (See Appendix Seven). Many buildings were constructed out of locally quarried sandstone or limestone. Still others were built with brick or frame materials. The work of laborers using local materials created a unique vernacular style that is associated with WPA construction in eastern Kentucky.

Sources

There are two principal sources available for the WPA in Kentucky. The Goodman-Paxton Collection (hereafter GP, 64M1), which is available at the University of Kentucky M.I. King Special Collections and Archives, provided much information on WPA construction projects. The *Goodman-Paxton Collection* is also held at KDLA on microfilm. Drawn from state WPA Director George Goodman's personal papers, photographs, and records, this source provides the best photographic record of the WPA in Kentucky. The photograph collection (hereafter GP, PA64M1) is available at UK Special Collections and Archives, or online through the Kentucky Virtual Library (http://kdl.kyvl.org/cgi/f/findaid/findaid-idx?xc=1;c=kukead;idno=kukavpa64m1). The same information is held in both the UK photo archive and online. Organized by county, the photo archive is a reasonably good inventory of WPA projects, though it should not be considered exhaustive.

"Cabinets in Mr. Goodman's office containing photographs of projects," 1943. (GP Collection).

One caveat to the photographs is that the names are not always spelled correctly on the records. In some instances, a completely different name is provided than the locally known name of

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[6] Please see the semi-monthly reports in the Goodman-Paxton Papers for maps of districts and offices.

the resource. This can lead to some confusion about a resource. Other records in the archive include official correspondence between George Goodman and the Washington D.C. office. These records can provide insight into the administrative practices of the WPA. Some annual and monthly/semi-monthly reports for the districts for 1935-1936 are also available. Information about projects in selected counties can be found in these reports, but generally the photographic records are the best way to access projects.

Another valuable source for information on the WPA in Kentucky is the *Index to the Reference Cards for the WPA* at KDLA Archives Research Room. These are microfilm records from the National Archives Record Group 2920 (hereafter NARA 2920), covering years 1935-1942. There are four rolls of film (T935-20; T935-21; T936-5; and T937-6) located in Drawer 502 in the Archives room of KDLA. The index cards are organized alphabetically by county for each year. (Please be aware that records for other states are also included on some of the rolls but they are arranged alphabetically). Each card lists a project number and description of the project work. Funding amounts are included on the cards and notes about the project status.

It is important to note that some of the nomenclature used on the cards needs interpretation. The phrases "project rescinded" and "project reduced" were encountered on numerous occasions. The researchers for this project concluded that "project rescinded" meant the project was cancelled, while "project reduced" indicated that funding amounts were diminished. Further research may yield the accurate meaning of these phrases. The NARA source revealed some WPA projects that were not included in the Goodman-Paxton Collection. This disparity varied for each of the case-study counties. It is recommended that the researcher consult both sources for a more complete picture of WPA projects in a specific county.

In addition to these caveats, it should also be noted that the KDLA NARA archive contains federal project records that includes procedural issuances, correspondence, and some project reports. These records, located on microfilm rolls 478-522 in drawer 502, are a jumbled mess. NARA archivist Gene Morris, an expert on these records, was consulted by project staff to get an idea about how to utilize the records. Regrettably, Mr. Morris had spent much time attempting to make sense of them himself, including hiring two interns to go through each roll. The conclusion was reached that these rolls are hardly usable. On the other hand, the project indexes (rolls T935-20-T93706) and the correspondences of George Goodman (rolls 1640-1646) contain much important information.

It is also possible to find information about WPA projects in local newspapers and *Kentucky City* magazine. This is a more time-consuming process but it can yield specific information about projects in an area. Newspapers were not consulted for this report, but local contacts for the case-study counties sent in newspaper citations for WPA projects.

Associated Property Types

Armories
Athletic Fields and Playgrounds
Bridges
Clubhouses/Golf courses
Courthouses/City Halls/Fire Stations/Jails
Schools
Hospitals
Gymnasiums
Libraries
Warehouses/Garages
Culverts
Curb and Gutter
Dams/Water Storage
Parks
Roads – grade and drain - unsurfaced
Roads – grade and drain - surfaced
Sanitary Toilets
Sewers
Sewage Treatment Plants
Sidewalks
Streets
Swimming Pools
Water Treatment Plants
Water Mains

Integrity Considerations

Although it will depend on the property type encountered, a few general statements can be made regarding integrity. The construction projects of the WPA were accomplished with hand-labor and local materials. Given this vernacular characteristic, integrity of *materials* and *workmanship* should be given medium to high priority. One of the goals of the WPA was to create buildings and facilities that would have an enduring and permanent effect on a community. This would underscore the need for integrity of *location* to be relatively intact. Integrity of *design* is of medium importance. Buildings and sites should not have too many character-altering additions or subtractions from the original form. *Feeling* and *association* are also important to telling the story of the WPA, and should remain with the site.

Each of the following elements of integrity are important to conveying significance for WPA resources. All of these elements do not have to be present, but enough should be to demonstrate a building or site's importance. The level of integrity for all property types should be medium. Please see the case studies section for more information on specific property types.

Materials
Workmanship
Location
Design
Feeling
Association

National Youth Administration

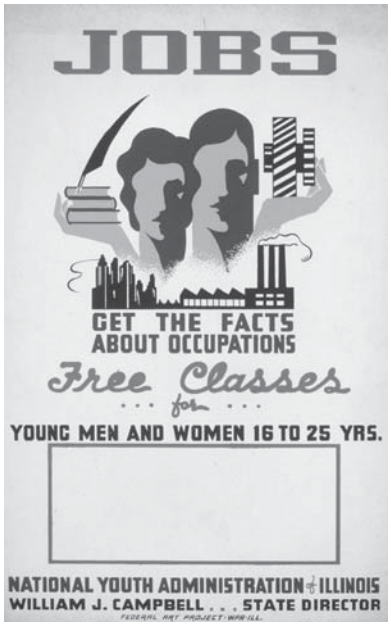
Early one morning on the top of the hill, I saw the pale moon shining still, I looked down on the valleys beyond, And resolved my soul should rise with the sun. My troubles seemed to vanish away, As I stood struck dumb by the beauty of the day. My eyes were riveted on the scene, I gazed in wonder and my eyes seemed keen, To note the wondrous work of God, To create such beauty on yonder knob, His work seemed created for my good, To bring my soul out of the deep, dark wood. Then my life seemed glad again. And I, in a joyous mood, began to sing. The trees began to weave and nod, For they too, had seen the beauty of God, I bowed so low I kissed the ground, For in my heart new faith was found. Then raised my eyes in a magic spell, How long I gazed I cannot tell. For God, seemed present everyplace, On earth I could see his smiling face. And, in my heart and memory still, I see the scene on top the hill."

Ivan Eugene Ball, NYA Student from Morgan County. From *NYA Review of Activities, 1935-1936*, 65-66.

History

"Permanent record systems have been made by workers on the WPA Juvenile Delinquency study." (GP Collection).

The National Youth Administration (NYA) was established by Presidential Executive Order on 26 June 1935. The agency was created to help the nation's youth stay in school and gain meaningful employment and vocational training during the Great Depression. Youth were considered to be extremely vulnerable to the effects of the economic downturn. Some of the difficulties noted by NYA advocates include a high juvenile crime rate, lack of financial resources to stay in high school or college, and a lack of vocational guidance to assist young people. (NYA 1935-36, 6). In order to fix these problems, the President created the NYA and placed it under the supervision of the WPA. Aubrey Williams, Harry Hopkins' long time assistant, administered the new agency.



NYA Recruiting Poster, Illinois, 1941. (LOC WPA Poster Collection).

The NYA had as its charge, "(1) To provide part-time employment in WPA projects for young people between the ages of 16-25 who are members of relief households (2) To stimulate the development of socially desirable projects and enterprises designed to benefit youth generally (3) To provide funds for the part-time employment of needy college and graduate students (4) To provide funds for the part-time employment of needy school students chiefly from relief families (5) To encourage job counseling, training, and placement services for young people (6) To encourage the extension of constructive educational and job qualifying leisure time activities." (NYA 1935-36, 7).

In order to accomplish these goals, the NYA was managed on the state level in Louisville by a director, initially Dr. Frank Peterson, and an Advisory Board, which consisted of the state's "leaders in public affairs." (NYA 1935-36, 9). In addition to this, the NYA maintained County Youth Councils, with membership similar to the state advisory board, which were responsible for monitoring local youth conditions and suggesting potential

projects. The County Youth Councils reported directly to the district office manager. There were six districts in Kentucky. Of these, the East Kentucky study area is included in Districts 4, 5, and portions of District 2 and 3. Youth involved in the NYA had to be single, between 16 and 25 years in age, and 90 percent were required to be from families on the relief rolls. Both girls and boys, blacks and whites were invited to participate equally.

NYA Residence Center for African-American Women, Mississippi, 1936. (FDR Library).

The educational-aid project of the NYA was probably its most celebrated work. In sum, students were offered part-time work relief at the school they attended to pay for educational and living expenses. These payments could range anywhere from $6 monthly for high school students to $15 a month for college students. (Watkins 1993, 258). The out-of-school program was not equally as well known, yet it made a difference in the lives of many high school drop-outs across the country. For a group with an average of a sixth grade education, of which 53 percent had no occupational experience, the NYA seemed like a blessing. (NYA 1935-36, 46). These youth were the direct beneficiaries of work projects in local communities, guidance counseling, vocational rehabilitation, and through the NYA residence centers, improved living skills. NYA residence centers, in particular, were intended as an intensive educational experience mostly for rural young people. Students would spend several weeks a month for the period of a year at these centers, which were usually located in urban areas. The Centers were developed to expose rural youth to cultural activities and to provide them with household and farm management training.

In terms of work projects, the NYA had four criteria for project selection: projects for youth community development and recreational leadership (Y-1), projects of rural youth development (Y-2), public service projects (Y-3), and research projects (Y-4). (NYA 1935-36, 26). The first three of these project types allowed for improvements or construction of buildings or landscape features. In particular, Y-1 permitted development of recreational facilities, like parks or playgrounds; Y-2 provided part time employment for improving rural conditions, such as painting school buildings, beautifying school grounds, or construction of community centers; and Y-3 allowed for assistance to local governmental entities on projects like sanitation enhancements. (NYA 1935-36, 46). Projects were chosen in cooperation with local governments and were required to have a distinct public benefit beyond that of juvenile employment.

During the Second World War, the NYA began training young people for employment in the defense industries. The "youth work defense program [was] to provide practical work experience for out-of-school youth and to prepare them for jobs in defense industries…" (*Mountain Life and Work* Winter 1942, 15). The NYA was discontinued in the 1940s.

Kentucky and the NYA

In Depression-era Kentucky, the youth problem was equally disturbing. According to Robert K. Salyers, Deputy Director of the Kentucky NYA, the "problems youth face today in the South are not unlike those faced by young people in other parts of the country but they probably exist in a larger degree because of the economic situation in this section." (Salyers Winter 1940, 16). Salyers goes on to discuss the poor job situation and the lack of adequate training and vocational development for young people. He notes that the rise of technological changes that had altered society necessitated a more educated workforce. He saw that this type of education was lacking in Kentucky.

"High school girls working at home economic bench constructed in NYA work project. Vine Grove, KY, 1936." (FDR Library).

The NYA made a difference in the lives of the Commonwealth's young people. According to a 1937 *Kentucky City* article, over "40,000 needy young men and women in Kentucky have been provided part-time employment through which they were enabled to secure education, training, and work experience." (Baxter July 1937, 9). Among the most significant contributions made, other than to the lives of the youth themselves, were to the physical plant of the state. Much like WPA and CCC, NYA completed major construction projects. However, the majority of NYA endeavors were related to public building and landscape enhancements. In 1936, the state NYA Records and Reports Supervisor, noted the following activities as sample projects, "repair, painting and general beautification of city buildings and property; construction of street markers; house numbering; construction of recreational facilities; landscaping; construction of traffic signs; repairing and manufacturing furniture for municipal buildings and schools; painting signs for guiding aircraft; compilation of special city reports; beautification of parks; provision of library facilities; repair of fire equipment; furnishing recreational leadership for playgrounds; repair of city streets; and other minor construction work." (Baxter December 1936, 20).

Mayor Fred Weir of Owensboro and NYA Supervisor Terry Coleman look on as NYA workers place street markers. The markers are being set in concrete.

NYA workers place street markers in Owensboro. (Kentucky City, December 1936).

Some examples of NYA construction projects in the study area include: Grayson Community Center (Carter County), the Pineville Municipal building (Bell County), improvements to the Barbourville Court House Square and construction of a bandstand on the site (Knox County), development of playgrounds in Corbin (Whitley County) and Middlesboro (Bell County), construction of tennis courts in Pineville (Bell County) and Williamsburg (Whitley County), and construction of sidewalks in Whitesburg. (Baxter July 1937, 10-11).

Residence Centers were popular in Kentucky. One of the more famous of these was the center for rural girls located at Sublimity Residence City outside London. (See Section Five, The New Deal and Housing for information on Sublimity). The Sublimity Center used ten Rural Resettlement Administration cape cod cottages as demonstration houses. The girls

were taught proper home-making techniques and were exposed to scientific agricultural principles. Residence Centers for boys were located across the state in the early 1940s. The closest to the study area were in Richmond and in South Charleston, West Virginia. According to contemporary observers, these centers made a vast difference in the lives of rural youth. A 1941 Louisville Courier Journal article notes about the Sublimity projects, "Girls from the Sublimity show marked gains in weight and health on the project. Then they go home, taking new recipes, new methods of homemaking and almost invariably create an improved situation." (Renneisen 1941, 4).

Band stand constructed at Barbourville by NYA project employees. The NYA at Central City constructed a band stand similar to this one.

NYA Bandstand on Courthouse Square in Barbourville. (Kentucky City, December 1935).

Sources

There is not a complete list of NYA projects, comparable to that for CWA or WPA. Several of the larger scale construction projects, like the Grayson Community building and the Pineville Municipal building, were found in the WPA Index at the Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives. Therefore, it may be worth investigating this source for NYA building projects, as NYA was a section of the WPA for most of its existence. Other sources that are valuable for study of NYA resources include: the *NYA Program Review of Activities, 1935-1936*, by the National Youth Administration for Kentucky located in the National Youth Administration archive at KDLA Special Collections, *Kentucky City* magazine, the quarterly journal *Mountain Life and Work,* and regional and local newspapers.

Pineville City Hall, constructed by the NYA in 1941. Photo taken in 2004.

Associated Property Types

Athletic fields
Bandstands
Community Auditoriums
House Markers
Landscaping
NYA Residence Centers
Public Buildings
- City Halls
- Jails

Public Parks
Recreational facilities
Roads, City Streets, and Sidewalks
Sanitary Sewer and Outhouses
Schools and School Grounds Improvements
Street Markers
Swimming Pools
Tennis Courts

Integrity Considerations

Although it will depend on the property type encountered, a few general statements can be made regarding integrity. Much like the other work agencies, the NYA sponsored a highly labor intensive construction program. The idea was to put young people to work and train them in proper construction techniques. In terms of integrity considerations for NYA projects, *workmanship* and *materials* should be medium to high. Also important will be integrity of *feeling*, *association*, and *location*. Integrity of *design* and *setting* may be less important without destroying the ability to read the resource. It is important to note here that NYA constructed resources are relatively rare. Therefore, overall integrity can be low-to-medium.

Each of the following elements of integrity are important to conveying significance for NYA resources. All of these elements do not have to be present, but enough should be to demonstrate a building or site's importance. The level of integrity for all property types should be medium. Please see the case studies section for more information on specific property types.

Materials
Workmanship
Location
Design
Feeling
Association

Other New Deal Agencies:

Tennessee Valley Authority and the Rural Electrification Administration

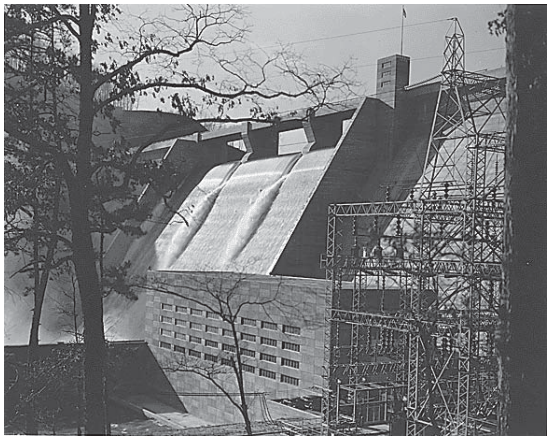
Viewed from its broadest aspects, the story of the Tennessee Valley Authority is one of far-reaching experiment that seeks to bring new life to a beautiful country, a rich country—but a rich country grown poor. This development has been called an experiment, but it is much more than that. It is the realization of a vast dream of social betterment as broad as life itself.

Dr. John Manning, Professor of Political Science, University of Kentucky. In *Kentucky City* November 1934, 5.

The Rural Electrification Administration (REA) brought light and power to remote farms for the first time and, in the words of one historian, 'stands out as one of the most significant contributions of the New Deal to the farmers and to the nation.'

George Blakey, *Hard Times and New Deal in Kentucky*, 1929-39, 139.

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) was established by congressional act in May 1933. TVA was intended to redevelop the Tennessee River Basin, beginning at Muscle Shoals, Alabama and ending in Paducah, Kentucky. TVA was the brainchild of Nebraska Senator George Norris, but was championed by many across the South, including western Kentucky Congressmen William and Noble Gregory. In order to capitalize on electric power development potential at Muscle Shoals Alabama and to improve the quality of life for basin residents, TVA was made an independent governmental agency and was charged with the development of cheap hydroelectric power, flood control and improved stream navigation, prevention of soil erosion, reforestation, agricultural improvements, purchase and redevelopment of sub-marginal lands, distribution and diversification of industry, and providing construction jobs for the unemployed. Put simply, TVA was to undertake planning and redevelopment of a large multi-state region.



Norris Dam was constructed by the TVA in Tennessee to produce electrical power. Photo taken in 1937. (FDR Library).

The problems that TVA hoped to fix were many, but revolved around a systemic misuse of land and waterways, which resulted in flooding, impassable streams, and soil erosion. Consequently, grave social and economic conditions surrounded the neglect. Though too complex to outline in any great detail, the economic and social conditions contributed to a poor quality of life for residents. For instance, area farmers cultivated overworked land, and received little monetary returns. Subsequently, they did not contribute much in the way of taxes to the educational, cultural, or social infrastructure of the region. Thus, schools and highways were underfunded and migration out of the area was high. Electrification, long a staple of urban life in the region, had not reached rural areas. Only four percent of Kentucky farms had power in the early 1930s. (Blakey 1986, 137). According to historian David Whisnant, "the great valley of the Tennessee River…had been reduced by waste and neglect to an economic and ecologic disaster area. Annual floods, abetted by the clear-cutting of forests

and unrelieved years of row-cropping, carried irreplaceable topsoil down the river, destroyed farms and towns, and wasted valuable hydroelectric potential…Sixty-two percent of the valley's 3 million people scratched out a bare subsistence on 350,000 small (70 acre) farms…" (Whisnant 1980, 45). TVA, then, had to coordinate and plan regional economic, social, and environmental rehabilitation.

"Results of Fertilizer – this is a field test of a practical operating farm on which TVA produced phosphate has demonstrated its ability to encourage the growth of a protected vegetative cover and hence build up soil fertility." Photo taken in 1942. (FDR Library).

TVA was mainly concerned with three main development areas: development of inexpensive hydroelectric power, development of phosphate fertilizers for agricultural betterment, and the promotion of economic and social welfare of area residents. Within these broad activities, TVA would improve the lives of inhabitants through construction of bridges and dams, and purchase of "marginal" agricultural lands.

In terms of the East Kentucky project area, there was very little impact made by TVA, though other agencies like the Farm Securities Administration did alter East Kentucky's rural landscape. The main focus of TVA efforts in Kentucky was the Tennessee River basin to the west. In spite of this main interest, southeastern Kentucky cities were very intrigued by the potential use of TVA electric power. At a Kentucky Municipal League conference, Mayor Walter Mynatt of Knoxville discussed the benefits of TVA power in his community, "the overall use of current has increased 25% and that $55,000 has been saved in the street lighting account alone. Customers..have saved about one million dollars through TVA reductions…" (*Kentucky City* November 1939, 21).

THE TRIP TO THE T.V.A.

Oct. 25--The ride to Knoxville
Oct. 26--A.M. Meeting with T.V.A. Officials
P.M. Visit to Norris Dam
Oct. 27--A.M. Return

❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖

HEADQUARTERS - Andrew Johnson Hotel, Knoxville

❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖

Join The Motorcade

Lv. Lexington City Bldg.	11:00 A.M. c.s.t.	Lv. Mt. Vernon Co. C. H.	2:15 P.M. c.s.t.
Lv. Richmond Co. C. H.	12:00 N c.s.t.	Lv. London Co. C. H.	3:30 P.M. c.s.t.
Lv. Berea, Boone Tavern	1:30 P.M. c.s.t.	Lv. Corbin City Bldg.	4:00 P.M. c.s.t.

Lv. Williamsburg Co. C. H. 4:45 P.M. c.s.t.

The purpose of the Meeting is to ascertain from T.V.A. officials the possibilities of securing electric power for Kentucky cities.

❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖

All Municipal Officers are urged to attend this meeting.
County Officials are cordially invited

❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖

MAKE RESERVATIONS FOR HOTEL ROOMS AND SUNDAY DINNER AT BOONE'S TAVERN—BEREA—BY WRITING THE SECRETARY — K. M. L. — LEXINGTON — *AT ONCE!*

Kentucky City Magazine, October 1936, 27.

No doubt this potential was appealing to many Kentuckians. City officials in Corbin, Middlesboro, Pineville, London, and Williamsburg traveled to Norris Tennessee at least once to discuss possible distribution of the much less expensive TVA power. (*Kentucky City* November 1936, 21). The consensus of these meetings was that "only Kentucky cities near the Tennessee border and close to the present operating properties of the TVA have any immediate chance of any aid. And then

only after the city has constructed or acquired a distribution system at the city limits." (*Kentucky City* November 1936, 21).

Regrettably, Kentucky enabling laws at the time did not permit municipalities to contract with TVA for electricity. (*Kentucky City* November 1941, 6). Heavy lobbying against legislation by the state's utility industries delayed the passage of enabling until February 1942. (Blakey 1986, 137). The case of Middlesboro is illustrative of these difficulties. Middlesboro, population approximately 10,350 in 1936, had attempted to construct a power distribution plant with Public Works Administration (PWA) funding since at least February 1934. A public referendum was held in 1936 that gave overwhelming support for construction of the municipal plant and use of cheap TVA power in Middlesboro, and the town signed a contract and began planning for the transmissions. (Blakey 1986, 135). In sum, this contract was challenged and taken to the Court of Appeals which ruled that cities could not contract for this purpose without enabling legislation. KHC project staff has obtained no evidence that the Middlesboro power plant was ever constructed with PWA funds. Local interviews with the Bell County Historical Society and field research uncovered no information regarding the plant's construction. Therefore, at this time, staff believes that the structure was never built.

The **Rural Electrification Administration** (REA) and its precursor the Electric Home and Farm Authority were important New Deal initiatives to provide electricity and modern conveniences to rural residents. The Electric Home and Farm Authority was created by executive order in December 1933 to help TVA power consumers purchase electrical appliances. (Blakey 1986, 140). The agency made loans to customers to gauge the demand for modern conveniences. The agency was immensely successful, as "appliance sales in the test area, boosted by these loans, rose by 300 percent." (Blakey 1986, 140).

Stringing rural transmission lines in TVA service region. Date unknown. (FDR Library)

Due to these successes, Roosevelt and Congress established a more permanent authority to provide electric service to rural America in 1935. The Rural Electrification Administration lent money to rural electric cooperatives or nonprofits to assist with construction of generators, transmission lines, and other infrastructure. Loans were offered in areas that were not yet electrified, so as not to compete with private utility companies. REA also offered low-interest loans for "purchase and installation of wiring and of electrical and plumbing equipment." (Adams 1936, 8).

Before the New Deal, rural areas across the United States were not generally serviced by private electric providers. Private utilities believed that the cost of installing lines in areas with dispersed populations was cost-prohibitive and that rural consumers would be unable to pay the necessary rates. This outlook is reflected when examining statistics with regard to rural electric service. Merely ten percent of American farms had electricity in the early 1930s; in Kentucky the figure was closer to four percent. (Blakey 1986, 139). However, the REA made a significant impact in rural America in less than ten years. By 1941, 35 percent of

The REA helped electrify homes in rural areas across the nation. Farm wives could now purchase labor-saving appliances to assist them with daily chores. Location and date of this photo are unknown. (FDR Library).

American farms were electrified, while 44,000 Kentucky farms were serviced or 17 percent of total farmsteads. (Blakey 1986, 141). REA concluded its work nationally in 1994.

The effects of electrification of Kentucky homes and farms cannot be underestimated. Rural homes were outfitted with electrical outlets and lights for the first time, altering the centuries-old relationship with seasonal patterns of light and dark. Put simply, farm families were no longer at the mercy of natural forces; they had now harnessed nature's power to artificially light and heat their homes. Likewise, farmers became modern consumers of electrical products, from refrigerators to radios to toasters to irons to washing machines to electric stoves. Farm women, no doubt, were the prime beneficiaries of this drastic rural change, as modern labor saving conveniences could be purchased for the home. (Blakey 1986, 141). Changes in rural Kentucky, then, included the development of electric transmission lines, and alterations to home interiors.

Associated Property Types

Crossings
Electrical Distribution and Transmission Plants
Rights of Way
Rural Cooperatives Offices
Transmission Lines
Transmission Poles

Integrity Considerations

Much more field work will need to be done to ascertain integrity for these types of resources.

Other New Deal Programs:

The National Housing Act of 1934, Title 1 "the Modernize Main Street Campaign"

When the National Housing Act (H.R. 9620) was passed in 1934, it was seen as a direct response to the need for home improvements. The Act was also intended to stimulate the building and construction sector of the economy that had suffered during the economic downturn of the early 1930s. (Mason 1982, 11). The Federal Housing Authority (FHA) was created to administer the National Housing Act. (Mason 1982, 13).

Title I, Section 2 of the National Housing Act, entitled Housing Renovation and Modernization, provided for federally insured loans up to $2000. This was intended to encourage property owners to upgrade and modernize their buildings. (Badger 1989, 239). In addition to houses being covered by the loans, owners of apartment buildings, industrial facilities, and commercial buildings were also eligible. During the Second New Deal, the maximum amount of the loan was increased to $50,000 for each property, when the Act was amended in 1936. (Esperdy 1999, 52).

As a result of this legislation, building material manufacturers began promoting the idea of "Modernizing Main Street." In fact, this slogan was a trade industry name coined by Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass for the modernization competition they sponsored in *Architectural Record* in 1935. Since the goal was to stimulate construction with new materials, industrial product developers stood to benefit enormously from the program, and they capitalized on this by advertising and getting the word out to potential users.

Logo for the Modernize Main Street Campaign. (FHA 1936, Modernize for Profit: A Manual for Mechanics, Manufacturers and All Owners of Business Property).

In terms of materials, Cararra glass, plate glass, and glass block were incorporated into façade designs that expressed a Streamline Moderne aesthetic. (Wirz and Striner 1984, 71). The idea of "streamlining" had become synonymous with progress and hope for the future, in a time when things seemed quite bleak. (Gebhard 1996, 14). Product manufacturers capitalized on this architectural style by pairing it with their materials in catalogs and publications. Modernizing was marketed as a way to attract customers to retail businesses by revamping a building's appearance. Trade publications for Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company and Pittsburg Plate Glass Company, as well as any architectural periodicals during the time period display this aesthetic movement.

The Modernize Main Street Movement, then, impelled owners to apply for funds to update commercial facades in central business districts with Streamline Moderne designs that incorporated novel industrial materials. Chain stores, that is retail stores under the same management and selling the same merchandise, and banks especially gravitated to the modernization trend and incorporated this aesthetic into new buildings as well as facades of existing buildings.

More research needs to be done to understand the impact of the modernization campaign on housing, both nationally and in Kentucky.

Sources

The following sources are essential secondary source reading for Modernize Main Street information. Other sources that should be tapped include NHA records at NARA, which have not been located by project staff at this time. Also, local newspapers could provide information about these grants.

Badger, Anthony J. 1989. *The New Deal: The Depression Years, 1933-1940.* Basingstoke, Eng.: MacMillan.

Esperdy, Gabrielle. 2000. *Modernizing Main Street: Everyday Architecture and the New Deal*. Diss. The City University of New York 1999. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI.

Gebhard, David. 1996. *Art Deco in America*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Mason, Joseph B. 1982. *History of Housing in the U.S., 1930-1980.* Houston: Gulf Publishing Company.

Wirz, Hans, and Richard Striner. 1984. *Washington Deco*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Associated Property Types

Apartment buildings
Commercial Building Facades
Houses
Industrial Buildings
New Commercial Buildings

Other New Deal Agencies:

Rural Resettlement Administration and Farm Securities Administration

See Section Five, The New Deal and Housing for more details.

Section Four

County Survey
Introduction

This section gives information about the New Deal county surveys that were conducted throughout 2004. As noted previously, project staff surveyed Letcher, McCreary, Greenup, and Boyd Counties for New Deal associated sites. These counties were selected because of their geographic and urban/rural diversity. Another factor in this decision was a small amount of survey coverage in most of the counties, except Boyd, and the availability of local assistance.

Because the WPA and the CCC were thought to have better documentation, a decision was made to record sites associated with their tenure only. However, upon discovery of fairly adequate project lists during the course of the project, it became clear that PWA and CWA could also be surveyed. Regrettably, this realization came too far along in the process, and was unable to be utilized for survey purposes. Therefore, the reader should be aware that this is only a partial New Deal survey, and that many more resources are likely to be encountered in the focus counties. Future researchers, then, should survey these counties for PWA and CWA, and attempt to find more information regarding NYA and KERA. Another note on research design can be made in terms of scale. In sum, future researchers should attempt to flesh out this survey information from a local perspective. Project staff did not peruse local newspapers or other primary sources to compliment the survey. The central focus of this effort was to document and record as many New Deal sites as possible.

The following survey information reads as brief survey reports for each county. A brief county context, survey methodology, survey synopsis, list of property types, and survey results are included for each area. It is hoped that this information will help the reader understand both the diversity of resources on the local level and the extremely regional nature of New Deal construction projects. Also, given the average survival rate of between 31 and 38 percent for WPA/CCC resources, it is hoped that identification of these resources will lead preservationists to maintain the few remaining resources from this time.

Letcher County Site Visit Summary

Brief County Context

Letcher County was formed in 1842 from portions of Harlan and Perry Counties and is located in the Eastern Coal Field region of southeastern Kentucky. The county has a land area of 339 square miles. (Powell 1998, 2-1). It is bounded by Harlan, Perry, Knott, and Pike Counties in Kentucky and by Wise County, Virginia. The Pine Mountain's Pound Gap, on the county's eastern border with Virginia, placed it on a pioneer trail into the state. The terrain of Letcher County is rugged and mountainous with narrow, fertile valleys located along streams. The elevation in the county ranges from 940 to 3720 feet above sea level. Three of the state's major rivers—the Cumberland, the North Fork of the Kentucky, and the Levisa Fork of the Big Sandy—all have headwaters in the county. The county seat is Whitesburg, which is situated on the North Fork of the Kentucky River. Natural resources include coal, oil, and timber. These resources provide the main economic base for the county.

"Mountain view in Letcher County from the highest elevation in Kentucky, July 1942." (GP Collection).

In 1885, coal speculation by large corporate interests began in Letcher County. From 1903 to 1905, most of the county's mineral rights were deeded by owners to buyers that included Consolidation, Elkhorn, and Southeast coal companies. These companies established the towns of Jenkins, Fleming, McRoberts, and Seco (South-East Coal Co.), and by November of 1912 had completed the Lexington & Eastern Railroad (now CSX Transportation) from Breathitt County to McRoberts. (Hudson 2001, 4). Eastern European immigrants and African Americans from the Deep South worked the mines and built railroad lines. Some of the newcomers were highly skilled Italian stonemasons who constructed fine stone bridges, foundation walls, culverts, and houses. (Richardson 1992; Powell 1998, 2-4).

Coal production was prosperous in the county from 1910 into the 1920s. In 1927, coal prices dropped severely and continued to decline into the early years of the Depression. For example, coal production declined by 10 million tons just between 1929 and 1930. (Hudson 2001, 3). Residents had become dependent upon mining jobs and therefore, greatly felt the effects of the decline during the ensuing Depression years. The Civil Works Administration, Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration, and Works Progress Administration (WPA) created employment and provided much-needed relief for Letcher County citizens during hard times.

Coal Miners in Jenkins, 1935. Photographed by Ben Shahn. (FSAOWI).

World War II's industrial boom spurred the demand for coal stimulating the mining industry once again. However, the coal industry had mechanized many of its operations, and no longer required large labor forces. In response, outmigration from Letcher

County was heavy during the 1940s and continued through the 1950s and 1960s. (Powell 1998, 2-4).

Survey Methodology

Archival sources were consulted to gain an understanding of New Deal agencies formerly active in Letcher County. The Goodman-Paxton Collection (GP, PA64M1) and the National Archives WPA indexes at KDLA (NARA 2920) revealed 64 WPA resources constructed in Letcher County.

CCC camp newsletters in the Kentucky History Center's archives (KHS, RG2001M01) and the CCC Alumni Organization (http://www.cccalumni.org) were reviewed for possible CCC camp sites in the county. At this point, it appears that there were no CCC camps in Letcher County. It possible that camps located in Harlan County worked on fire prevention projects in Letcher County since maps indicate that there were at least three fire towers in Letcher County. These towers have not been verified as being constructed by the CCC.

The Kentucky Heritage Council survey inventory was also accessed to yield previously documented sites associated with the New Deal. Three sites in the county had been surveyed that are associated with New Deal agencies. Post offices in Whitesburg (LRW-18) and Jenkins (LRJ-19) appear to be constructed by US Treasury Department with PWA funding. The Cornelia Street stone bridge (LRW-17) in Whitesburg built by Italian stonemason, John Palumbo, had also been previously identified as a WPA resource.

Before conducting site visits, local contacts provided information on the status of WPA resources identified from initial archival research. Local contacts perused databases of resources previously identified through archival sources. Local informants then met with project staff to discuss the list and identify locations of sites on county maps. This group included Letcher County Judge-Executive Carroll A. Smith, tourism official Josephine Richardson, county historians Sarah Elam and Richard Smith. Site visits were mapped out based upon this information by dividing the county into the lower and upper regions. Local informants were usually able to locate archivally identified resources, the majority of which did not have addresses or geographic data. In most instances, this information was accurate, though a few sites could not be found.

Survey Synopsis

Surveys were conducted in March and November 2004. Project staff drove the entire county and attempted to record WPA sites. Survey work was divided into the upper and lower part of the county, divided roughly by Highway 15. The upper section of Letcher County is the section of the county east of Whitesburg including Jenkins. The roads traveled in this portion of the county were Route 805, 317, 343, 2545, and 3409. The lower end of the county is

View of Whitesburg, 1941. (GP Collection).

the area west of Whitesburg which encompasses the Blackey vicinity. Roads traveled in this region included Route 7, 160, 588, 931, 1103, 1148, and 2035. Additionally, Route 932 in the area south of Pine Mountain was also traversed. Highways 15 and 119 were the principal roads traversed by the survey team in Letcher County.

For the most part, information given by local informants was sufficient to find a resource, however, project staff also relied on local post office staff. In some cases, postal carriers were able to identify a building/structure through historic photographs, downloaded from the Goodman Paxton archive, and through local historic association. Many of these structures had been destroyed.

Letcher County Survey Statistics

Prior to Fieldwork

— 78 sites in Kentucky Survey for Letcher County, one National Register site
— 32 resources identified for survey
- 13 sites confirmed by locals to be extant
- 7 resources confirmed to have been demolished prior to fieldwork
- 2 resources have not been located at this time, therefore not included in fieldwork
- 10 resources, status unknown by locals

Field work

— 23 resources attempted for survey
- 12 resources confirmed extant by project staff
- 9 resources confirmed as demolished after field work
- 2 resources were left undocumented due to road construction

Results of Fieldwork

— 9 new resources added to KHC inventory
— 3 sites were resurveyed; updated forms were prepared
— 9 new resources are potentially eligible for National Register listing
— 3 resurveyed sites are also eligible

Resource Survival Rate

— 37 percent survival rate of resources identified in the archives versus resources found extant.

Future survey work should focus on WPA roads, sanitary privies, and quarries not yet documented. As noted before, resources associated with other New Deal agencies such as the CWA and PWA should also be surveyed, utilizing the information in Appendices Five and Six.

In spite of a significant loss of historic WPA resources, the quality and number of sites discovered in Letcher County was impressive. In particular, sites associated with the work of Italian stonemasons and their students were of especially fine quality and add to the unique character of the county. The following text highlights survey results and discusses property types.

Property Types

Property types surveyed or identified in the county include schools, roads, bridges and culverts, post offices, quarries, sidewalks, sewers, a water treatment facility, privies, a warehouse, a country club, and a courthouse addition.

Schools

Schools were the most prevalent building type constructed by the WPA in Letcher County. Thirty-eight schools or school additions have been identified through archival sources, as being planned by Letcher Countians. Initially, 16 schools were found through a search of the Goodman-Paxton archives. Additional research of the NARA records at KDLA yielded a total of 22 schools not found in the Goodman-Paxton archive. This disparity between archives is much greater than was found for any other survey county.

There was evidence in the NARA archives that 15 of these schools had been "reduced."[7] It appears from analysis of the archive that reduced school projects had all of their funds withdrawn. With no monies available, these projects were never built. The same 15 school projects did not reappear in the following years in the projects indexes for Letcher County. Furthermore, they did not appear in the Goodman Paxton photo archive making their construction appear dubious at best. Therefore, because they were probably never constructed, reduced schools were not included in the fieldwork.

The status of the remaining seven schools, not on the reduced list, from NARA were determined by the project staff through local contacts. With the additional information from NARA archives, project staff tried to determine whether these WPA schools were actually constructed, and if so, whether they were still standing.

The Letcher County Public Schools website, http://www.letcher.k12.ky.us/photos/pics, provided photographic evidence about schools at Hemphill and Sergent. Project staff contacted Dannie Caudill with the Letcher County Public Schools to inquire about the status of these particular schools. Mr. Caudill confirmed that Hemphill School was extant, and that Sergent School had been demolished. The Letcher County PVA office was also contacted. This office confirmed that Little Creek School and Lower Millstone School were no longer extant. The status of Turkey Creek School, Bottom Fork School, and Little Creek School remains undetermined. Local contacts could not provide any information about them. Since no photographic evidence has been located at this time, identification was hindered. Hemphill School was the only site attempted for survey from the seven identified in NARA records. The current school at Hemphill is, however, a structure built in 1948. Thus, it is not associated with the New Deal.

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[7] The terms "reduced" or "rescinded" were applied to some projects in the NARA archive. There was no specific definition of what this terminology meant. Project staff had to determine the meaning of these terms based on the funding amounts for each project. Based on a thorough search of the NARA archives, it appears that reduced meant that funding was cut for the calendar year, though the school could have been built later on. Rescinded seems to have always implied that the project was never built.

Schools Typology

Based on WPA photographic and archival evidence, there were a variety of plans and styles used for county schools. Letcher County WPA Schools were not constructed of stone, nor were they the large scale structures usually associated with the WPA, but more typically were smaller scale and built of wood frame or brick. Frame schools generally had two or three classrooms and were one story in height. They have a rectangular form with stone pier foundations**,** and are built on stone piers. They appear similar to earlier schools built in the county during the 1920s (see Carcassonne School, LR-36).

Little Cowan School, 1936. (GP Collection).

In general, WPA schools have gable roofs and quite often have a porch at the primary entrance with steps. The overall stylistic influence is closest to Colonial Revival. The only two-story building uncovered was the McRoberts School addition. As was typical for WPA building additions, this classroom appendage followed the stylistic lines of the original building.

Jenkins High School Addition, circa 1935. (GP Collection).

With the exception of Mayking School, brick schools were generally free-standing buildings and additions to existing schools. Jenkins School, Whitesburg School, and Fleming School all had two-story WPA additions to the main building. Based on photographic evidence from the Goodman-Paxton Collection, these additions mimicked the designs of the original buildings in form and style. It appears that the desire was to blend the addition into the main building.

Synopsis of School Survey
38 schools identified from archival sources
- — 16 schools in Goodman-Paxton Collection
  - ◆ 3 extant
  - ◆ 13 demolished
- — 22 schools in NARA archives
  - ◆ 15 schools listed as reduced in NARA archives-not constructed
- — 7 schools in NARA
  - ◆ 1 extant
  - ◆ 3 demolished
  - ◆ 3 undetermined

Mayking School was constructed as a new school. It is a one-story brick school with ornate brick detailing. Stylistic influences appear to be derived from Craftsman style and Art Deco. The building has an irregular massing that distinguishes it from the other schools.

Schools Survey Results

Site visits confirmed that three schools were still extant. They are the Doty School, Mayking School, and the Jenkins School Addition. Of these schools, Mayking and Jenkins remain in use either as a school or for some other educational purpose. These schools appear to be in good to excellent condition. Mayking School has had some alteration to the roofline resulting in the very mild loss of historic character. The Doty School was purchased by a church and serves as an ancillary building for the church. The Doty School seems to be in very good condition and is not currently occupied on a regular basis.

Doty School, 2004.

Many of the original schools constructed by the WPA in Letcher County are no longer extant. In some instances, former school sites were redeveloped for single-family housing. The majority of these small schools were frame construction, which perhaps made them more vulnerable to demolition.

Mayking School building, 2004.

Roads

The next most plentiful WPA resource in Letcher County are roads. There were four major roads constructed by the WPA: Blackey Road, Ison Road, Kona Road, and Pine Mountain Road. (GP, PA64M1). There were also five roads that were improved by the WPA by surfacing and draining work: Whitesburg-Hazard Road, Whitesburg-Jenkins Road, Whitesburg-Harlan Road, Neon-McRoberts Road, and Neon-Hemphill Road. (NARA 2920). Whitesburg and Jenkins also had numerous unnamed in-town roads that were constructed by the WPA. Due to changing technology, these roads have been resurfaced with asphalt.

"Constructing Blackey Road." Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Roads Typology

WPA Letcher County roads are often named after a town or geographic feature. Their construction provided much-needed links between communities and helped to open up secluded communities by making road travel more efficient and modern.

Originally the roads would have been graded and drained, then covered with crushed stone from a local quarry, handmade concrete, a macadamized surface, or left as a dirt road. Due to changing technology, these roads have been resurfaced with asphalt, though it could be expected to find that the original road alignments remain intact.

Roads Survey Results

Blackey Road was investigated on this site visit. The roadbed appeared to have maintained the original lines since it was very narrow and followed the contours of the geographical features.

Blackey Road, current conditions, 2004.

Pine Mountain Road is now Highway 119. The survey team was only able to traverse a portion of the road, due to a major construction project. The team was forced to take a detour leaving both the road and the WPA quarry on Pine Mountain undocumented. Historic photographs indicated that the road was surfaced with crushed limestone. Currently, the road has been surfaced with asphalt and alterations to the roadbed have occurred.

Two other roads were unable to be documented since the archives did not provide their location, and local contacts did not recognize the resource by name or by photograph. The status of these roads is unconfirmed. Local informants were unable to identify the locations of both Ison Road and Kona Road. Maps consulted also did not identify these roads. (Kentucky Atlas and Gazetter 2001; Kentucky Department of Highways County Maps 1968). One possible explanation for the inability to locate these roads may be that they have been altered by road-widening or improvement projects. These roads then might have been renamed or identified by a route number only.

Bridges and Culverts

Bridges and culverts were essential in road construction projects throughout the county, providing crossing over geographic features and allowing drainage to avoid road flooding. No evidence of culvert construction was found in the archives, though it probably can be assumed that they were included within road projects. Five bridges were identified in the Goodman-Paxton Collection including: Ulvah Bridge, Roxana Bridge, Jerimiah Bridge, Cornelia Street Bridge, and the Main Street Bridge in Whitesburg.

Bridges and Culverts Typology

Bridges constructed during the New Deal era varied widely. Bridges could be constructed of steel, stone, log, reinforced concrete, or a combination of materials. Several New Deal agencies were involved with bridge construction including the PWA, WPA, KERA, CWA, and CCC, creating a number of different bridge designs and configurations depending on the location and the agency involved with bridge construction. Bridges could have abutments and piers made of one material and the upper portion constructed with different materials. In general, most New Deal bridges were small-to-medium sized girder bridges with stone or concrete abutments and a concrete deck and roadbed.

Roxana Road Bridge. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Culverts associated with the New Deal also varied in materials. Similar to bridges, they might be constructed of steel, stone, log, or concrete. There were two prevalent types of culverts: the box culvert and the pipe culvert. Box culverts actually act as mini-bridges and can be quite large. They can be usually be seen from the road, as evidenced by a raised edge and are constructed of stone, log, or concrete. Pipe culverts are cylindrical in nature and may be harder to locate because they are less visible from the road. Typically, pipe culverts are constructed of pre-cast concrete or pre-fabricated steel cylinders.

Bridges and Culverts Survey Results

All of the original five WPA bridges are extant and were documented on the site visit. With the exception of the Cornelia Street Bridge, the structures have stone abutments with poured concrete decks. The stone piers for the Roxana, Jerimiah, and Ulvah Bridges have rounded ends, while the Whitesburg Bridge has flat ends.

Cornelia Street Bridge, 2004.

The bridges have retained much of their original fabric though, in some cases, the guardrails have been replaced (Ulvah), or the spans have been resurfaced (Roxana). The Whitesburg Bridge also has poured concrete guardrails that seem to be original. These bridges are still being utilized and appear to be in good condition.

The Cornelia Street Bridge at KY 15 in Whitesburg is unique in that it has stone arches to support the span. There are two continuous arches that comprise the entire structure. The center leg of the bridge has bull-nose detailing. The bridge structure curves outward at both ends to meet the two roads it connects. Whitesburg resident and Italian Stone mason John Palumbo constructed the bridge with WPA funding. (Richardson 1992). The bridge has not been altered and remains in excellent condition.

Post Offices

Post offices during the New Deal era were occasionally constructed by the US Treasury Department utilizing PWA funding. These records should be archived with the Department of the Treasury, and have not been accessed for Letcher County information as of yet. There were two post offices documented in the KHC survey inventory that date to the research time period that probably have a PWA association. One was in Whitesburg (LRW 18) constructed in 1937, and the other in Jenkins (LRJ 19) constructed in 1940. These two resources were documented on the site visit.

Post Offices Typology

The post office was among the most prominent public buildings in smaller communities. Due to their public function, the buildings are generally located in the central business district.

Based on survey information from Letcher County and other counties in the study area, post office designs appear to follow a similar pattern. These buildings are usually one-story in height and constructed of brick veneer with poured concrete foundations. They usually have either a gable roof or a flat roof form. Architectural styles utilized are either Colonial Revival or Modern in appearance. Interior floor plans almost always include a lobby/service area, large workroom, postmaster's office, and needed support areas, as well as a basement that could be utilized as additional office space. Interior finish materials were usually plaster walls and ceilings, hardwood floors, wood wainscoting, and marble, terrazzo, or tile in lobby areas.

Jenkins Post Office, 2004.

Post Offices Survey Results

The Whitesburg and Jenkins Post Offices are one-story brick structures with poured concrete foundations. The Whitesburg building has a blend of Colonial Revival and Modern detailing. Its wood windows have divided lights, and there is a fanlight over the primary entrance. The building has a flat roof and minimal ornamentation except for the window detailing.

The Jenkins Post Office follows a more traditional Colonial Revival style. It has a gable front entrance with a large pediment and wood windows with divided lights. The windows are slightly arched. Both buildings are rectangular in form. The Jenkins building is still being used as a post office and is in excellent condition. The Whitesburg Post Office is currently used as a museum and is also in excellent condition.


Whitesburg Post Office, 2004.

Quarries

Most of the buildings constructed by the WPA in Letcher County were accomplished with locally quarried stone. The use of native materials is one of the hallmarks of the New Deal vernacular style.

The quarry identified through archival records was the Pine Mountain Quarry which was operated by the WPA. (GP, PA64M1). This WPA quarry was not located during the survey, though, local informants believed that it was still in place. The quarry is located atop Pine Mountain in an extremely remote location.

"Quarry on Pine Mountain showing WPA stone crusher in distance, 1940." (GP Collection).

Quarries Typology

Often times, stone was quarried on-site for schools, roads, culverts, bridges, scenic overlooks, courthouses, and other buildings or structures. This was largely a function of accessibility and cost. Since a majority of the sites were in remote locations, using stone quarried on-site saved in time and expense. Additionally, the decision to use locally quarried stone saved money on the overall project by avoiding transportation costs of hauling materials from outside the county. Some quarries served multiple projects throughout the county making them much larger in scale.

Since quarries are created from natural sites, their form can vary from site to site. There are both limestone and sandstone quarries in the study region. Typically, quarries are carved out of the sides of hills and mountains, but sometimes are excavated from the ground. Quarries may also have a stepped, or terraced appearance created as the stone was extruded in layers. At active quarries, cranes and stone crushing equipment can be expected. Quarries no longer in use may be obscured with vegetation. Remnants of equipment and tools may still be located on the site.

New crusher at Pine Mountain Quarry, 1940. (GP Collection).

Quarries Survey Results

As noted previously, the Pine Mountain quarry was unable to be surveyed, due to a construction project which prevented access to the site.

Public Infrastructure

The work of the WPA also encompassed public infrastructure such as sanitary sewers, water treatment plants, sidewalks, and sanitary privies, in order to modernize systems. Archival sources indicate that sidewalks in Whitesburg and Jenkins were improved by the WPA. It is not clear how much alteration has occurred to these sidewalks, though, it could be expected that repairs have been made over time.

Sanitary privies were also constructed by the WPA as part of a county-wide project and were actually part of a larger community sanitation WPA project intended for 30 counties in Kentucky. The project's aim was to bring sanitary privies to rural and suburban areas where sewer systems were impractical. Photographic records indicate that sanitary privies were built of wood construction. None of the sanitary privies have been located or documented in the county.

Miscellaneous: Demolished

Letcher Co. Courthouse addition
Letcher Co. Country Club
Letcher County WPA warehouse

"Letcher County Country Club. Now being used mostly as a nite club." Photo circa 1939. (GP Collection).

Three WPA resources were identified in the Goodman-Paxton Collection that are no longer extant.

The 1935 Letcher County Courthouse Addition was a two-story, brick building with Art Deco detailing. It was demolished along with the main courthouse in the 1960s. (Cornett 1967, 19). The Letcher County Country Club was located in Fleming. It was a one and half story building built in the rustic style in 1936. The building operated as a night club in the late 1930s until it burned in 1942. (Post-fire photos are included in GP, PA64M1). The WPA warehouse in Whitesburg was constructed as a distribution and storage center for relief operations in Letcher County. It was a large concrete block structure with a gable roof. According to local informants, it was demolished in the last ten years.

McCreary County Site Visit Summary

Brief County Context

"Cliffs taken from Nevillsville [sic] Road, 1941." (GP Collection).

McCreary County is located in south-central Kentucky between the Big South Fork and the main body of the Cumberland River. It was established in 1912 from parts of Pulaski, Wayne, and Whitley counties and is bordered by those counties, Laurel County, and the Tennessee state line. Whitley City is the county seat. (Perry 1979, 34). The county contains 427 square miles, most of which are less than 1,500 feet above sea level. Sandstone, which underlies the surface, has led to a terrain of narrow ridges and deep ravines, numerous waterfalls, and sandstone arches. Over 70 percent of the county land area was purchased by the federal government to form part of the Daniel Boone National Forest and the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area in the 1930s. (Logsdon and David 1995, 26).

Coal production began in the area during the nineteenth century. With the completion of the Cincinnati & Southern Railroad (now the Norfolk & Southern Railway) in 1880, extensive extraction of coal and timber resources grew rapidly. (Birdwell 1988, 23). In 1902, a new group of entrepreneurs arrived from Michigan, headed by Justus S. Stearns. They renamed the town of Hemlock "Stearns," and built a company town which included an electrical generating plant, an all-electric saw-mill, a hotel, a commercial district, an office headquarters, five miles of railroad through rugged terrain, and the first of many coal mines. (Birdwell 1988, 17, 27). The mining and timber industries grew rapidly after the turn of the century. (Howell 1981, 8). Most of the working population was employed by the coal mining and lumber industry throughout the twentieth century. (Perry 1979, 165).

McCreary County Judge Executive J.E. Perkins, 1942. (GP Collection).

The effects of the Great Depression came slowly to McCreary County, since the Stearns Coal and Lumber Company was still experiencing growth during the late 1920s and early 1930s. (Birdwell 1988, 38). Those who made a living through agriculture were the first to experience the effects of the Depression, largely because of the severe drought in 1930 and 1931. The Red Cross set up a relief office in Stearns in 1931 to address this need for assistance. (Perry 1979, 172). By 1932, the coal mines and lumber mills were showing signs of an economic slowdown in McCreary County. Soon, the once steady and prosperous industries were cutting employees' work hours and wages. (Birdwell 1988, 41).

Survey Methodology

Archival sources were consulted to gain an understanding of New Deal agencies active in McCreary County. The *Goodman-Paxton Collection* (GP, PA64M1) and the National Archives WPA indexes at KDLA (NARA 2920) helped to identify resources associated with the WPA in McCreary County. Additionally, there was one project, Parker's Lake School, which was started by FERA and completed by WPA. It was found in the WPA NARA records at KDLA. The CCC Camp Newsletter Collection in the Kentucky History Center's archives (KHS, RG2001M0) and the CCC Alumni Organization (http://cccalumni.org/) were reviewed for possible CCC camp sites and projects in the county. At this time, four CCC camp sites were documented as existing in the county during the 1930s and early 1940s.

The Kentucky Heritage Council survey inventory was also accessed to yield previously documented sites associated with the New Deal. Five sites in the county had been surveyed that are associated with the WPA. Silerville School (MCY 24), Pine Knot Middle School and Pine Knot Gym (MCY 76), Parkers Lake School (MCY 115), Hollyhill School (MCY 160), and Whitley Elementary School (MCY 200) were all previously surveyed.

The total number of sites identified from WPA and CCC archival sources was 59 resources. Some resources, such as culverts, are counted as one resource, since they appear as one project type in the archives. Other resources, including sanitary privies, manholes, sidewalks, foot trails, short unit roads, and sewers, were listed by total length constructed, not by quantity. They are counted as a single project for each property type. In any case, the 59 resources initially found include twelve schools (newly built), ten roads, ten fire towers, five quarries, four CCC camps, two bridges, two truck trails (total 31.3 miles), one gym, one watchman's ground cabin, one clubhouse/pool, one water treatment plant, one retaining wall, one WPA office, one gym, one education building, foot trails (22 miles), short unit roads (12 miles), sidewalks (1.84 miles), culverts (unknown quantity), storm and sanitary sewers (0.59 miles), manholes and catch basins (13), and sanitary privies (203). Of these resources, 29 are associated with the WPA; 29 are associated with the CCC; and one is associated with NYA. The NYA resource was listed in NARA 2920 as 790-43-416, the NYA Education Farm Shop at Whitley City School.

The efforts to find these resources began with a public presentation at the McCreary Heritage Days Festival in May 2004. Several local residents attended. These informants were able to identify which resources were extant from the list compiled through archival research. Several local citizens volunteered to assist with the field work by accompanying the researchers to the resource sites. This greatly streamlined the process of locating sites.

Survey Synopsis

Surveys were conducted in May 2004 and in November 2004. Projects staff drove the entire county with assistance from local residents Nathan and Ann Nevels (north McCreary), McCreary County Voice reporter Andrew Powell (south McCreary), and US Forest Service Stearns Ranger District Archaeologist Randy Boedy (CCC camp sites). Invaluable assistance also came from Dawn Strunk at the Stearns Museum, Peter Ferrara, and Doc Coffey and

Becky Egnew at the Big South Fork Scenic Railway. Their involvement greatly expedited the difficulties regarding unknown survey areas, though a few resources could not be found, even with their assistance.

McCreary County Survey Statistics

Prior to Fieldwork

— 271 sites in KY Survey for McCreary County, 3 in the National Register
— 59 resources identified for survey
- 29 sites confirmed by locals to be extant
- 13 resources confirmed to have been demolished prior to fieldwork
- 17 resources have not been located at this time, therefore not included in fieldwork

Field work

— 29 resources attempted for survey
- 21 resources confirmed extant by project staff
- 6 resources confirmed demolished after field work
- 2 resources were left undocumented, unable to locate

Results of Fieldwork

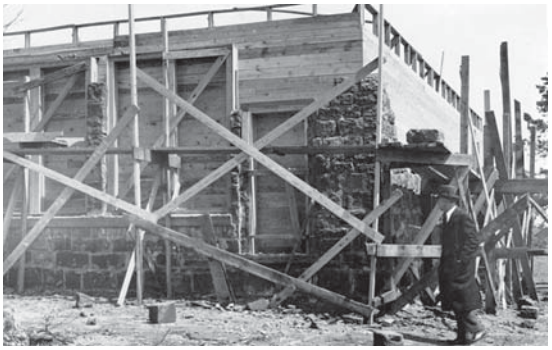
— 16 new resources added to KHC inventory
— 5 sites were resurveyed; updated forms were prepared
— 14 new resources are potentially eligible for National Register listing

Resource Survival Rate

— 36 percent survival rate of resources identified through archives versus resources found extant.

More survey work needs to be done for New Deal resources in McCreary County. Resources such as culverts, CCC roads and truck trails, sanitary sewers, and sidewalks should be focused on to determine their numbers and significance in the county. Additionally, PWA and CWA resources should also be recorded and evaluated.

McCreary County has an impressive set of WPA and CCC historic resources. The WPA resources, especially the schools, demonstrate an attention to detail and successful use of local materials that result in very attractive stone structures. The county also has an exceptionally large array of CCC resources. The diversity among the type and quality of these resources make McCreary an excellent New Deal case study county. The following text highlights property types and discusses survey results.



"WPA Project #1171 is the construction of a two-room graded school building of native sandstone at Clear Creek. The photograph, taken April 7, 1936, shows part of two walls laid with stone." (GP Collection).

Property Types

Property types surveyed or identified in the county include: schools and gymnasiums, roads, fire towers, quarries, CCC camp sites, bridges and culverts, clubhouses, swimming pools, sidewalks, sanitary sewer systems, manholes and catch basins, water treatment plants, the county WPA office, and retaining walls.

Schools/Gymnasiums

"Silerville School constructed by the WPA under a blanket project." Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

The WPA built twelve school facilities throughout the county, through McCreary County School Board sponsorship. The NARA WPA records also contained information on 50 schools in the county that were repaired and painted by the WPA. The records did not enumerate individual school names, therefore, these resources were not documented in this study. One gymnasium was also constructed by the WPA in McCreary County. Additionally, there is an education-related building constructed by the NYA located at Whitley City School (NARA 2920). The structure which now serves as a cafeteria may be this building; however, evidence is not conclusive at this time.

Please note that schools identified in archival sources are often known by a different name in this county. Typically, the local names are associated with important people or places in the county. In this county report, NARA or Goodman Paxton names are included in parentheses.

Schools/Gymnasiums Typology

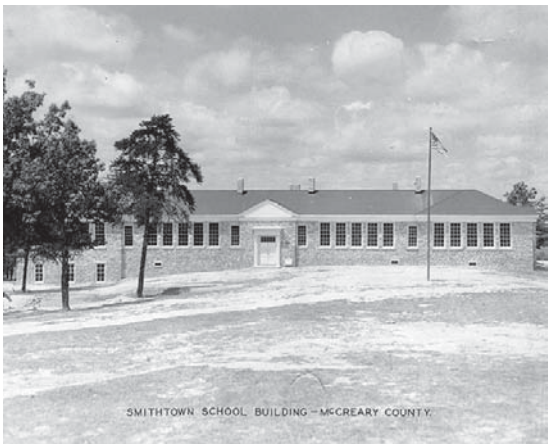
Beech Grove School, circa 1936. (GP Collection).

Based on WPA photographic and archival evidence, as well as field work, a variety of plans and styles were used for schools in McCreary County. One-room schools were constructed at Beech Grove (Buck Grove), Clear Creek, and Foster (Whitehead). These buildings were small one-story buildings with a rectangular-shaped form.

There were at least three different shapes for two-room schools. The Nevelsville, Silerville (Strunk), and Gilreath Schools were rectangular-shaped plans. The Parker's Lake School is an L-shaped plan, whereas the Hollyhill (Pleasant Run) School is a T-shaped plan.

The Smithtown and Revelo Schools were single-story, eight-room buildings. They appear to be constructed with the same plan that the Goodman-Paxton archive referred to as a "Western" type. This plan is a long, single-story horizontally-oriented configuration reminiscent of a

western ranch style. The Whitley City and Pine Knot Schools were two-story, thirteen-room buildings, and were much larger than the majority of schools in the county.



Smithtown School. An example of the "western" type of school plan. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

In general, the schools built in McCreary County were one or two stories in height. Roof forms varied as well throughout the county. Gable and hip roofs were the predominant type found, though flat roofs were used for Whitley City and Pine Knot Schools.

All of these schools were built of native stone masonry construction, and all have diverse coursing patterns and types of stone. Sandstone and limestone were both utilized in the county. Both rubble and ashlar cut stone forms were used for masonry construction. Stone dressing styles for the ashlar cut stone varied between natural rock or quarry facing to a polished face. The coursing patterns ranged from none to irregular and regular patterns (McAlester and McAlester 1996, 39). Combinations of these types of stone masonry were found throughout the county.


"Parker's Lake School. First of 15 stone masonry schools built in McCreary County by the WPA." Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

There is no one distinct architectural style used for the schools in McCreary County. Architectural styles appear to be a hybrid of Colonial Revival, Craftsman, and Art Deco/Moderne, as well as a regional vernacular style, given the use of native stone. The combination of architectural styles incorporated is not surprising, since these were extremely popular architectural fashions. Architectural elements like columned porches and divided windows have Colonial Revival elements that can be seen at the Strunk School, while the rafter tails echo the Craftsman style at Hollyhill School. The Art Deco/Moderne influence is demonstrated by flat roofs, curved awnings, and vertical reliefs at Whitley City School.

Gymnasiums and other recreational facilities like athletic fields and playgrounds were also constructed during the New Deal era. These property types allowed members of the community and school children to have a dedicated place to engage in physical activity. They also allowed for teams from surrounding communities to play on the home team's "turf."

Gyms constructed by New Deal agencies were commonly built as free standing buildings associated with an adjacent school plant. Generally, they were constructed with stone or brick masonry. However, in eastern Kentucky, two-story frame structures can also be found. Based on the function of this property type, the buildings are likely to be rectangular in form to accommodate a basketball court. Barrel vault roofs or gable roofs were the most commonly

used. Gyms are usually double height spaces with high windows to allow for natural light and ventilation.

In addition to the recreational space provided by the gym, the *McCreary County Record* also lists the construction of fifteen playgrounds in the county but no names or locations were identified. (McCreary County Record 10/15/40, 1).

The Whitley City NYA education building provided space for farm shops and canneries that served as vocational facilities. The building was built on the grounds of the Whitley City School. Archival records suggest that this building was also used as a farm shop (NARA 2920). It is unclear if the structure directly behind the school is the NYA farm shop and cannery. Local sources have indicated that it is likely the correct structure. This building is constructed with concrete block on a poured concrete foundation. There is a gable roof that encloses the building. Steel casement windows provide light and ventilation. The interior is an open double-height space with no partitions and is rectangular in form. The stylistic influence of the building is Art Deco/Moderne. This is evidenced in the curved concrete blocks that form stepped back engaged pilasters on the exterior. The only other ornamentation is the metal canopies that hang over the entrances.

Schools/Gymnasiums Survey Results

Parker's Lake School building, 2004.

The site visit confirmed that six schools were extant of the twelve identified from archival sources. These schools are: Parker's Lake School, Hollyhill (Pleasant Run) School, Revelo School, Whitley City School, Silerville (Strunk) School , and Smithtown School. Of the six documented schools, five of them remain in use either as a school or for some other purpose, and appear to be in good to excellent condition. The Smithtown School and the Whitley City School are currently being used as educational facilities, though the Whitley City School will be closed in the near future. The Silerville School was purchased by private owners in 1976 and has been converted into a house. Both the Revelo School and the Parker's Lake School, are being used for commercial enterprises. The Hollyhill School, which is vacant, has suffered the loss of the roof, and is in poor to fair condition. Some deterioration of the interior finish has occurred. The primary stone masonry structure, however, appears to be in excellent condition.

Remnants of three additional schools in the survey area were also located. While the front stairs of the Nevelsville School remain, the structure has been replaced with a new house. The stones for the Pine Knot School were reused in the facade of the new Pine Knot School. The Gilreath School ruins are believed to be located on HWY 1044 across from the Bethel Church. Part of a stone foundation and a set of poured concrete stairs were identified. Further research would be required to determine if this is the location of the school. The remaining three

schools are believed to be demolished since they could not be located. They are the Foster School (Whitehead School), the Beech Grove (Buck Grove) School, and the Clear Creek School. These three schools were located in remote areas of the county. Survey of these sites was attempted on several occasions based on local informants directions. At this time, these buildings are assumed to be demolished.

The WPA also constructed the Pine Knot Gym in McCreary County, directly adjacent to the Pine Knot School. It is a stone building that is rectangular in form. The gym was built after the school had been completed. The Pine Knot Gym is extant and is being utilized by the Pine Knot Middle School. The building and stonework appear to be in excellent condition, though, the original windows have been removed. The interior of the building was not investigated at this time.

A field visit to Whitley City School confirmed that the structure believed to be the NYA cannery building is extant. The building is situated behind the Whitley City School building and is connected by a covered walkway. It is currently being utilized as a cafeteria, gym, and auditorium. There is a stage area at one end. A later addition from the 1970s provides space for a full-service kitchen.

Hollyhill School building, 2004.

Gilreath School ruins, 2004.

Pine Knot Gymnasium, 2004.

Whitley City School. Structure believed to be the NYA Cannery building. Photo taken in 2004.

Roads

Roads are the next most archivally abundant resource associated with the WPA and CCC in McCreary County. There were eight major roads constructed by the WPA and two constructed by the CCC. These roads link communities to one another and are often named after a town or geographic feature.

CCC road projects were mainly constructed for fire prevention purposes. These were known as truck trails. Truck trails allowed for access for fire fighting equipment to be brought through the forest to extinguish fires in remote areas.

Mount Pleasant Road. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Roads Typology

WPA roads would have been graded and drained then covered with crushed stone from a local quarry, handmade concrete, a macadamized surface, or left surfaced with dirt. Due to changing technology, these roads have been resurfaced with asphalt, though it appears in some instances that the original road alignments remain intact.

Truck trails were generally not meant for daily use by the public, thus they were very rough in construction. The critical function of truck trails was to provide forest access for fire fighting equipment. CCC enrollees would blaze trails through the forest by cutting down vegetation and trees along the designated path. These roads were sometimes covered with crushed stone, but often times were left without a finished surface.

Marsh's Siding Road. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Roads Survey Results

Four of the ten roads in the study area were documented including: Silerville Road, Mount Pleasant Road, Marsh Creek Road (Saylersville Road), and Hays Creek Road. (GP, PA64M1). Marsh Creek Road was identified in the Goodman-Paxton Collection as "one of the best road jobs in the state." Based on historic photographic evidence, the Marsh Creek road still appears similar to the original construction with the addition of asphalt on the surface. Silerville Road, Mount Pleasant Road, and Hays Creek Road also maintain their historic appearance. Again, the roadbeds were intact, but they all were now surfaced with asphalt.

The four undocumented WPA roads are East Stearns Road, Mill Creek Road, Mount Holly Road, and Marshes Siding Road. Since the archives did not

provide locations and local informants did not recognize the name or a photo of the road, the status of these roads is unconfirmed. Maps consulted also did not identify these roads. (Kentucky Atlas and Gazetter 2001; Kentucky Department of Highways *County Maps* 1968). One possible explanation for the inability to locate these roads may be that they have been altered by road-widening or improvement projects, and are unrecognizable as a WPA resource. The two undocumented CCC roads are Red Bird Road and Sandhill Road. Additionally, twelve miles of short unit roads are known to have been built by the CCC between Highway 27 and the South Fork River. Again, local informants were unable to assist with location of these roads as well. The exact location of these roads is unknown since they were not identified in the archival sources by name.

Mount Pleasant Road, 2004.

Marsh Creek Road, 2004.

CCC truck trails in McCreary County are known to have been built between the South Fork River and Rock Creek as well as near Bell Farm. (KHS, RG2001M0). Due to the remote location, these trails were not located on this field visit. In addition to the twelve miles of short unit roads, it should also be noted that 22 miles of foot trails along the Kentucky and Tennessee line were also built by CCC camps for fire fighting purposes. These trails have not been located, although they may be in use as recreational trails for ATVs, hiking, and horseback riding.

Lookout Towers

Lookout towers constructed by the CCC were at one time quite common in McCreary County. A total of ten towers and one ground cabin were identified in archival research. (KHS, RG2001M0).

Lookout towers were vital for fire protection in the county. Communication between the towers through telephone lines and trails, also constructed by the CCC, allowed forest rangers to report fire sightings at a great distance.

Lookout Towers Typology

Fire towers were often perched on higher elevations such as hills or knobs to further enhance the viewing area. Constructed of either wood or steel framing and wooden steps (originally), towers could rise over 100 feet above the forest. The enclosed cab atop the tower provided space for the forest ranger to observe the forest area. Sliding glass windows surrounded the cabin allowing for a panoramic view of the forest. A map table was usually situated in the center of the cab along with the alidade, a device used to pinpoint the location of a fire. The telephone box was attached under the alidade stand. (http://www.ffla.org).

Larger cabs included sleeping quarters, wood stoves, and storage boxes. Often times, picnic areas were located near the base of the tower. This practice was an effort to encourage tourists to visit the tower and to learn about forest fire prevention. (KHS, RG2001M01).

Fire towers associated with the New Deal era were usually constructed by the CCC. The U.S. Forest Service had been constructing the fire towers prior to the creation of the CCC, therefore, several different prototypes had already been developed. Some of the earlier models are not likely to be found in Kentucky because they were generally used in the western states. The western models usually were only two to three stories tall.

Fire towers built in eastern Kentucky are likely to be several stories high. The tower is usually made of galvanized steel that has an open structural frame similar to a derrick. The observation platform, commonly called a cab, is usually enclosed. Cab sizes varied from 7' x 7' to 14' x 14' and were either steel or frame in construction. The different types of towers are listed below:

— *L-4 cabs*: 14'x14' frame cabs were made to live in and could be placed atop tall fire towers. Earliest models have a gabled shingle roof and heavy shutters. Those built from 1933-1953 have hipped roofs with bolts from extended ceiling joists, instead of 2"x2" pine struts to hold the shutters open beginning in 1936.

— *L-5: 10'x10' cab.*

— *L-6: 8'x8' cab.*

— *Aermotor Towers*: Heavy galvanized steel 7'x7' towers from 34 to 175 feet tall, built by Aermotor of Chicago.

— *R-6 flat roof cab*: Tarpaper-topped cab constructed of plywood" (http://www.firelookout.net/Primary_Pages/definitions.htm).

Lookout Towers Survey Results

Stearns Tower, 2004.

The only extant tower identified in McCreary County is the Stearns Tower.
The Stearns Tower is currently privately owned. It is located in the town of Stearns and is on a six acre site.

Originally, the tower site was thirty-three acres and surrounded by dense forest. The remains of eleven stone picnic tables are located near the tower base. Trails around the tower site are still evident, though an original stone wall has been demolished. The tower itself is a 115-foot galvanized steel tower with a 7' by 7' steel cab. This tower is consistent with the description of the Aermotor tower type manufactured in Chicago. (http://www.ffla.org/).

The tower rests on a concrete base which has an inscription of "1934" on it. It is built to move six inches from side to side during a heavy wind load. The original wooden stairs were replaced in 1967 with open-mesh steel stairs that appear to be of the same general rise and run. The entire stairway is comprised of 132 steps and nine levels. The cab is entered through a trap door that is embedded in the floorboards. The tower has a four person capacity. The windows have been removed, but the original openings remain intact allowing for unobstructed views. Each side of the tower cab faces a cardinal direction. None of original equipment remains in the cab.

Road to Buck Knob Tower site. Tower has been demolished. Photo taken in 2004.

The remainder of the McCreary County towers appear to have been demolished including Hickory Knob Tower, Buck Knob Tower, Skull Bone Tower, Funston Tower, Bald Knob Tower, Turkey Knob Tower, Slavans Tower, Bear Creek Towe, and Liberty Tower. (KHS, RG2001M01). The roads to two former tower sites were located for the Skull Bone Tower and the Buck Knob Tower.

One ground cabin identified in archival research was associated with the Bear Creek Tower at Sunset Rock. It has not been located at this point.

Quarries

Quarries identified through archival records include the Marshes-Siding Quarry and the White Oak Junction Quarry which were operated by the WPA. (GP, PA64M1). The three CCC quarries were the Cave Creek Quarry, the Day Ridge Quarry, and the Greenwood Quarry. (KHS, RG2001M01). All of these quarries were the larger-scale type that provided materials for a number of projects.

Quarries Typology

Much of the work constructed by the WPA and CCC in McCreary County was accomplished with locally quarried stone. The use of native materials is one of the hallmarks of the New Deal vernacular style. Often times, stone was quarried on-site for schools, roads, culverts, bridges, scenic overlooks, courthouses, and other buildings or structures. This was largely a function of accessibility and cost. Since a majority of the sites were in remote locations, using stone quarried on-site saved in time and expense. Additionally, the decision to use locally quarried stone saved money on the overall project by avoiding the transportation costs of hauling materials from outside the county. Some quarries served multiple projects throughout the county making them much larger in scale.

"A Quarry is being operated at White Oak Junction, KY, as part of WPA project # 2746, which provides for improvement and surfacing with rock of certain roads in the county." Photographed March 1936. (GP Collection).

Since quarries are created from natural sites, their form can vary from site to site. There are both limestone and sandstone quarries in the study region. Typically, quarries are carved out of the sides of hills and mountains, but sometimes are excavated from the ground. Quarries identified in this site visit were located near roadways, facilitating transportation of the stone to construction sites. At active quarries, cranes and stone crushing equipment can be expected. Quarries no longer in use may be obscured with vegetation. Remnants of equipment and tools may also be located on the site. Quarries may also have a stepped, or terraced appearance created as the stone was extruded in layers.

Greenwood Quarry, 2004.

Quarries Survey Results

WPA quarries were unable to be located in this survey. The Marshes-Siding Quarry appears to have been vastly altered due to the new alignment of Highway 27 through the site. The White Oak Junction Quarry location remains unidentified.

The site visit did yield locations of three CCC quarries. The Day Ridge Quarry is no longer

operating and is largely obscured by vegetation. It is situated along Nevelsville Road, past the Natural Arch overlook area. The road to the Cave Creek Quarry is also accessed from the Nevelsville Road, 2.75 miles from the Nevelsville Bridge. The condition of the quarry is unknown due to its remote location. The Greenwood quarry is a working limestone quarry in the Greenwood vicinity, located off Butts Road. It is situated directly next to the road. The quarry walls have been excavated to form a "C" shaped boundary. The height of the quarry walls is approximately twelve feet. This quarry was associated with the Greenwood CCC camp, Company 523, F-6 (see Section Five, CCC camps). Greenwood Quarry remains active today, providing light-colored buff stone, similar in appearance to that found on New Deal era buildings around the county.

Man working at Greenwood Quarry, 2004.

CCC Camps

There were four Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps that operated in McCreary County including: Stearns Company 597, Camp P-65, Stearns Company 523, Camp F-12, Greenwood Company 523, Camp F-6, and Bell Farm Company 509, Camp F-14.

CCC Camps Typology

The CCC program provided work relief for young men and veterans who were paid $30 per month and provided job skills, education, food, shelter, and clothing in exchange for labor. CCC camps operated like a military post with approximately 200 enrollees. The typical buildings found in a CCC camp included four to five barracks, officers quarters, kitchen/ mess hall, recreation hall, education building, infirmary, tool storage building, bath house, and latrine. Along with these buildings, the enrollees improved their camp environs with athletic fields, walkways, roads, and sometimes pools. This work was done during the enrollees' leisure time. Most of the camp buildings were built to be temporary. Their provisional nature enabled them to be easily moved to other camps when an existing camp ceased operation.

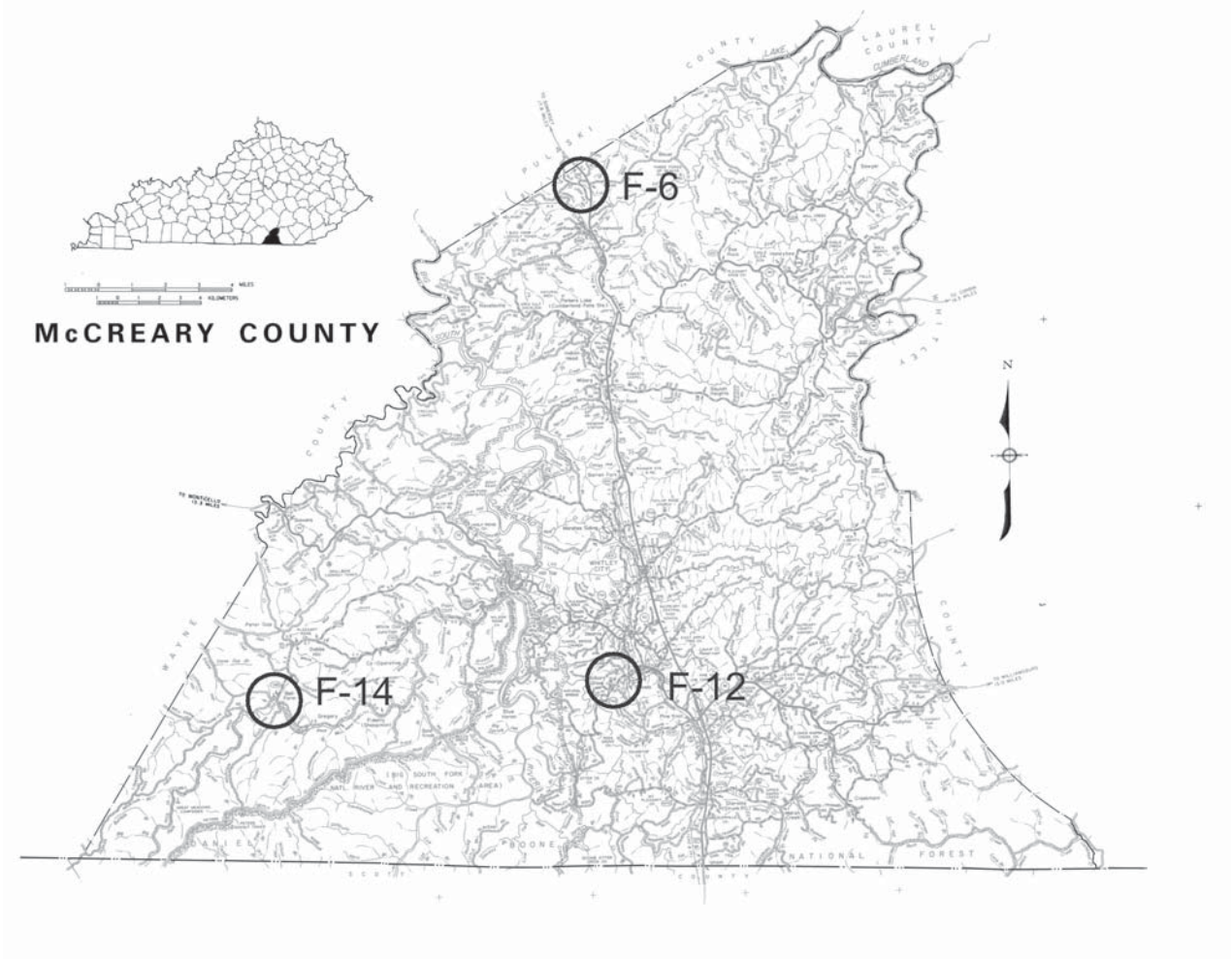
The ephemeral nature of CCC camps makes the likelihood of extant buildings minimal. CCC camp buildings were generally frame and were easily moved from camp to camp. Concrete foundation remains are the most likely resources to be encountered on a site. Generally, foundations are rectangular in form with some type of raised edge rather than a flat slab. The concrete will likely have pebble in its composition and steel rebar used for reinforcement may also be observed.

Features such as concrete stairs or cisterns may be present since these were also made of durable materials. Dynamite magazines made of reinforced concrete or stone may also be present on a former CCC camp site. These structures are small buildings that have only a door and no window openings. Typically, they are banked with earth around their perimeter to buffer the camp from a potential explosion. Water systems, such as stone or concrete dams or iron pipe and drainage ditches, may also be observed. It is necessary to check streams or creeks for evidence of water distribution elements. Generally, CCC camp sites will involve an archaeological survey to determine extant resources from the New Deal period.

CCC Camps Survey Results

The CCC was extremely important to conservation efforts on the large acreage of federal land in McCreary County. Projects accomplished by the CCC enrollees included development of telephone lines, fire towers, foot trails, truck trails, and roads.

The first camp established in McCreary County was the Stearns Company 597, Camp P-65 in November 1933. This camp was eventually disbanded but was soon replaced with Stearns Company 1502, Camp F-12 in the same location. These camp sites were located on National Forest property, until USFS lands were sold to private owners in 1969. The site for the Stearns



Location of major CCC Camps in McCreary County.

camp has been subdivided into housing lots and is no longer intact. No buildings or foundations remain. It is doubtful that archaeological investigations would be fruitful on this site, due to intrusive modern development.

Bell Farm CCC Camp. Photo date unknown. (NARA).

Greenwood Company 523, Camp F-6 was originally a sidecamp to Stearns Company 1502. The sidecamp was an offshoot of the main camp that had approximately 30 men working in a remote location. At some point, the Greenwood Camp became an independent camp and was named Greenwood Company 523, Camp F-6. This camp site was located on National Forest land until the 1980s. The camp site is located on old Route 27 near Greenwood. Based on photographic evidence, the barracks were located by the road. None of the buildings associated with the CCC camp have survived. Initial archaeological field work has yielded some foundation remains and a potentially a cistern, though they are further back from the road. A full survey should be conducted at the site.

Greenwood CCC Camp, circa 1934-35. (NARA).

The Bell Farm CCC camp was also originally a sidecamp to Stearns Company 1502. It was established formally as Company 509, Camp F-14 in 1938. The site of the camp is located at what is now known as the Bell Farm Horse Camp, accessed from Route 1363. A winter field visit revealed several remnants of a poured concrete foundations and one extant building. Four reinforced concrete foundations were located on the site, as well as a concrete staircase. The foundations varied in size, suggesting a variety of uses. Drainage ditches with iron pipe were also identified on the site running from the adjacent creek.

Bell Farm CCC Camp site, 2004. Remaining structure may be a dynamite magazine.

One architectural resource remains extant on the site. It is a small one story structure made entirely of poured concrete including the roof. The only openings are one door and a ventilation pipe in the roof. This building may be a dynamite magazine, given that it appears to be a heavily fortified construction, is distant to the rest of the camp, and is banked with earthen walls.

Foundation remains at the Bell Farm camp site, 2004.

Bridges and Culverts

WPA and CCC archival research has only yielded specific information about just two bridges built in McCreary County. The Nevelsville Road Bridge in the northern part of the county was constructed by the WPA. (GP, PA64M1). The Yamacraw Bridge located in the southern part of the county was built by the Stearns CCC Company 597, Camp P-65. (KHS, RG2001M01).

An October 1940 article that appeared in the *McCreary County Record* states that five bridges and viaducts were constructed by the WPA, resulting in 70 new linear feet of bridges in the county. (*McCreary County Record* 10/15/40, 1). Regrettably, the bridges were not named, though further research might reveal their names and locations. The same article lists construction of 405 culverts equaling 11,963 feet by the WPA during the period between 1935 and 1940.

Bridges and Culverts Typology

Nevelsville Road Bridge, 1941. (GP Collection).

Bridges constructed during the New Deal era varied widely. Bridges could be constructed of steel, stone, log, reinforced concrete, or a combination of materials. Several New Deal agencies were involved with bridge construction including the PWA, WPA, KERA, CWA, and CCC, creating a number of different bridge designs and configurations depending on the location and the agency involved with bridge construction. Bridges could have abutments and piers made of one material and the deck constructed with different materials. In general, most New Deal bridges were small-to-medium sized girder bridges with stone or concrete abutments and a concrete deck.

"Culvert constructed by the WPA." Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Culverts associated with the New Deal also varied in materials. Similar to bridges, they might be constructed of steel, stone, log, or concrete. There were two prevalent types of culverts: the box culvert and the pipe culvert. Box culverts actually act as mini-bridges and can be quite large. They can be usually be seen from the road, as evidenced by a raised edge and are constructed of stone, log, or concrete. Pipe culverts are cylindrical in nature and may be harder to locate because they are less visible from the road. Pipe culverts are constructed of pre-cast concrete or pre-fabricated steel cylinders.

Bridges and Culverts Survey Results

The Nevelsville Road Bridge replaced an existing bridge upon construction by the WPA in 1941. The bridge crosses the "Great Gulf" which is a 60-foot chasm. Without it, travel to the community of Nevelsville would be impossible by car. The bridge itself spans only a short distance between cliffs that are very close together. It has concrete abutments that are fused to the rock and a reinforced concrete deck. There is no ornamentation on the bridge and it is strikingly modern in appearance compared to the stone bridges occasionally built during the era. A small picnic area is adjacent to the bridge, allowing for a scenic overlook of the site. The bridge appears to be mostly unaltered except for the replacement guard rails. It is still in use.

The Yamacraw Bridge was built by the CCC and also replaced an existing crossing. Archival sources describe the new bridge as a raised ford crossing the South Fork River near Yamacraw. The dimensions of the bridge were 200' x 25' x 12' and it was constructed of concrete, stone masonry, and steel. It is unclear whether this bridge is still extant or if it has been replaced by a later bridge. A bridge was located in the vicinity of Yamacraw, but did not quite match the bridge description since it seemed to be much taller and had a distinctive curvature on the bridge span. More research is needed to conclude whether this is the same bridge.

Culverts in McCreary County were built by both the WPA and the CCC. The exact number of culverts constructed during this period is unknown, but there were over 400 built by the WPA. (*McCreary County Record* 10/15/1940, 1). Culverts provided a means of drainage under the roadway, preventing roads from flooding easily. They were generally constructed of native stone, but sometimes were made of poured concrete. Because culverts are located under roadways, they are quite elusive in survey work. No culverts were identified during this field visit. To locate extant culverts would require more intensive, on-foot survey work.

Clubhouses and Swimming Pools

Along with gymnasiums and athletic fields, swimming pools were a common recreational facility built by the WPA. The CCC also built pools, however, these were intended for the enrollees and were less formal in construction.

"Community House and Swimming Pool." Photo taken circa 1937. (GP Collection).

In McCreary County, a clubhouse and swimming pool were built with WPA funds and the Stearns Coal and Lumber Company. (GP, PA64M1). Reportedly, the Stearns Coal and Lumber Company provided additional financial backing for the project. (McCreary County Public Library 1980, 25). If true, this would be an unusual public/private partnership, as match funds were always supplied by local or state governmental entities and not private businesses. Regardless, the recreational complex envisioned by project planners was intended for public, not private use. Construction started in 1935 at the edge of the Stearns Golf Course property.

The clubhouse has a stone foundation that serves as a raised basement. This part of the building also housed filters for the pool and a shower area. The main body of the clubhouse is constructed with logs and the general architectural appearance is rustic. There is a large wrap-around porch that faced both the pool side and the golf course. The swimming pool is a 172-foot long, kidney-shaped basin, made of poured concrete. Construction was completed in 1937.

Clubhouses and Swimming Pools Typology

Clubhouses constructed by the WPA seem to take on a "rustic" appearance, in that the aesthetic of frontier log cabin is often utilized. This aesthetic is accomplished through use of log and stone, and an appeal to the domestic imagery of the house. Typically, foundations walls and chimney stacks were built of stone, while the main body of these structures was log. Often times, these buildings look domestic in appearance with gable roofs and chimney stacks. They almost always have large porches that wrap around the building to take advantage of scenic vistas on the clubhouse grounds.

"Construction of a concrete swimming pool, 65' x 100', in the public park at Stearns, KY." Photo taken 16 April, 1936. (GP Collection).

Archival evidence revealed that swimming pools were primarily constructed by the WPA in the study region. These pools were associated with public recreation facilities, like parks or clubs. The method of construction involved pouring concrete to create a swimming pool form. Rectangular forms seem to have been favored, however, kidney-shaped pools like the one in Stearns were also built. Some swimming pools were built by the CCC, but these were located at the camp sites. These pools were usually informally constructed from an existing pond or lake. Like the camps, CCC pools were not intended to be permanent.

Clubhouses and Swimming Pools Survey Results

The Stearns Clubhouse and Swimming Pool are still extant. The pool is currently not in use. The associated nine-hole golf course that was built circa 1923 by the Stearns Company is still in operation. There are also tennis courts constructed in the 1920s located near the clubhouse. The clubhouse serves as the pro-shop for the golf course.

The clubhouse building has been altered with the addition of vertical wooden siding in the 1970s, and the porch that faced the swimming pool has been enclosed. Integrity of materials and workmanship are undetermined at this time, since original materials are possibly underneath the modern siding. The original form of the building, however, is intact. Therefore, the structure has integrity of design. The interior integrity of the building is undetermined,

though it is believed to have undergone some alteration. It is hoped that the materials on the exterior and interior are merely encasing the original log building. The stone foundation is still visible and appears to be in excellent condition. The swimming pool has been unaltered and retains the kidney-shaped form.

Stearns Clubhouse, 2004

View of Stearns Gold Course, 2004.

Public Infrastructure

The work of the WPA also encompassed public infrastructure, such as sanitary sewers, water treatment plants, sidewalks, and sanitary privies. These projects were undertaken to modernize existing systems and to provide new systems where there were none before. Archival sources indicate that 1.84 miles of sidewalks, one water treatment plant, 13 new manholes and catch basins, 0.59 miles of storm and sanitary sewers, and 203 sanitary privies were constructed by the WPA. (*McCreary County Record* 10/15/1940, 1). Of these resources, only the

"Pine Knot streets and sidewalks constructed by the WPA." Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Wooden privy constructed by the WPA county sanitation project. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

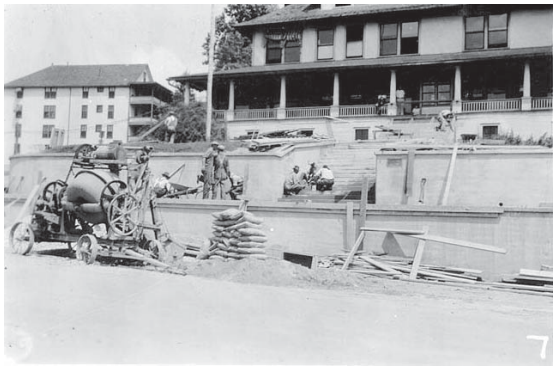
sidewalks were identified in the town of Pine Knot. It is not clear how much alteration has occurred to these sidewalks, though, it could be expected that repairs have been made over time.

Photographic evidence of the WPA sanitary privies indicates that they were wood construction. The construction of sanitary privies was a countywide project and was actually part of a larger community sanitation WPA project intended for 30 counties in Kentucky. The aim of the project was to bring sanitary toilets to rural areas where sewer systems were impractical. No sanitary privies have been located or documented in the county.

The water treatment plant was entirely replaced in early 1960s. The remaining resources related to public infrastructure have not been located at this time. The subterranean nature of resources such as storm and sanitary sewers makes identification difficult. They are also subject to modernization due to technological improvements that have occurred since they were originally constructed. More research should be done regarding these ubiquitous New Deal resources, especially in terms of materials and survival rates.

Miscellaneous

Wall at Stearns Coal and Lumber Company
Nevelsville Road Natural Arch
WPA Relief Office



"Retaining wall on Stearns Street." Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

There are a few resources identified that are singular in their category. The retaining wall in front of what is now the Stearns Museum, formerly the offices for the Stearns Coal and Lumber Company, was constructed by the WPA. Based on historic photos, the poured concrete double-tiered wall appears to remain in intact. (GP, PA64M1). The only minor alteration appears to be that it has been recently painted.

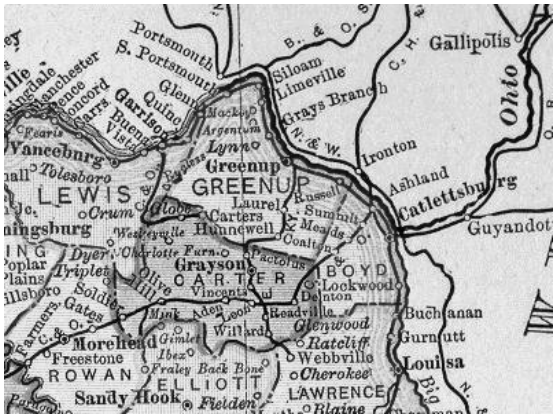
The overlook at Natural Arch on Nevelsville Road looks similar to other WPA overlooks in Kentucky. This resource, however, was not specifically mentioned in any of the archival sources examined at this point. The Goodman-Paxton photo archive does include some pictures of the Natural Arch, but no further information was given. The site has a small, stone outbuilding near the entrance. A path leads to the overlook which has a stone and wood railing. There is also a small amphitheater located behind the overlook. More research will need to ensue to document the potential New Deal association of this site.

Archival sources revealed that there was a WPA office located in Whitley City. WPA offices were located in every county and were intended to provide administrative support for local relief efforts. Based on photographic evidence, this office appears to have been situated in a previously existing downtown building, perhaps built in the 1920s. (GP, PA64M1). The office served as an administrative base for the WPA and possibly CWA and KERA in the county. The building was discovered during field work and currently stands at 211 Main Street in Whitley City. This downtown commercial building is now used for apartments. The original fenestration pattern remains intact as does the building form. The front awning has been altered and the brick has been painted.

This structure served as the McCreary County Work Relief Office in the 1930s. It is currently an apartment building. Photo taken in 2004.

Greenup and Boyd County Site Visit Summary

Brief County Contexts



Detail of an 1895 Map of Kentucky. (Kentucky Land Office, Kentucky Secretary of State, http://www.sos.ky.gov/land/reference/maps/).

Greenup County lies in the Appalachian region of the state, in the northeast corner, and is bordered by the Ohio River and by Boyd, Lewis, and Carter Counties. Greenup County was named for Christopher Greenup, Kentucky's fourth governor. (Kleber 1992, 389). The 350-square-mile area of Greenup County is part of the dissected Cumberland Plateau with an average elevation of 534 feet above sea level. The terrain is mainly steep, narrow hills. The land is more than two-thirds forested, mostly in hardwoods such as red oak, white oak, and yellow poplar. The Little Sandy River and Tygart's Creek flow northward into the Ohio River, dividing the county into three almost equal parts. (Kleber 1992, 389). Mineral deposits include limestone, sandstone, shale, clay, sand, coal, and some iron ore. The ready availability of coal and iron ore made the area a center for smelting iron in the nineteenth century, when river transportation of smelted iron was an important consideration. (Kleber 1992, 389).

Greenup County's economy is broad-based, depending on both industry and agriculture. Eleven surface coal mines produced 1.05 million tons of coal in 1986. Much of Armco Steel's Ashland plant lies in Greenup County, including two huge blast furnaces—Amanda, once among the world's largest, and Bellefonte. (Kleber 1992, 390). The Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, now CSX Transportation, also has a large rail yard located in the county. Combined agriculture receipts in 1986 were $7.2 million, including $4.2 million in crop receipts and $3 million in livestock. Burley tobacco has been the main crop with more than 1.6 million pounds produced in 1988, and the county is one of Kentucky's largest apple producers. (Kleber 1992, 390). The two largest cities in the county are Flatwoods and Russell, which adjoin one another, directly across the Ohio River from Ironton, Ohio. Greenup County's population was 33,192 in 1970, 39,132 in 1980, and 36,742 in 1990. (Kleber 1992, 390).

"Birdseye view of Ashland, taken from the Water reservoir, 1940." (GP Collection).

Boyd County is located at the eastern edge of the state on the Ohio and Big Sandy Rivers and contains 160 square miles. As part of the Hanging Rock iron ore region, this area attracted German and Irish immigrant laborers, ironmasters from Pennsylvania, and wealthy investors from the South and East. (Chappell 1978, 5). A total of 29 charcoal-fueled iron furnaces operated on the Kentucky side of the Ohio River, seven of them in what is now Boyd County. (Jackson 1992, 108). In fact, Buena Vista furnace was built in 1847; Sandy furnace in 1853; Ashland furnace

in 1869; Norton furnace in 1873; and Princess furnace in 1876.

The Kentucky Iron, Coal and Manufacturing Company laid out the town of Ashland in 1854 when it was still a part of Greenup County. The town became a part of Boyd County in 1870. Ashland was soon established as a regional hub due to its access to transportation routes, including the Big Sandy River and numerous railroad lines. (Powers 1992, 36). Much of the city's growth was due to its role as a distribution point for the region's coal, iron, and raw materials. Several industries also located in Ashland include Armco Steel and Ashland Oil. These companies contributed to accelerated growth in the late nineteenth century. (Jackson 1992, 109). Currently, Ashland is the largest in the city in eastern Kentucky. (Powers 1992, 36).

Survey Methodology

This project originally aimed to document WPA and CCC resources in Greenup County. Once archival research commenced, it became clear that a more urban area was needed to contrast with the other three counties. Boyd County was chosen due to its urbanity and proximity to Greenup. It was also decided not to abandon survey in Greenup County because the county is under-represented in the Heritage Council's resource inventory. Therefore, the research team decided to include both counties in the case study.

As with the other county surveys, archival sources were consulted to gain an understanding of WPA and CCC activities in Greenup and Boyd Counties. The *Goodman-Paxton Collection* (GP, PA64M1) and the National Archives WPA indexes at KDLA (NARA 2920) helped to identify resources associated with the WPA in Greenup and Boyd Counties during the Depression era. The CCC Camp Newsletter Collection in the Kentucky History Center's archives (KHS, RG2001M01) and the CCC Alumni Organization (http://www.cccalumni.org/) were reviewed for possible CCC camp sites and projects. According to these sources, there were no CCC projects in either of the survey counties.

The KHC survey inventory was also accessed to yield previously documented sites associated with the New Deal. Two sites in Greenup County and three sites in Boyd County had been surveyed that are associated with New Deal agencies. Four of the five surveys were for WPA resources and one may be associated with the PWA.

"Shaping stones for Greenup Courthouse." Photo taken circa 1938. (GP Collection).

The total number of sites identified from archival sources for Greenup County was 13 resources. This total includes: one court house, three schools (newly built), six roads, one bridge, and two sanitary sewers. There were eleven resources were associated with the WPA and two associated with the PWA.

In Boyd County, the New Deal agencies of the WPA and PWA were very active. There is one resource that has been identified associated with KERA in Boyd County. The total number of sites in Boyd County were: three schools (all demolished), one gymnasium, one stadium, one playground (demolished), one library (demolished), one park pond and bathhouse, one fish hatchery, one prison, five roads, city streets in Ashland and Catlettsburg (quantity and locations unknown), retaining wall near railroad (unknown location), one water tank (underground, not visible), one sewer system (underground, not visible), sewage pumping station (demolished), one water reservoir and pump house (sediment basin), and one water filtration plant (demolished).

Before conducting site visits, local contacts provided information on the status of resources identified in the archival research. This was accomplished by compiling a database of resources previously identified through archival sources which was sent prior to the field visit. The local informants met with the field recorder to discuss the list and identify locations of sites on county maps. Greenup County Librarian Dorothy Griffith, Greenup County resident Darwina Belcher, Ashland Economic Development Director Gail Melvin, local historian and author George Wolfford, Park Recreation Director Bruce Craft, and Assistant Director of the Boyd County Public Services Department Marion Russell served as local contacts for the survey.

Greenup County Survey Synopsis

Surveys were conducted in June and October 2004. Project staff drove the entire county and attempted to record WPA sites. In Greenup County, Routes 1, 2 and 7 were traveled through the central portions of the county. Highway 23 that follows the banks of the Ohio River was traveled from South Portsmouth to the Boyd County border.

Dorothy Griffith and Darwina Belcher were consulted about their knowledge of New Deal era resources in the county. They confirmed which sites were extant and provided approximate locations. Resources in Greenup County were easily located since most of the buildings were associated with identifiable communities.

Greenup County Survey Statistics

Prior to Fieldwork

— 422 sites included in the Kentucky Survey, and 24 sites listed in the National Register
— 13 resources identified for survey
- 4 sites confirmed by locals to be extant
- 1 resource, status unknown by locals
- 8 resources have not been located at this time, therefore not included in fieldwork

Fieldwork

— 5 resources attempted for survey
— 4 resources confirmed extant by project staff
— 1 resource confirmed demolished after survey

Results of Fieldwork

— 2 new resources added to KHC inventory
— 2 sites were resurveyed; updated forms were prepared
— 1 new resource is potentially eligible for National Register listing
— 2 resurveyed sites are also eligible

Resource Survival Rates

— 31 percent survival rate of resources identified in the archives versus resources found extant during field work. 4/13

Future survey work in Greenup County should include WPA roads not yet documented. It is also possible that sanitary privies associated with the WPA might still be extant. Resources associated with other New Deal agencies such as the CWA and PWA should be recorded during future survey efforts.

Greenup County Judge Executive G.W. Burchett, 1942. (GP Collection).

WPA resources documented in Greenup County proved to be fine examples of local craftsmanship. The locally quarried stone gives a unique identity to these historic resources. The Greenup County Courthouse symbolizes the WPA efforts to create durable and distinctive public buildings. The two schools represent the diversity of architectural styles utilized during the New Deal era.

Boyd County Survey Synopsis

Surveys were conducted in June and October 2004. Project staff drove the entire county and attempted to record WPA sites. Highway 23 was also traversed from the Boyd County border South to Cattletsburg. Other roads traveled in Boyd County were Highway 60 and Routes 3, 5, 716, 766**,** and 854. Gail Melvin and George Wolfford assisted in locating extant resources in Boyd County. Additional help came from Bruce Craft and Marion Russell in Ashland, concerning park and public utility resources. Most of the Boyd County sites were located in extant communities. Given the large urban area of Ashland, local contacts Gail Melvin, George Wolford, and Marion Russell accompanied the field recorder to many of the sites. For sites located in the Boyd County's rural areas, local informants provided directions.

Boyd County Survey Statistics

Prior to Fieldwork

— 788 sites included in the Kentucky Survey, and 94 National Register sites
— 21 resources identified for survey
- 6 sites confirmed by locals to be extant
- 2 resources confirmed to have been demolished prior to fieldwork
- 8 resources have not been located at this time, therefore not included in fieldwork
- 5 resources, status unknown by locals

Field work

— 11 resources attempted for survey
- 8 resources confirmed extant by project staff
- 3 resources confirmed as demolished after survey

Results of Fieldwork

— 6 new resources added to KHC inventory
— 3 sites were resurveyed, 2 new forms were prepared, one site was demolished
— 6 new resources are potentially eligible for National Register listing
— 2 previously surveyed sites are also eligible

Resource Survival Rate

— 38 percent survival rate of resources identified in archives versus resources found extant.

Future survey work in Boyd County should include the WPA roads and quarries not yet documented. It is also possible that sanitary privies associated with the WPA might still be extant. Resources associated with other New Deal agencies such as the CWA and PWA should also be recorded.

Boyd County's historic New Deal resources represent a cross-section of property types constructed during the New Deal era. The sports-related resources remain as community landmarks and public infrastructure facilities continue to serve the county on a dependable basis. Central Park's Lily Pond has been thoughtfully restored and provides a unique public resource. The historic resources in both Greenup and Boyd counties serve as excellent New Deal case studies. The following text highlights property types and discusses survey results.

Property Types

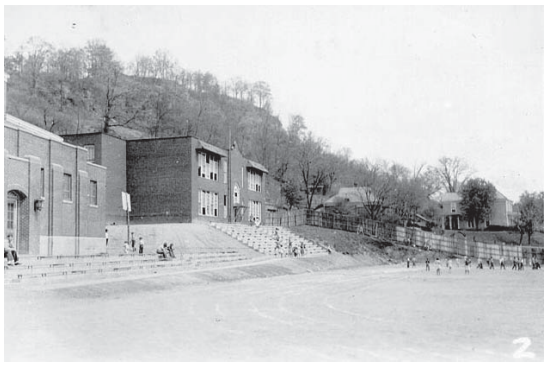
Property types surveyed or identified in the county include schools, gymnasiums, a courthouse, a library, a public park, a prison, roads and streets, quarries, bridges and culverts, sanitary sewers, a waterworks, sanitary privies, a fish hatchery, a retaining wall, and a WPA relief office. The following text highlights and discusses the property types and survey results.

Schools/Gymnasiums/Recreational Fields

Often times, schools were constructed by the WPA, PWA, CWA, or KERA as replacements for dilapidated schools in order to modernize educational facilities in a county. The WPA built three school facilities in Greenup County. In Boyd County, three schools were built by the WPA. (GP, PA64M1).

Fullerton School (Greenup Co.), circa 1939. (GP Collection).

Gymnasiums and other recreational facilities like athletic fields and playgrounds were also constructed during the New Deal era. These property types allowed members of the community and school children to have a dedicated place to engage in physical activity. They also served teams from surrounding communities to play against the home team, providing local entertainment. One gym, one football stadium, and one playground were constructed by the WPA in Boyd County. (GP, PA64M1).



Catlettsburg Playground and Bleachers (Boyd Co.), circa 1938. (GP Collection).

Schools/Gymnasiums/Recreational Fields Typology

Based on WPA photographic and archival evidence, as well as fieldwork, a variety of plans and styles were used for the schools. The two extant schools in Greenup County were built of native stone masonry construction. The coursing patterns and types of stone differed. Both buildings were constructed of square-cut, irregularly-coursed sandstone. Stone dressing for the Greenup County schools was in a rock or quarry face style. The Cannonsburg School was constructed with brick. The bonding pattern is undetermined, as the building no longer stands.

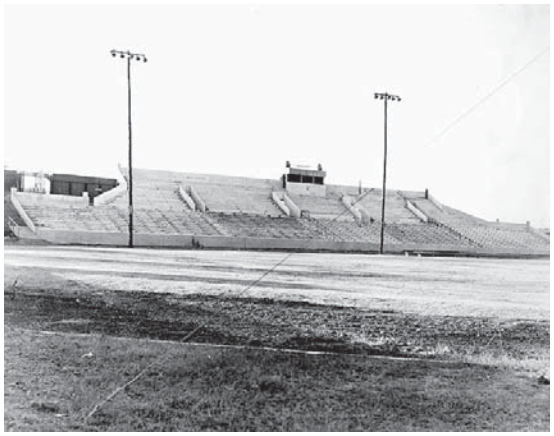
Representative stone work on WPA schools in Greenup County. Fullerton School, circa 1939. (GP Collection).

There is no distinct architectural style used for the schools in Greenup and Boyd Counties. Architectural styles appear to be either influenced by Colonial Revival or Art Deco/Moderne, as well as a regional vernacular style, given the use of native stone. This combination of architectural styles is not surprising since these were fashionable during the time period. Architectural elements like columned porches and divided light windows are Colonial Revival elements that could be seen at Fullerton

Cannonsburg School (Boyd County), circa 1942. (GP Collection).

School and the former Cannonsburg School. The Art Deco/Moderne influence is demonstrated by flat roofs, curved awnings, and vertical relief that one can see at Greenup City School.

Gyms constructed by New Deal agencies, such as FERA, WPA, NYA, CWA, KERA, and PWA, were commonly built as free standing buildings associated with an adjacent school plant. Generally, they were constructed with stone or brick masonry. However, gymnasiums in eastern Kentucky are just as frequently built of frame. Based on the function of this property type, buildings are likely to be rectangular in form to accommodate a basketball court. Gyms are usually double height spaces with high windows to allow for natural light and ventilation.



Ashland (Putnam) Stadium. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Recreational Fields were generally constructed in association with school or park facilities. Generally, recreational fields served as the center for activities such as football, baseball, and track. Given that these fields were often erected for educational purposes, they are typically located adjacent to schools. New Deal playing fields are typically located on flat, level ground, and are generally large enough to accommodate a football field. Often times, stadium bleachers were also constructed for the recreational field. Bleachers were generally constructed with reinforced concrete or stone. Usually, bleachers are located on the sidelines.

Schools/Gymnasiums/Recreational Fields Survey Results

The site visit confirmed that two schools are extant in Greenup County. They are the Greenup City School and the Fullerton School. Both of these remain in use for purposes other than education. The Greenup City School has been converted into apartments and appears to be in good condition on the exterior. The Fullerton School is currently being utilized as a nursing home. The exterior appeared to be in excellent condition. There is a concrete block addition on the east side of the building that does not detract from the original building design. The original building can still be read from the exterior. The interior finish materials have been changed, but the original floor plan appears to have been retained. Unfortunately, a full investigation of the interior could not be conducted, since it is a private nursing facility.

Fullerton School building, 2004.

The WPA schools in Boyd County identified through archival sources were the Cannonsburg High School, the New Normal School, and the Summit School. The site visit confirmed that none of these schools remain extant. Based on historic photographs, the Cannonsburg School was a one-story, brick masonry building with Colonial Revival detailing. It had a gable roof and cupola, as well as a gable front portico entry with columns. No historic images of the New Normal School or the Summit School have been located at this time.

The WPA constructed the Fairview Gym in Boyd County in 1938. It is a stone building that is rectangular in form with a gable roof. The Fairview Gym is extant and is utilized by the Fairview High School as a practice facility. The building and stonework appear to be in good condition, though the original window openings have been covered. The status of the original window framing and glazing is unknown. There are some cracks in the stone masonry, though the mortar joints are in good condition. The interior of the building was investigated and retains much of its original fabric. The original hardwood floor is still intact. There is a stage at one end that is now used for equipment storage. The only other change was that a second level was added behind the stage, though it does not show in the primary space of the gym.

Fairview Gymnasium (Boyd County), 2004.

The Putnam Stadium in Ashland is located at the George M. Verity Middle School on 29th Street. Originally, the school was known as Putnam High School. A field visit confirmed that the stadium is extant and still in use. The poured concrete stadium has two bleachers that run length of the football field. The exposed super-structure of the stadium bleachers remains approximately 75 percent intact. Some sections of the stadium's understructure have been enclosed with brick to create storage space. The original brick masonry press box is situated on the bleachers on the west side. The press box has been altered somewhat through addition of a frame section above the masonry building. The original WPA entrance gate and concession area has been replaced with a modern building that is located on the south side. There has also been a set of bleachers added to the south end of the football field.

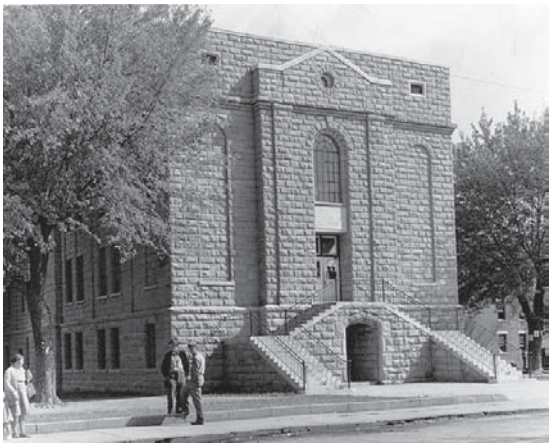
Putnam Stadium, 2004.

Superstructure of Putnam Stadium, 2004.

The Cattlettsburg Elementary School playground and bleachers were constructed by the WPA to serve as a formalized recreational area for students. The site visit confirmed that this resource is no longer extant. The area has been converted into a parking lot and bus loading area.

Courthouses

The WPA, CWA, KERA, and PWA were all involved in constructing courthouses during the New Deal era. Courthouses are located in the county seat and are almost always prominently sited in the central business district. Kentucky courthouse design typically reflects elements of classical architecture and forms, associating the town with the democratic virtues of ancient Greece and Rome. Embodying justice and democratic values, courthouses are often highly symbolic landmarks. New Deal agencies involved in the construction of courthouses followed this same pattern of design and siting.



Greenup County Courthouse. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Archival records indicate that Greenup County's courthouse was constructed with WPA sponsorship.

Courthouses Typology

Courthouses characteristically possess a monumental quality expressing the importance of the building to the county. Functioning as the center of local government, courthouses are generally large in scale. Architecturally, courthouses of the New Deal era will generally have classical elements either expressed in Art Deco or Colonial Revival styles. Materials used for New Deal era courthouses are likely to be stone, brick, or poured concrete.

Interior of Greenup County Courthouse. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Courthouses Survey Results

The site visit confirmed that the Greenup County Courthouse is extant. The two story sandstone building was constructed after the existing courthouse was destroyed in the 1937 flood. The building is sited to the south of the courthouse square and the main entrance faces the west. The structure, which sits upon a large raised basement floor, utilizes rusticated square cut stones that are set in a regular coursing pattern. The courthouse is rectangular in form with a flat roof.

Greenup County Courthouse, 2004.

The courthouse design appears to be influenced mostly by both Art Deco style, though Classical elements such as pediments and engaged pilasters

are expressed in relief. The building has minimal ornamentation suggesting a modern interpretation of these classical elements. A later addition sits behind the building on the east side but does not impact the integrity of the original courthouse.

Libraries

The WPA, PWA, KERA, CWA, and NYA constructed public buildings, like libraries. Libraries were thought to be important buildings that expressed a community's cultural aspirations. Therefore, they typically express monumental characteristics, in spite of their usual diminutive size.

Based upon WPA archival sources, there was one library constructed in the survey area, The Ashland Public Library.

Ashland Public Library, circa 1935. (GP Collection).

Libraries Typology

Since there was no set pattern for libraries built during the New Deal, it is possible to encounter a variety of forms and styles for this property type. It is likely, however, that the libraries constructed during the New Deal era will possess a monumental character. This does not mean that they are necessarily large in scale. Since the inherent nature of a library is to function as a public facility, there will be a formal quality found in the building design.

Libraries Survey Results

The Ashland Library was constructed in 1936. The library was located on the edge of Central Park in the 1700 block of Central Avenue. The one-story gable-roofed building was constructed with limestone masonry in a random coursing pattern. The library's form was rectangular and it rested upon a raised basement. The architectural style employed was Colonial Revival with classical detailing, including a columned porch and cupola.

Survey work revealed that the library building was demolished in the late 1970s to make space for a new library facility.

Park Facilities

Public amenities for parks were developed during the New Deal era. Agencies such as CWA, WPA, PWA, KERA, and NYA were all involved in constructing public space for outdoor recreation such as swimming pools, ball fields, and tennis courts.

Only one WPA recreational resource was uncovered in the archives. Central Park Pool in Ashland was developed through use of WPA labor.

"This view shows the Central Park Pool, constructed with native sandstone and finished with a cement cap. Photographed March 25, 1936." (Boyd Co.). (GP Collection).

Park Facilities Typology

There is no set design for park facilities since there is a wide range of uses. In the case of the Lily Pond, the park was already established and the pond was added. The original pond was bounded by native sandstone and finished with a cement cap, and the WPA bathhouse was also constructed of sandstone.

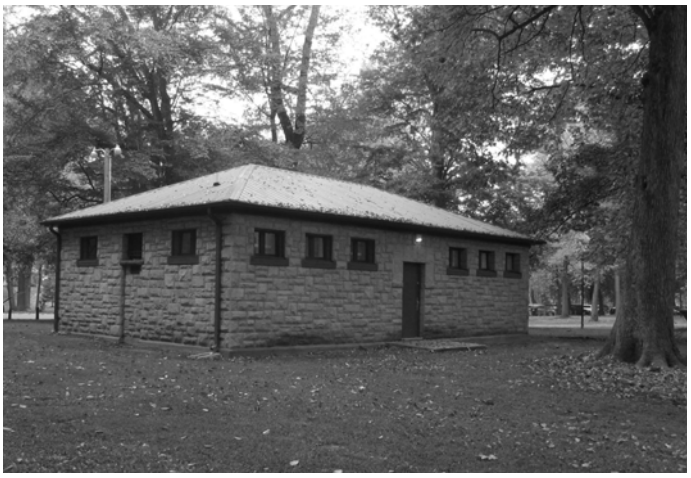
The addition of new recreational facilities and structures, like picnic tables, tennis courts, and pools, to established parks is a common New Deal work project. New Deal agencies were also responsible for the development of entirely new parks as well.

Park Facilities Survey Results

The Central Park Pool in Ashland, locally known as the Lily Pond, and the adjacent bath house were constructed by the WPA in 1935. Central Park itself is a 47-acre facility that dates to 1900. The size of the Lily Pond is one acre. Originally, it was designed to be the shape of Kentucky, however, it had to be altered due to the presence of tree roots. The pond was filled-in during the 1950s, but was restored approximately seven years ago. The original walls and form of the pond are still intact, though, the concrete cap has been altered. Three fountains were also added when the pond was reopened.

Central Park Pool, known as the Lily Pond, 2004.

The Central Park bath house is built of native sandstone, and displays the WPA vernacular style. The one-story building. has a hipped roof and is rectangular in form. There is very little ornamentation on the structure, except for recessed panels on the building's side walls. The bath house has been remodeled to accommodate modern restroom facilities. The original roof covering has also been replaced with a standing seam metal roof.



Central Park Bath House, 2004.

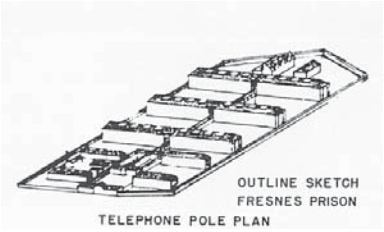
Prison Facilities

The PWA and the WPA were both involved with the construction of prisons and prison infrastructure.

The Federal Corrections Institute (FCI) Ashland Unit was originally built by the PWA in 1938 with roads and sewer connections constructed by the WPA. The prison is located in the town of Summit, five miles from Ashland on the junction of Route 716. This prison was originally intended to house 600 short-term male offenders from the region. It was one of nine correctional institutions constructed during 1936-1939 within the first decade of the establishment of the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

Prison Facilities Typology

The FCI Ashland facility was constructed in 1938-1939, and was one of two facilities utilizing the "telephone pole" design concept. The original site consisted of 22 buildings and support facilities all within the FCI security compound. The complex included: an Administration Building, Hospital and Detention Building, four Cell Houses (C through F), four Dormitory Units (JA, JB, KA, KB), a Dining and Recreation Building, a Mechanical Services Building, a Steam Tunnel, a Commissary, a Laundry, a Power House, three Guard Towers (#1 - #3), a Garage, a Root Cellar, and Sally Port Officer's Station. The latter is the main and only entrance gate into the prison facility. It is a controlled entrance where employees, prisoners, and supplies are brought onto the grounds



"In the classic telephone-pole design, the long connecting corridor bisects the housing units at right angles. All deviations from this, such as that at the new Graterford Prison, in Pennsylvania, have lost rather than gained from the changes made. This telephone pole layout, with modifications and variations, has superseded the earlier overall designs for prisons used in the Pennsylvania and Auburn type of structures, and provides the basis of the most modern and satisfactory prison structures of our day, such as the Federal penitentiaries at Lewisburg and Terre Haute, the U.S. Army disciplinary barracks at Camp Cooke, California, and the Riker's Island city prison in New York City." (http://www.notfrisco.com/prisonhistory/origins/).

The original complex has a coherent design and use of material, among all structures. A majority of the buildings are red brick veneer with reinforced concrete structural systems. The complex's buildings range from one-to-three stories in height. The architectural style employed throughout the complex is

predominantly Art Deco/Moderne, expressed in the brick detailing of the corbelling and quoins, as well as the continuous horizontal concrete bands. Further accentuating the Art Deco/Moderne style, most of the buildings have flat roofs. The administration building, however, also has some Colonial Revival elements that include a hipped roof and cupola. There is also one Quonset hut building in the complex that is used as the Mechanical Services building.

The adjacent Federal Circle housing tract has eleven dwellings on the site. These frame buildings are one-and-a-half stories in height with clapboard siding and gable roofs. The buildings resemble the Sublimity Forest Community dwelling in form and style. (See Section Five, the New Deal and Housing).

Prison Facilities Survey Results

The field visit confirmed that the FCI Ashland facility is extant and is being utilized for incarcerations. Since the original construction of the complex, numerous other buildings have been added to the 40-acres of prison grounds. There is also a tract of housing located to the east of the prison complex on Federal Circle that serves as prison staff housing. Due to the security measures, no photography and no interior access was permitted.

Roads

Greenup and Boyd Counties both sponsored road construction during the New Deal. There were five major roads constructed by the WPA in Greenup County and five major roads in Boyd County. These roads link communities to one another and are often named after a town or geographic feature. Their construction made road travel more efficient and modern among rural communities.

"Flatwood Road constructed by the WPA." (Greenup Co.). Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Roads Typology

WPA roads would have been graded and drained then covered with crushed stone from a local quarry, handmade concrete, a macadamized surface, or left surfaced with dirt. Due to changing technology, these roads have been resurfaced with asphalt, though it appears that in some instances the original road alignments remain intact.

Roads Survey Results

Two of the ten WPA roads in the study area were documented including: Daniel's Fork Road and Straight Creek Road in Boyd County. Based on historic photographic evidence, the Daniel's Fork Road still appears similar to the original construction with the sole addition of asphalt to the road's surface. No historic photographs of Straight Creek Road have been identified, though it is known that the thoroughfare was begun as a CWA project that was transferred to KERA and then to WPA to be completed. (KERA 1934-35, 20). The road did

seem to share characteristics similar to Daniel's Fork Road which would indicate that it is relatively unchanged. Like Daniel's Fork, the road had an asphalt surface that is a later addition.

There are five undocumented WPA roads in Greenup County: Wingo Creek Road, Whetstone Road, Flatwood Road, Alcorn Road, and Cheap to Advance Road. These roads were referred to in archival sources as "farm-to-market" roads. Historic photographs of these roads indicate that they were not surfaced with rock, but were left as dirt roads. The work of the WPA appears to have been concentrated solely on grading and draining the road bed. In Boyd County, there are three undocumented roads: Sharpe's Creek Road, Cemetery Road, and Cannonsburg Road. None of these roads were located during the survey visit.

Concrete Street Construction in Russell (Greenup Co.). Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Since the archives did not provide mapped locations and local informants did not recognize the name or a photo of the resource, the status of many of these roads is unconfirmed. Maps consulted also did not identify these roads. (Kentucky Atlas and Gazetter 2001; Kentucky Department of Highways County Maps). One possible explanation for the inability to locate these roads may be because they have been altered by road-widening or improvement projects, and subsequently renamed or identified solely by route number. In the case of Boyd County, roads that were once rural may have been subsumed by development from the Ashland area.

Daniel's Fork Road (Boyd Co), 2004.

Quarries

Only one quarry was identified through archival records for Boyd County that was operated by the WPA, though there could have been more. (GP, PA64M1). This quarry was a larger-scale type that provided materials for a number of projects.

No quarries were found for Greenup County in the primary source information. Again, this does not mean that there were no local WPA quarries, rather it could suggest that they were not documented by county relief officials.

Quarries Typology

The use of native materials is one of the hallmarks of the New Deal vernacular style. Often times, stone was quarried on-site for schools, roads, culverts, bridges, scenic overlooks, courthouses, and other buildings or structures. This was largely a function of accessibility and cost. Since some of the sites were in remote locations, using stone quarried on-site saved in time and expense. Additionally, the decision to use locally quarried stone saved money on the overall project by avoiding the transportation costs of hauling materials from outside the county. Some quarries served multiple projects throughout the county making them much larger in scale.

Boyd County WPA Quarry. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Since quarries are created from natural sites, their form can vary from site to site. There are both limestone and sandstone quarries in the study region. Typically, quarries are carved out of the sides of hills and mountains, but sometimes are excavated from the ground. Quarries identified in this site visit were located near roadways, facilitating transportation of the stone to construction sites. At active quarries, cranes and stone crushing equipment can be expected. Quarries no longer in use may be obscured with vegetation. Remnants of equipment and tools may also be located on the site. Quarries may also have a stepped, or terraced appearance created as the stone was extruded in layers.

Quarries Survey Results

The WPA quarry was not located in this survey. Archival sources gave no indication of the Boyd County quarry location. Local informants also were unable to identify the WPA quarry site in Boyd County.

Bridges and Culverts

Bridges and culverts were essential in road construction projects throughout the county, providing crossing over geographic features and allowing drainage to avoid flooded roads.

Archival research has only yielded specific information about one bridge built by the WPA in Greenup County. The Kehoe Road Bridge in the southern part of the county was constructed by the WPA. No WPA bridges were identified in Boyd County. No evidence of culvert construct was found in the archival records for Greenup County, probably because culverts were included in road construction projects. There was one culvert identified in Boyd County called the Garner Road Arch.

Bridges and Culverts Typology

Bridges constructed during the New Deal era varied widely. Bridges could be constructed of steel, stone, log, reinforced concrete, or a combination of materials. Several New Deal agencies were involved with bridge construction including the PWA, WPA, KERA, CWA, and CCC, creating a number of different bridge designs and configurations depending on the location and the agency involved with bridge construction. Bridges could have abutments and piers made of one material and the deck constructed with different materials. In general, most New Deal bridges were small-to-medium sized girder bridges with stone or concrete abutments and a concrete deck.

Kehoe Road Bridge (Greenup Co.). Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Culverts associated with the New Deal also varied in materials. Similar to bridges, they might be constructed of steel, stone, log, or concrete. There were two prevalent types of culverts: the box culvert and the pipe culvert. Box culverts actually act as mini-bridges and can be quite large. They can be usually be seen from the road, as evidenced by a raised edge and are constructed of stone, log, or concrete. Pipe culverts are cylindrical in nature and may be harder to locate because they are less visible from the road. Pipe culverts are constructed of pre-cast concrete or pre-fabricated steel cylinders.

"Steel arch on Garner Road built by the WPA." (Boyd Co.). Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Bridges and Culverts Survey Results

The Kehoe Road Bridge is located at the junction of Highways 7, 2, and 784. The WPA constructed this bridge with poured concrete abutments and a steel truss upper structure. Field documentation revealed that the steel truss structure has been replaced by a modern reinforced concrete deck. Original concrete abutments, however, remain intact.

Kehoe Road Bridge (Boyd Co.), 2004.

The Garner Road Arch was a poured concrete culvert that actually served as a small bridge. It appears from photographic evidence that the span was approximately 10 feet. The arch was made of a semi-circular steel pipe encased in poured concrete. Located in a rural section of Boyd County, the Garner Road Arch had a very modern design. Garner Road (Route 3) was traversed in an effort to document the resource. The Arch may have been replaced since it could not be located on the field visit.

Public Infrastructure

The work of the WPA, CWA, KERA, and PWA also encompassed public infrastructure such as sanitary sewers, water treatment plants, and sanitary privies to improve the state of public health by increasing the availability of clean water and proper sanitation. These types of projects were meant to modernize existing systems and construct new systems where none existed before.

In Greenup County, primary sources indicate that sanitary sewers were constructed in the communities of Worthington and Raceland, and a countywide project was conducted to provide sanitary privies. Archival sources indicate that the WPA constructed a deep sewer, a sewage pump station, a water tank, and a water filtration plant plus sanitary privies in Boyd County. The PWA funded the county's sediment basin

Public Infrastructure Typology

Sewers, waterworks, and sanitary privies were key elements to improving the quality of life for county residents. Materials used for these resources are likely to be durable, given their function. Pre-cast concrete and reinforced concrete are likely to have been used for sewers, water tanks, and reservoirs. Filtration plants and pump houses may utilize brick and concrete as primary structural elements. Though generally utilitarian in design, some of these buildings may possess stylistic flourishes. For example, the pump house at the Ashland Sediment Basin has some Art Deco detailing on the exterior walls with low-relief patterns.

Workers at a City-Wide Sanitary Sewer project in Worthington (Greenup Co.). Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Photographic evidence for the sanitary privies indicates that they were small wooden one-story units with vertical boards and shed roofs.

A brief description of the workings of water systems is necessary here to prevent confusion. Waterworks systems are comprised of sediment basins, filtration plants, pumping stations, and water tanks. Sediment basins are man-made Depressions where water is collected and stored to allow solid matter to settle out. Filtration Plants purify the water for consumption by removing organic matter, sediment, and minerals. Water is also treated with fluoride and chlorine at this stage. Pumping stations are used for distributing water to local consumers. Water tanks are utilized for holding treated water for future use.

The process of wastewater treatment involves a complex infrastructure that is largely made of subterranean structures. Sanitary sewer mains collect waste from individual locations. The wastewater is then collected using sewer pump stations and forced mains to get it to the treatment plant. The treatment plant processes all wastewater pumped in through the collection system. Once at the treatment plant, effluent passes through a number of screens, tanks, and beds before being discharged into a water source such as a river or lake.

Public Infrastructure Survey Results

Due to the subterranean nature of sewer systems, some of these resources were not documented during field visits.

The method of constructing sewers in Raceland, Worthington, and Ashland was by excavation through manual labor. Deep trenches were dug to a depth of at least six feet and width of at least three feet. The sewer pipe was then laid into trenches to create a sewer system for the city. These resources could not be documented, due to their below-ground status.

A sewage pump station was also constructed by the WPA for the city of Ashland. The WPA associated sewage pump station for Ashland was demolished and replaced with a new facility.

The New Deal associated Ashland waterworks consisted of a water filtration plant, sediment basin (reservoir), and a water tank. The plant was demolished in the 1950s and a new plant was constructed. The field visit confirmed that the original sediment basin and water tank are still intact and are currently in use.

The PWA constructed sediment basin, or reservoir as it is locally known, is located on 41st Street in Ashland. The nine-acre site was formerly the Cliffside Park Lake. (*The Kentucky City* August 1937, 17-18). The structure is made of poured concrete, formed by hexagonal units that slope down to create the basin. The reservoir has a built-up, poured concrete edge that surrounds the entire border, and can holdup to 20 million gallons of water. There is also a small, poured concrete pump house constructed by the PWA onsite. The sediment basin makes the city's water safer by reducing bacterial load the filter plant is required to carry. (*The Kentucky City* August 1937, 17-18).

Boyd County Sediment Basin, 1939. (GP Collection).

The Ashland water tank was constructed by the WPA in 1938. It was built as an underground tank with a capacity of two million gallons of water. The tank was constructed by excavating a hilltop and then pouring concrete into forms with reinforced steel. Poured concrete columns support the reinforced slab that covers the tank. The underground water tank is not visible, however local informants from the Public Works Department for the City of Ashland confirm that the tank is in use.

Sediment Basin Pump House, 2004.

The construction of sanitary privies was a county-wide project and was actually part of a larger community sanitation WPA project intended for 30

counties in Kentucky. The aim of the project was to bring sanitary privies to rural areas where sewer systems were impractical. None of the sanitary privies have been located or documented in either county.

Miscellaneous

Fish Hatchery
Retaining Walls
WPA Relief Office

The fish hatchery in Boyd County is located on Route 5. It was built by the WPA to supply local ponds and lakes with hatchery-raised fish. A survey visit confirmed that the fish hatchery is mostly intact, but not currently utilized. The project included eleven rearing ponds, of which six still remain on the site. The ponds are rectangular in form and are bounded with poured concrete walls. The hatchery is currently privately owned.

Boyd County Fish Hatchery, 2004.

A retaining wall along one Ashland's railroad lines was constructed by the WPA. Based on historic photos, it was a stone wall with a concrete cap. There was no additional identifying information, thus this resource has not been located at this time.

Archival sources revealed that there was a WPA county relief office located in Ashland. The structure probably also served the relief efforts of CWA and KERA. Based on photographic evidence, this office appears to have been constructed of concrete block and had steel windows. Most likely this office would have served as an administrative base, as well as a warehouse for work materials. The building has not been located.

Ashland WPA Office Building, 1941. (GP Collection).

Section Five

New Deal Case Studies
Introduction

The New Deal affected nearly every aspect of American life in the 1930s. From recreation to public health to transportation and housing, New Deal agencies were involved in creating extensive changes that altered American life.

The following case studies attempt to highlight several important themes associated with the New Deal, including public health, housing, rural rehabilitation, conservation, recreation, education, transportation, and the expansion of governmental facilities. These themes were chosen by the project staff to suggest the broad-ranging impact of the New Deal that may not have been covered in the county survey section.

These case studies are not considered to be an exhaustive list of New Deal areas of interest. Rather, they are meant to highlight certain ubiquitous property types, explain their development by all involved New Deal agencies, and give examples of resources associated with the particular theme. Additionally, if a resource was located during field work that can illuminate the importance of the theme, it will be analyzed, and an integrity evaluation will be forwarded.

The scale for these analyses is on the statewide and East Kentucky regional level. In other words, these studies are meant to begin understanding of the theme on a local or regional level. More research will need to be done on the county or regional level to flesh out these important associations. If used along with local research, the themes should form an important basis for Criterion A nominations or for 106 assessments of resources utilizing Criterion A.

The New Deal and Transportation Infrastructure

> It has been long recognized that roads were particularly beneficial to the rural parts of the Nation. Wide highways offer possibilities of easier and more profitable trade for the farmers; higher standards of living for his family; greater accessibility to schools for his children. Equally clear is the relationship between good roads and tourists—one following the other as cause and effect. Nor is the fact novel that the construction of roads puts many men to work.
>
> Harold Ickes 1935. In Harold Ickes, *Back to Work, 89*.

The New Deal had its most intense effect on transportation infrastructure. In all likelihood, the roads, bridges, sidewalks, airports, and street improvements we enjoy today were begun or improved by a New Deal program.

Roads and Streets

The demand for evenly surfaced roads was immense in the early twentieth century. By the 1920s, the popularity of the automobile and state/federal policies fostered the construction of new, evenly paved roads.

"Rural postman delivering mail to a mountaineer who lives up a creek bed where no cars or wagons can pass. Up South Fork of the Kentucky River, near Jackson, Kentucky." Photo: Marion Post Wolcott, August, 1940. (FSAOWI) .

Cars were quickly adopted by the American public upon mass production in the early 1900s. Across the nation, car ownership rose exponentially. In Kentucky, motor vehicle ownership rose from 20,000 in 1915 to 127,000 in 1921 to 1 million in 1958. (Harrison and Klotter 1997, 314). To accommodate the new machines, good evenly paved roads were needed. And, they were definitely lacking across the United States. Most roads had been undermaintained during the age of the railroad. They simply were not considered necessary. But, with the new automobile, the desire for better access, and the inauguration of the federal Rural Free Delivery (RFD) mail service in 1892, roads became a high priority for state and federal governments. Upon intense lobbying and pressure by the Good Roads movement, an alliance between automobile advocates; progressives and women's rights advocates who believed that roads were essential to education reform; and bicyclists who could not navigate scenic country roads, the federal government became involved in road building across America through the 1916 Federal Aid Road Act. This Act provided monies from the Bureau of Public Roads to state highway departments. From 1923 to 1930, total expenditures for road and bridge construction, in fact, went from $991 million to $2,160 million, indicating a significant increase in the desire for roads. (Gayer 1935, 248). These numbers also demonstrate the efficacy of various federal road acts designed to increase federal and state participation in road building.

The federal government became a long-term partner in road building upon the inception of New Deal programs. All major New Deal agencies participated in road and street construction, in order to provide work relief and to stimulate the construction and transportation industries.

From the CWA to the WPA to the CCC, New Dealers understood the importance of road construction as both providing employment and better communication networks. The American Association of State Highway Organizations in 1933, in fact, agreed that road building should be a priority in relief efforts. "In determining this important question of public policy—the place of road building as an agency of employment during the Depression—we must not lose sight of the central fact that it is imperative for the future of our American civilization to replace the dole with work, and that of all the means of providing work (other than the normal upward swing of the business cycle, which puts workers back on their normal jobs), road building is from almost every standpoint the most satisfactory." (Mertz n.d., 19).

The federal government embarked on a major and ambitious road improvements project through the Works Progress Administration. The WPA offered labor-intensive jobs to boost the economy and provide improvements in local infrastructure. From 1935 until the agency's dissolution in 1941, highway, road, and street projects accounted for $4,418 million or 38.9 percent of total expenditures of the construction and engineering projects. (Howard 1943, 130). Another $758 million went into sewer improvements that directly impacted street and road projects. (Howard 1943, 130). In Kentucky, road building was the highest expenditure as well. According to historian George Blakey, "heavy construction projects consumed a great deal of WPA money in Kentucky, making the state typical of national endeavors. The WPA undertook work on more than fourteen thousand miles of roads; seventy-three thousand bridges, culverts, and viaducts…" (Blakey 1986, 59). WPA road projects were conducted in nearly every county in the state. Examples of road projects in the study area include: Cannonsburg Road in Boyd County, Highland Road in Breathitt County, Abbot Creek Road in Floyd County, and Artemus Road in Knox County.

Typical WPA gravel road. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

The Civil Works Administration (CWA) also had a large, albeit brief, role in the road building frenzy. During its tenure from winter of 1933 to spring 1934, the CWA initiated construction of rural roads and streets across the Commonwealth. Kentucky closely followed the national pattern for CWA, as "255,000 miles of roadway" were repaired or replaced nationwide. (Blakey 1987, 56). Statewide, road projects numbered 1,552 and city street projects totaled 331, which together accounted for 50 percent of CWA undertakings. (Pyne May 1934, 6). All of these roads were graded and drained, then either repaired or newly constructed. For the most part, these roads were built of gravel, dirt, or cement bound macadam, as only 16,000 square yards of high type concrete pavement and 100,000 linear feet of concrete gutter and curb were laid. (Pyne May 1934, 7). A perusal of the CWA records for Kentucky

"Highway near Campton, Kentucky." Photo: Marion Post Wolcott, August, 1940. (FSAOWI) .

indicates that all counties in our study region benefited from graded, drained, and surfaced roads. In McCreary County, for example, roads were the only type of project that was attempted, due to availability and low cost of local materials and a desperate need for better accessibility.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) work division was also responsible for substantial road building projects, especially between 1934 and 1935. According to the Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration records, 2,121 road, street, curb, gutter, highway, sidewalk, and path projects were undertaken between April 1934 and July 1935. (KERA 1935, 10). Of these, 163 miles of dirt road, 248 miles of gravel road, 32 miles of macadam road, and 2.5 miles of concrete road were constructed. (KERA 1935, 10-11). Additionally, 354 miles of macadam road, 29 miles of concrete road, 3,181 miles of gravel road, and 2,303 miles of dirt road were improved. (KERA 1935, 10-11). City street projects maintained a significant share of mileage, with 47 miles of street constructed and 391 miles of street repaired. In all, transportation infrastructure accounted for 61 percent of all KERA projects. (KERA 1935, 10-14). Very little evidence is available regarding KERA road projects in the study area. However, the 1935 KERA report indicates that five miles of Straight Creek Road in Boyd County was widened, regraded, and furnished with a gravel surface. The road was completed for a "total cost of $15,664.67, of this amount the Federal and state relief funds expended totaled $8,500.20 and the remainder contributed by Boyd County amounted to $7,164.47." (KERA 1935, 20). According to the report, the road "serves two primary needs: first it provides a badly needed outlet for the people of the community and will eventually make it possible for them to secure daily rural mail delivery service. Secondly, it has provided a worthwhile project for the utilization of local relief labor." (KERA 1935, 20). The project was sponsored by the Boyd County Fiscal Court and planned by the County Engineer.

The description of road construction located in the KERA summary is useful when thinking about road building of the New Deal era. "As soon as line and grade were set by the County Engineers, a number of men were started on the construction of drainage structures and another gang began clearing and grubbing the right of way. When the latter group had made sufficient headway, a third set of workers began the excavation work and grading of the roadway. Upon completion of the excavation, the roadway was dressed and shaped with a tractor and grader furnished by the county. The next step involved the application of surfacing material which was hauled by trucks from nearby creeks. The gravel was spread to a thickness of six inches and a width of eighteen feet. A finishing crew followed with hand tools producing an even graveled surface and giving a final touch to the shoulders and ditches." (KERA 1935, 20). In sum, road construction associated with the New Deal was highly labor intensive.

Typically known for its high profile federal projects, the Public Works Administration (PWA) was also a road builder, though usually under the auspices of federal and state transportation agencies. Under the initial legislation, the National Industrial Recovery Act, $400 million was appropriated for Federal-Aid roads and an additional $50 million was set aside for construction of park and forest roads. (Gayer 1935, 261). In fact, road and street construction comprised a large majority of PWA federal and nonfederal projects for the life of the agency. Most of this money went directly to the Bureau for Public Roads and was disbursed to state highway departments. In Kentucky, for instance, $7,500,000 was designated from the Bureau of Roads in the first allotment for road projects, of which $1,902,000 was spent on city streets.

(*Kentucky City* March 1934, 7). Of these projects, PWA and state monies were used to straighten "two dangerous curves" on Route 25 in London, and Jackson and West Liberty were able to repave their Main Streets. (*Kentucky City* September 1933, 14). The city of Worthington received a non-federal appropriation of $6,123 for municipal road improvements in 1934. The 1935 renewal of PWA provided for $3,726,271 for federal and state roads, and $3,672,387 for protection of grade crossings, separation of grade crossings, and reconstruction or relocation of highways to eliminate grade crossings.

Lastly, the CCC were responsible for road construction. Though typically concentrated in state or national parks, the CCC also built roads in rural areas intended to connect isolated farming communities to each other and to potential markets. Examples of these types of roads include, McKee-Livingston Road in Jackson County, Sublimity Road in Laurel County, and Parched Corn Road in Wolfe County.

A CCC truck trail. Photo date unknown. (Kylie 1937, CCC Forestry).

The Three Cs also constructed numerous truck trails, in order to complete the system of fire suppression in forested areas, and they built hiking trails to provide tourist access to recreational amenities. In addition to fire suppression, truck trails provided remote areas with all weather access to roads. (*The Wildcat* 11/28/36, 1). Before truck trails were constructed, local roads were frequently washed out during inclement weather. By using modern construction techniques, the CCC developed a road system that local residents could use year-round. Truck trails served as a dependable transportation system that had wide ranging benefits. "These roads open up a territory, rich in resources and thickly populated, that never had the advantages offered by good roads. Now, the people living there can get their products to market and in turn will find it profitable to produce more than they have been accustomed to doing, thus increasing their wealth." (KHS, RG2001M01). The *Civilian Conservation Corps Camp Newsletters, 1934-1941* yielded information about the construction of 60 truck trails in the study area. A sampling of these truck trails includes Fugitts Creek Truck Trail in Harlan County, Sycamore Truck Trail in Johnson County, and Motley Fork Truck Trail in Pike County.

New Deal Roads and Integrity

Most New Deal roads will need to be evaluated utilizing Criterion A for the association with road modernization in the state or in a particular locality. New Deal roads are somewhat difficult to evaluate, and will depend on the road encountered and its significance in county or state history. In general, New Deal roads do not retain their original paving materials, but may maintain the grade and original roadbed alignment. The latter are essential *design* elements in the assessment of these roads. Other elements of integrity to be considered are *location, setting, feeling,* and *association*. The road's *setting* will be important to conveying its significance

as a rural farm-to-market road or as an urban thoroughfare. The *setting* must continue to convey these associations, and the road's *location* must not be changed. If the road possesses its *setting*, *location*, and *design*, it should retain integrity of *feeling* and *association*. In other words, integrity of *design*, *location*, *setting*, *feeling*, and *association* are important to convey the road's association with the New Deal. The road must convey a medium level of these elements.

Highway 15 in Perry County is an example of a WPA era road that has lost its integrity of design, and is no longer eligible for the National Register. The original alignment, an important element of design, no longer exists. As a result, the road does not read as a New Deal resource. Photo taken in 2004.

New Deal Case Study: Marsh Creek Road (McCreary County)

Marsh Creek Road, originally known as Salyersville Road, was constructed by the WPA in order to modernize McCreary County's road system. The road was described in the Goodman Paxton photo archive as, "one of the prettiest road projects in the state." (GP, PA64M1 Box 35, Item 3451). Currently, the road retains its original *design*, in that it appears to be of the same general size and configuration as it was in the New Deal era. The road was built without shoulders and remains in that condition today. Additionally, the road has the same basic *setting* it had in the 1930s. The photographs below show that the roadbed exists in a similar rural setting, defined by a valley and small mountains around its perimeter. The road's surface *materials* have changed. Currently, it is paved in asphalt. The original materials are unknown, but from the photos appear to be of crushed stone gravel or of a macadamized surface. In spite of this alteration, the road is eligible for the National Register under Criterion A for its association with the road modernization program of the local officials and the WPA in McCreary County. It retains integrity of *setting*, *location*, *design*, *feeling*, and *association*. Integrity of *materials* has been compromised, but this element is not as necessary in conveying the road's significance as *design* and *setting*. Integrity of *workmanship* is on the low end of the scale, since the design conveys a sense of *workmanship*, in spite of a loss of materials.

Marsh Creek (Salyersville) Road. "One of the best road jobs in the state." Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Marsh Creek Road, 2004. This road has experienced very few alterations and is eligible for the National Register for its association with New Deal road modernization in McCreary County.

Bridges

Since Native American settlement, bridges were constructed to ford particularly difficult crossings, over water or over gorges and valleys. As with roads and streets, bridges were a priority for most New Deal builder agencies. They were important in efforts to modernize the state's infrastructure. During the New Deal era, bridges were built for pedestrian, railroad, and automobile traffic. These bridges came in various sizes and design types and were constructed of diverse materials. The commonality among most New Deal bridges is the use of local or regional materials and craft traditions.

A WPA Bridge. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

In terms of typology, New Deal automobile bridges appear to be small to medium size beam (girder) bridges with a concrete deck and stone or concrete piers and abutments. "A beam or 'girder' bridge is the simplest and most inexpensive kind of bridge…In its most basic form, a beam bridge consists of a horizontal beam that is supported on either end by piers. The weight of the beam pushed straight down on the piers." (http://www.uwlax.edu/globalengineer/draft/project/Types%20of.html).

In the East Kentucky study area, many auto bridges have beam type concrete decks with stone piers and abutments. Examples of these types of bridges include the Main Street bridge in Whitesburg, and the Jeremiah and Ulvah Bridges in Letcher County. Just as commonly, though, New Deal bridges in the region were constructed with handmade concrete piers and deck, like the Nevelsville Road Bridge in McCreary County. An anomaly in the region is the Cornelia Street Bridge in Letcher County. This bridge was constructed of a stone arch design by Italian stonemason and Whitesburg resident, John Palumbo. The stone was quarried nearby, transported to the construction site, and dressed by skilled stone masons.

New Deal agencies also constructed several pedestrian bridges. These bridges were typically constructed of wood or log and were generally swinging bridges. The agency most associated with pedestrian bridge construction is the CWA.

No railroad bridges were discovered in the survey area, as of the writing of this report. However, it is expected that the PWA and WPA constructed these resources in our survey area.

All Kentucky New Deal work agencies participated in bridge construction. Bridges were considered part of the overall campaign to modernize roads and highways in the state. Between July 1935 and January 1938, the WPA, for example, were responsible for

Swinging bridge near Ary, (Perry County) KY. (FSAOWI).

WPA Culvert in Boyd County. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

320 new bridges and 410 bridge repairs of structures averaging 30 feet in length. (*Kentucky City* April 1938, 6). Of these, approximately 36 were built in our study region. Examples of East Kentucky WPA bridges include all of the structures in Letcher County mentioned in the county survey section, as well as the Pikeville suspension bridge (scan Patrick file), the Kehoe Bridge in Greenup County, and Tiger Road Bridge in Clay County. Another important bridge builder during the New Deal was the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. KERA partnered with local communities to develop 576 new bridges and 446 bridge repairs. (KERA 1935, 12). It is unclear how many bridges were constructed in the study region, because of a lack of data. However, if the work of its antecedent the WPA is any indication, it is assumed that there were a sizable number developed in East Kentucky.

CWA and PWA also built bridges in Kentucky. As noted earlier, from November 1933 to March 1934, the CWA conducted nearly 2000 streets and roads projects, some of which also contained bridge projects. (Pyne 1934, 6). In our study area, the CWA was responsible for nine single bridge projects and four countywide multi-bridge projects, though the number is probably much higher due to a lack of uniform reporting standards for road projects. ((NARA RG 2920, Series 65-67, CWA 1934). The CWA improved and built several wooden pedestrian bridges in our study region. In Leslie County, for instance, a "number of rustic bridges were constructed over small streams, to accommodate the school children, making their travel to and from school more safe, and not making it necessary for them to rely on some log or timber that was temporarily thrown across the stream. These bridges were constructed of two or three long slender logs, that were trimmed and faced to receive cross slats, made of small poles to serve as bridge flooring. These bridges have side rails and make a very serviceable, picturesque and safe means of crossing the stream. Swinging bridges were also a project in this county, used for a similar purpose where the stream was too wide to permit the construction of the other type of bridge. These swinging bridges were supported with wire cable anchored at either end, to which were attached the supports for holding the bridge platform. The floor construction of this bridge was similar to that of the bridge above." (NARA RG 2920, Series 65-67, CWA 1934, 1114).

PWA sponsored bridge projects in the state through the State Highway Commission and the Civilian Conservation Corps, along with other federal agencies. PWA also funded a few non-federal bridge projects. Approximately 14 non-federal bridge projects were conducted in the state, of which three are located in the study region in Cumberland (Harlan), Harlan (Harlan), and Prestonsburg (Floyd). (NARA Record Group 135, Entry UD-19). More research is recommended to further understand federal-state partnership in bridge building in Kentucky.

The CCC also constructed bridges for automobiles and pedestrian usage. These structures were mostly built in conjunction with state or national parks and typically employed the rustic architectural style associated with natural materials like stone and wood. Examples of CCC bridges include: Arch Bridge in Pine Mountain State Park, Bee Rock Bridge in Laurel County, Indian Creek Bridge in Jackson County, and Beech Fork Bridge in Leslie County.

CCC truck trail bridge. Photo date unknown. (Kylie 1937, CCC Forestry).

New Deal Bridges and Integrity

Bridges constructed by New Deal agencies can be nominated to the National Register under Criterion A or C. Criterion C nominations should look at the bridge as an example of the particular agency's design values. For example, the WPA is known for its commitment to materials and workmanship, so a WPA bridge should retain those elements to effectively tell its story. In general, there should be a medium-to-high value placed upon integrity of *materials* and *workmanship* for most New Deal bridges nominated under C. On the other hand, New Deal bridges nominated under Criterion A can have a low-to-medium level of integrity of *materials*, *workmanship*, *feeling*, and *association*. Under both Criteria, the bridge must retain its integrity of *location* and its *setting*.

Pauley Bridge in Pikeville. A WPA project. Photo by Burgess and Niple, Inc. 2005.

New Deal Bridge Case Study: Ulvah Bridge (Letcher County)

The Ulvah bridge in rural Letcher County was constructed by the WPA to cross over the Line Fork Creek. The girder automobile bridge used three distinctive stone piers to support the deck. These piers appear similar to stone masonry undertaken on other New Deal projects in Letcher County, in that they are massive, square cut dressed stone with raised mortar joints

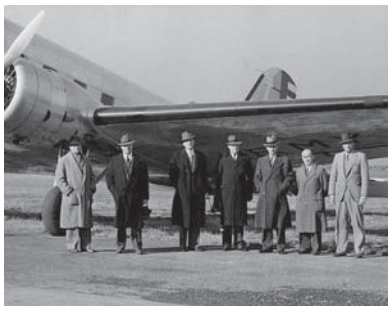
Ulvah Bridge stone piers. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Ulvah Bridge, 2004.

laid in regular courses. The material of the original roadbed is unknown, as the historic photographs only show the piers being constructed.

Currently, the Ulvah Bridge remains in its original *location* across Line Fork Creek, and retains its massive stone piers. The *setting* for the bridge has changed little since its construction, and the structure reads as a resource associated with the New Deal in Letcher County. The *materials* located on the deck appear to have been replaced in the last 30 years, though the massive stone piers remain in place. Therefore, the bridge has a medium-to-low level of integrity of *materials* and *workmanship*. The Ulvah Bridge is eligible for the National Register under Criterion A for its association with road modernization by local officials and the WPA in rural Letcher County. The structure overall retains a medium level of integrity and is clearly recognizable upon examination as a New Deal bridge.

Airports



"These are the members of the party of Federal Office making a flying inspection trip of airports throughout the country built or improved by the WPA. The photograph was taken just before their departure from the Washington, D.C. airport." November 1937. (GP Collection).

Airplanes, which were officially invented in 1904-05, became hugely popular with successful use in WWI, the speedy delivery of transcontinental mail beginning in 1918, and Charles Lindbergh's transatlantic flight in 1927. (Armstrong 1976, 187). As with automobiles, airplane enthusiasts and the US Postal Service alike needed some form of infrastructure to support their endeavors. But, the federal government did not see this as within their purview until the New Deal. Rather, federal officials insisted that airplane facilities were the responsibility of private industry or local government. A special governmental committee in 1925 stated this view rather succinctly, "Federal policy toward airports should be analogous to its policy regarding seaports and the encouragement of water navigation. In the latter field, the Government makes charts, establishes and maintains light houses, dredges channels, furnishes weather forecasts and storm warnings, and provides for inspection and licensing, but leaves to municipal authorities the control of port facilities. In aid of air navigation the Federal Government should chart airways, establish and maintain emergency landing fields, furnish weather-report service, and provide for inspection and licensing, but leave to municipal authorities the control of airports." (Armstrong 1976, 192). The 1926 Air Commerce Act, signed by President Coolidge, provided for all the purposes stated above, excepting airport development. The creators of the Act believed that funding air facilities would bankrupt the federal government and enlarge the government beyond necessity. (Armstrong 1976, 192-193).

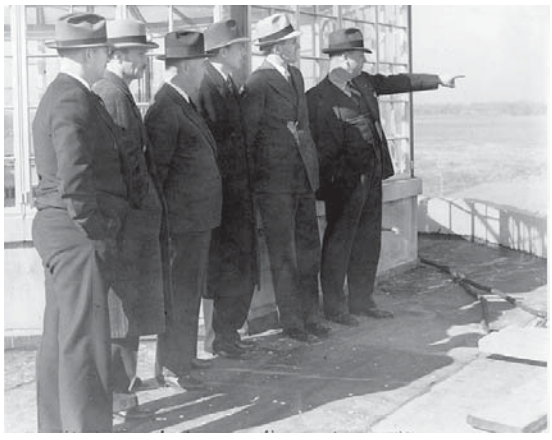
In terms of airport development, the first airfields were essentially mowed grass fields or level pastures. But, in the 1930s, with the development of larger and heavier airplanes, new facilities were warranted that would make use of longer, more durable runways, better drainage systems, improved field lighting, and some form of air traffic controls. (Armstrong 1976, 195). To get an idea of the dizzying speed with which airplane technology changed, consider this, "During the mid 1930s, most large municipalities had managed to prepare for the twenty-one passenger, twin engined DC-3s. By 1938, however, they were being urged to make further improvements to receive the forthcoming forty-passenger, four engined airliners. There were only five airports in the United States—Cleveland, Oakland, New Orleans, Memphis, and

Wichita—that could accommodate these forty-passenger planes…City fathers were not enchanted with the prospects of financing the necessary improvements. They knew all too well that following the forty-passenger airplanes would come even larger passenger carriers." (Armstrong 1976, 194). In other words, new planes needed improved infrastructure in the form of longer runways and better paving materials; all of which fell within the scope of local financiers or local governments.

Upon the financial hardships of the Great Depression, local government finances and private capital were extremely constrained. Airport development, which had once been a growth industry, withered away to nothing**.** "Between 1925 and 1928, the number of airports increased by 30 percent. But, when the stock market crashed in 1929, airport development immediately declined. In 1930 private investors and municipalities spent $35 million on airports; in 1931, $20 million; in 1932, $5 million; in 1933, a mere $1 million." (Armstrong 1976, 193).

Against this backdrop, the New Deal became involved in air field development. Between 1933 and 1945, the CWA, FERA, PWA, WPA, and Civil Aeronautics Authority (CAA) built 1,066 and improved 3,029 airports nationwide. The CAA, another New Deal agency, was established in 1938 in order to "establish civil airways, provide improvements for air navigation facilities, survey existing airport plants and recommend airport improvements, regulate air traffic along the airways, recommend safety measures, and investigate accidents." (Armstrong 1976, 190). Many of the early 1930s airports were "minimal" facilities, due to a lack of adequate planning for new technologies and the absence of need for airport facilities in many small municipalities. Therefore, "about 60 percent of them subsequently returned to grass." (Armstrong 1976, 194). Airports constructed under the CAA, WPA, and PWA generally survived and flourished post WWII.

In Kentucky, the CWA contributed greatly to the expansion of airports. According to a *Kentucky City* article in May 1934, "Kentucky as a state has lagged far behind in the matter of airport development. This is due in part to the sparsely settled condition of the state and also to the absence of large urban area within the borders of the state. Early during the CWA program, the Federal government announced a nation-wide program for the construction of emergency landing fields throughout the nation. This program provided that wherever a municipality would furnish the necessary ground, CWA labor and material might be utilized for the construction of an emergency landing field." (Pyne May 1934, 6-7).



Federal Officials inspect Louisville airport, November 1937. (GP Collection).

Apparently state officials were interested. Nineteen airports were begun by the CWA in 1933. These sites were planned by the state, so that "an emergency landing field would be available from almost any point in Kentucky." (Pyne May 1934, 7). Of these air fields, Middlesboro, Jackson, Louisa, Williamsburg, and Beattyville were located in the East Kentucky project area. Work on the sites ranged from grading an old airport in Jackson to building a new municipal airport in Williamsburg to grading and marking a new airport in Beattyville. (*Kentucky City*

March 1934, 7). Kentucky appears to have followed the national trends in terms of CWA airport development. A September 1937 Kentucky City article states, "Airports were begun under CWA, but there was no support to complete them, leaving fields under or undeveloped. Practically all cities of any consequence now have airports. Indeed under the urging of enthusiasts, officials and otherwise, many cities, villages, and even unincorporated rural areas acquired lands by leave or purchase for airports and did much work toward their development under CWA." (*Kentucky City* September 1937, 6).

Upon the reduction of CWA projects, the KERA work division continued unfinished air field endeavors. In 1935, KERA lists 19 airports as being constructed, two improved, two airport buildings constructed, and two airport buildings improved. (KERA 1935, 13). Clearly, these 19 airports were hold over projects from CWA; since it is certain that little was accomplished in the way of airfield enhancements, as in November 1937, merely 18 airports are listed as operating in the state. (*Kentucky City* November 1937, 12). No details were included about the nature of KERA airport projects.

Very little data is available to document the WPA, PWA, or CAA involvement in Kentucky airport development. Currently, no CAA archives have been discovered for Kentucky. Perusal of the Goodman Paxton WPA archive suggests that there was one WPA airport project in the survey region, which was in Middlesboro, a former CWA project. In fact, a March 1936 synopsis of WPA projects indicates that one airport project was in process, which is likely to be the Middlesboro facility. (*Kentucky City* March 1936, 21). The only other airport known to have a WPA connection is the Blue Grass Field in Lexington, constructed by the WPA in 1941.

Middlesboro Airport, 1936. (GP Collection).

In any case, because of constant airport upgrades, it is unlikely that a New Deal era airport remains intact. However, if one does exist and it has a moderate level of integrity of design, workmanship, location, association, and feeling, it will be eligible for the National Register under Criterion A as representative of New Deal efforts to modernize the state's transportation infrastructure. In the project area, Middlesboro, Jackson, and Williamsburg currently maintain airports. Survey has not been done yet to determine integrity of these sites.

The New Deal and Education

> *In addition to creating employment, causing a flow of building materials and stimulating industrial activities, it was PWA's aim to place in every part of the Nation school structures that would stand long after the program was ended as monuments to its social vision.*
>
> *Harold Ickes 1935, Back to Work, 92.*
>
> *But PWA has been able to help his [rural families] children to take advantage of the roads to secure a better education. PWA has money to spend for school buildings and for certain educational equipment and it quickly became aware of the link between roads and a new more desirable type of rural education. From districts where new roads were built came request for new schools.*
>
> *Harold Ickes 1935, Back to Work, 89.*

Educational buildings are a ubiquitous New Deal building type. New Deal school buildings and gymnasiums are located in nearly every county in every state across the nation that were built by the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the Public Works Administration (PWA), the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the Civil Works Administration (CWA), and the National Youth Administration (NYA). It is important to remember that many New Deal agencies are responsible for school construction, not just the WPA.

Morgan County High School, a KERA/WPA project. Photo taken in 2001. The building is now used for city offices and a community center.

Education was an extremely high priority for New Dealers, second only to and certainly connected with improving transportation networks, like roads and streets. PWA Director Harold Ickes, one of the most influential New Dealers, states the essential nature of schools and roads as follows: "The new rural schools, made possible by good roads, are quite as modern as the best city schools. Where it was necessary to have eight one-room schools in the past, there is now a single eight-room school. The children are grouped together according to age and ability and they are taught by a teacher who is experienced in handling their particular problems..The larger and modern building has a marked effect upon the health and attendance, and in it is housed far superior equipment, both for education and recreation. Moreover, the consolidated schools serve importantly as a community center for the adult life of the area. The same rooms in which the children are taught, and the same buses, can be used to give

"County superintendent at square dance party during school pie supper near Jackson, Kentucky." Marion Post Wolcott, 1940. (FSAOWI).

people of the farms an opportunity for recreational, educational, and cultural activities hitherto denied to them." (Ickes 1935, 90). In sum, New Dealers thought that schools were important to the educational, social, and cultural life of the entire community.

Given this philosophy, it is no surprise that a large proportion of New Deal work relief efforts went to school building construction and school site improvements. The building program of the major long-term new Deal agencies was consumed by educational facilities. From 1933 to 1935, for example, the PWA, "had allotted approximately $137,604,560 for school construction all over the country, including erection of new buildings, extensions on older schools, and repairs. Of this total $126,646,363 were for State, municipal and district school buildings. Construction resulting from these allotments will total $164,745,41, the difference coming from local school districts. In addition, PWA advanced $10,958,197 as outright grants to Federal education institutions for buildings." (Ickes 1935, 91).

The WPA, for its part, also spent much money on school facilities. From 1935 to 1941, $404 million was spent in constructing and improving school buildings. (Howard 1943, 130). This number does not include gymnasiums and athletic fields built at school sites. A selected number of accomplishments between 1935 and 1941 suggests the magnitude of these investments. 5,584 new school buildings were constructed, and 31,629 were repaired. Additionally, 5,898 athletic field and playgrounds were built, while 11,849 were improved. (Howard 1943, 127). According to a 1943 study, "Public buildings constructed or reconstructed included more than 110,000 public libraries, schools, auditoriums, or other public buildings. If only the new buildings constructed were distributed evenly among the 3,000 counties in the United States, each could have had about ten." (Howard 1943, 128). CWA, NYA, and FERA were involved to a lesser extent in school construction, mainly because their tenure was not nearly as long as the PWA and WPA. In spite of this, these agencies participated in school construction and repairs, as well as school landscaping and athletic field development.

Kentucky and New Deal Schools

Every county in the state of Kentucky has a New Deal school facility, whether it is a grade school, a high school, a gymnasium, or a university building. Some review of Kentucky school facility history is necessary to understand the impact of the New Deal on the state's educational plant.

The 1934 School Code was among the many measures intended to address problems within the school system. Based upon several successive studies, the school code attempted to codify existing school legislation into a single usable book, and add new legislation that addressed prominent difficulties. Perhaps the most important measure included in the act was the simplification of school administration. Before 1934, there were three types of school districts: the county, the city, and the independent district. The county districts covered the rural areas, while the independent and city districts were established respectively in small towns and metropolitan areas of the first four classes. Louisville, Lexington, and Maysville were

considered city districts by virtue of their exemption from the regulations of the 1838 school law. City and independent districts maintained superior schools because of the concentration of wealth and interest in urbanized areas. In other words, they had a wealthier tax base and a larger population of educated residents. Thus, they paid higher taxes and received schools generally equivalent to those across the nation. The rural districts, however, were poorer, and could not afford high quality teaching staff, good buildings, etc. Additionally, there was a need to keep children working to support the family. Therefore, there was less of an incentive to support school systems. The school code attempted to correct this problem by abolishing city districts, and maintaining independent districts only if they contained 200-250 white children of school age.

"Morris Fork School, built since Mrs. Marie R. Turner has been county superintendent. She is trying to consolidate all the schools and build them of stone since so many of the mountain schools have been burned down several times. She has been encouraging an activity program emphasizing creative arts and crafts using their native clay, wood and other materials. Breathitt County, Kentucky." Photo: Marion Post Wolcott, September, 1940. (FSAOWI).

Many independent districts could not meet the new requirements and were forced to merge, along with the city districts, with the county system. While this had the effect of adding some interest and wealth to the county districts, it also began the process of school consolidation in Kentucky. School consolidation was the rallying cry for progressive educators and New Deal agencies working in the Commonwealth. Consolidation of small, "inefficient" schools into larger county schools was believed to be the only effective way to operate the state school system. Efficiency was not merely gauged in terms of financial expenditures. It was also measured according to the number and quality of educational programs that could be maintained. For example, a small one-room school did not have the funds to hire specialized teachers for graded programs, nor were there funds for better equipment or a larger building. The sole way to make this program feasible was to transport students to a central location where they could benefit from a large building with diverse spaces, like gymnasiums and libraries, and teaching staff with distinctive specialties. Additionally, students from diverse backgrounds could learn from one another. In a sense, the consolidated school became a small urban area in and of itself.

"Overcrowded conditions and poor equipment in rural mountain school. In Breathitt County, Kentucky." Photo: Marion Post Wolcott, August, 1940. (FSAOWI).

The ability to consolidate schools was related to improvements in the system of roads throughout the state, and to the affordability of the personal automobile and motorbus. Put simply, a navigable, consistent system of roads and a reliable form of transportation had to exist for this system to thrive. By the mid-1930s, a somewhat coherent system of federal and state roads was in place in the majority of the Commonwealth. Eastern Kentucky was not connected as thoroughly due to the difficulties in traversing this mountainous region. Thus, consolidation of the school system did not occur as rapidly in the eastern portion of the state.

By the early 1950s, there were merely 3,000 one-teacher schools in the state, as smaller schools had been merged into larger county schools. (Butler 1963, 125). When compared to the 5,000+ one-room schools in operation in 1936, this figure seems to indicate that the consolidation movement was somewhat effective. (Butler 1963, 15).

At the same time, federal relief programs enhanced the school system throughout the state. The WPA, PWA, CWA, and KERA were the single most important element in the effort to consolidate schools. Federal building funds were used across Kentucky to construct new brick, stone, and frame school buildings, classroom additions, cafeterias, gymnasiums, and other related educational structures. Many of these substantial structures were built to accommodate students from one-and two-room schools in rural areas. The buildings were also meant to serve as community centers through utilization of the cafeteria and gymnasium for entertainment purposes, and classroom space for adult education programs. From 1930 to 1939, Kentuckians conducted 1,758 education-related building projects with a total cost of $24,780,627. (Butler 1963, 16). The federal government contributed $9,708,921 to the projects, which consisted mainly of construction of new buildings and additions. (Butler 1963, 16). In addition to this program, the federal government also contributed funds and expertise for a school lunch program in 1943. Thus, schools were able to operate cafeterias, instruct students on proper nutrition, and provide training in agriculture, industry, and domestic economy for students and teachers.

WPA School lunch program in Kentucky. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

In terms of actual agency involvement, the WPA and the PWA were perhaps the most successful in construction of facilities and improvement of school grounds in Kentucky. Through local sponsorship, the PWA contributed 247 university, elementary, and high school buildings to the state, or 41 percent of all PWA projects. (NARA Record Group 135, Entry UD-19). In our project area, the number of PWA school projects was approximately 45, though the number is much higher due to recording methods which grouped schools together as one project when held in a single county. Examples of PWA schools include: an auditorium/gymnasium in Artemus (Knox County), a school addition in Grayson (Carter County), and a high school in Middlesboro (Bell County). Typically, PWA schools and additions are large consolidated schools, constructed of brick or stone.

The WPA, which has become synonymous in many places with the New Deal, also conducted school projects in Kentucky. WPA schools can be large, consolidated brick or stone structures, or they can be smaller, one-to-two room schools built of frame. The type of WPA schools seems to depend on transportation networks in a county. For example, in mountainous Letcher County, between 38 WPA schools or school additions were planned; most of which were small, one-and-a-half story frame structures. On the other hand, in more level McCreary County, twelve school facilities were developed under the auspices of the WPA. All of these structures were built of stone or brick and most of the buildings contained between two and six rooms. This disparity seems to indicate that mountainous areas, with difficult road systems, constructed numerous small schools, while areas with better transportation and more level ground, built the preferred bigger consolidated school facilities. In any case, from 1935 to 1938, the Kentucky WPA was responsible for 310 new school buildings, 610 school rehabilitation projects, 90 newly built athletic fields and playgrounds, and 40 improved athletic fields and playgrounds. (Kentucky City April 1938, 7). In the East

Small two-room WPA school in Letcher County. Little Cowan School, circa 1937.

Kentucky study area, 139 schools, gymnasiums, and athletic fields were constructed by the WPA. Examples of these include: Campton High School (Wolfe County), Hitchens School (Carter County), Fairview Gym (Boyd County), and Carr Creek School (Knott County). The WPA also constructed facilities for African American school children. In our study area, approximately five WPA schools were constructed for Black Kentuckians in Hazard, Pikeville, Manchester, Harlan, and London.

Smithtown School, McCreary County. An example of a large stone WPA consolidated school. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

The CWA, NYA, and KERA also constructed or improved schools and school grounds, albeit on a much less frequent basis. CWA is responsible for an estimated 17 school projects. The majority of these are multi-school endeavors in which the CWA repaired old buildings or made improvements to school grounds. For example, Breathitt County repaired and completed 30 county schools; Greenup County began construction of a gymnasium/auditorium that was completed under KERA; London (Laurel County) performed general repairs to its city school and built a new stone entrance and concrete walk; and Perry County initiated erection of the Hazard Colored School that was continued by KERA and WPA. Like the CWA, the National Youth Administration also made repairs to school buildings and improved school grounds. Though there is nothing close to a comprehensive project list for NYA, their priorities, which included "repair, painting and general beautification of city buildings and property, repairing and manufacturing furniture for municipal buildings and schools, construction of recreational facilities and landscaping," indicates that they were definitely involved in school projects. (Baxter 1936, 20). In our project area, the NYA prepared a playground and tennis courts in Corbin, built five playgrounds in Middlesboro, and graded tennis courts and planted shrubbery on school grounds in Williamsburg. (Baxter July 1937, 11).

Pikeville "Colored" School, circa 1938. (GP Collection).

Lastly, KERA built seven schools with capacity of one to 50 students, seven schools with room for 51 to 500 students, and one school with ability to house over 500 students. KERA transferred 45 schools to the WPA work program to be completed. Additionally, KERA workers improved and made major repairs on 262 schools, and made minor repairs on 844 school faculties. KERA also constructed or improved twelve children's playgrounds, 42 athletic fields, five auditoriums, and eleven gymnasiums. Examples of KERA school buildings include: Burning Fork School in Magoffin County, Caney School in Breathitt County, the Board of Education Building in Carter County (demolished), and Morgan County High School in West Liberty, which was completed by the WPA.

Caney Consolidated School (Breathitt Co.). A KERA project. (KERA 1935, Annual Report).

New Deal Schools and Integrity

New Deal era schools are typically important to their respective local community for the association with the modernization and consolidation of small schools in a county. And, as noted before, the materials and design vary from county to county, and region to region. There is not one ubiquitous New Deal school building type. It will be necessary for Section 106 evaluations or National Register authors to look at school buildings throughout a county in order to show one school's importance.

To convey this significance, these schools should retain integrity of *location*, i.e. the building may not have been moved. However, the school program could have relocated elsewhere; the building does not have to be in use as a school. Integrity of *materials* and *workmanship* are also important. Given the highly labor intensive endeavors of most New Deal agencies, the craftwork on these buildings can be quite impressive. Additionally, the *materials* are typically local in nature, in that the WPA, CWA, NYA, and KERA always used locally specific material in their projects. PWA did not use local materials, typically, but the materials were of high quality nonetheless. The appearance of New Deal schools varies from one locale to another, based upon available native materials. In sum, integrity of *materials* and *workmanship* make these structures unique and should be considered in the integrity evaluation. However, when using Criterion A for a school's importance to the development of modern facilities in an area, the level of integrity can be moderate. In other words, removal of historic windows is not sufficient to make a New Deal era school ineligible. The entire building envelope, including structural materials, doors, windows, should be assessed to determine integrity of materials.

Carr Creek School (Knott Co.), 2004.

Integrity of *design* should also be a factor in any evaluation of a school. In general, New Deal schools should retain a medium level of integrity of design. They should not have received an addition that subsumes their original massing. However, an addition that can be clearly read as an appendage does not detract from this element of integrity. Additionally, their interior spaces must still read as a school, with corridors and classrooms in evidence. If the school retains a moderate level of integrity of *design*, *materials*, *workmanship*, and *location*, it should clearly present integrity of *association* with New Deal building programs. Additionally, integrity of *feeling* will be evident as well.

If a school possesses a medium to high level of integrity of *design*, *materials*, *workmanship*, l*ocation*, *feeling*, and *association*, it should be considered eligible for the National Register. Integrity of *setting* is not necessary to conveying a school's significance usually.

New Deal Case Study: Whitley City Elementary School

Whitley City School. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Whitley City Elementary School was constructed by the WPA and the McCreary County School Board in 1937 for a cost of approximately $75,000. The 13-room, two-story structure was built of local stone, and was completed in 1939. Like many other New Deal school buildings, Whitley City Schhol utilizes an Art Deco/Moderne design. It has a flat roof, topped with concrete coping at the roof line and decorative stone quoins at wall junctures. Perhaps the most distinctive element of the building is the solid square cut, quarry-dressed irregular coursed stone work. Concrete lintels with colonial revival keystones sit atop the original six over six wood frame windows. The large building represents the New Deal era movement toward more efficient consolidated schools in the 1930s.

Currently, Whitley City Elementary School serves as a first through fifth grade school. However, the school is set to close in the few months, upon completion of a new elementary school nearby. The fate of the original Whitley City School is uncertain.

The school remains in good condition. The building's *setting* and *location* atop a large hill in Whitley City has not been altered. The structural stone walls, its most distinctive materials features, look as they did at the time of its construction in 1937. The building has had two additions; one of which may have been built by the NYA as a cannery and farm shop. Both of these additions are connected to the structure by breezeways and do not impact the building's shape or form. Field investigations have also shown that the floor plan of the school has not experienced significant changes. Therefore, it retains integrity of *design*. Additionally, the school retains its historic wood windows and decorative lintel caps. It appears that the top window sash has, in most instances, been covered over by painted plywood. The main alterations consist of removal of the top window sash and replacement of the original wood double front doors. Enough *materials* and *workmanship* remain to demonstrate integrity of materials and workmanship. Therefore, Whitley City School has integrity of *design*, *materials*, *setting*, *location*, *feeling*, and *association*. The school is eligible for the National Register under Criterion A for its association with the development of large consolidated schools during the New Deal era in McCreary County.


Whitley City School, front façade. Photo taken in 2004.


Whitley City School, rear façade. Photo taken in 2004.

The New Deal: Housing and Rural Rehabilitation

Housing

During the New Deal, the concept of public-sponsored housing became a reality. At least since the turn of the twentieth century, there had been a movement to encourage the government to sponsor low-cost public housing for the "worthy poor." For decades, reformers like Edith Elmer Wood and Catherine Bauer stressed that slums were breeding unhealthy families who were unable to escape the confines of poverty. (Wright 1981, 220). Bankers, real estate agents, and homebuilders countered these arguments with calls to stop socialistic public housing, as it would destroy the moral fiber of the poor and could destroy the market for private housing.

Example of "substandard" housing in Lexington, KY. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

By the time of the Great Depression, though, it became clear that the government would and could intervene to assist the poor in the housing crisis. In 1933, the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) Title II created the PWA and included in its directives "construction… under public regulation or control of low-cost housing and slum clearance." (Robinson, Bobeczko, Luisgnan, and Shrimpton 2002, 13). This addition did not happen accidentally, but was the result of many years of lobbying by the National Public Housing Conference, a nonprofit advocacy group.

Many of the government's programs were concentrated in rural areas and concerned rural people. However, the PWA Housing Division focused on improving living conditions for the urban poor, though their main charge was to employ skilled workers in the construction industry. While initially experimenting with low-interest loans to limited dividend housing corporations, the PWA began the practice of direct governmental "slum" clearance by 1934. PWA officials would purchase slum housing, raze it, and construct new public housing in its place through the "Housing Division." The agency would then select residents for low-cost rental units. Residents were selected from the working poor; the extremely poor were not invited to live in these initial projects.

In 1935, the PWA was restricted from direct construction of public housing by the Supreme Court. After this time until its demise in 1939, the PWA partnered with local or regional housing authorities to construct public housing. Within four years, the PWA "was responsible for destroying more than ten thousand substandard housing units and erecting almost twenty-two thousand new units in fifty-nine different projects." (Wright 1981, 225).

Direct built PWA housing is known for its attention to quality, regional and experimental modernist design, and provision of amenities, such as refrigerators and indoor toilet facilities. Interestingly, these modern conveniences angered many private builders and home owners, as public housing was perceived as nicer than affordable private options. (Robinson, et. al. 2002, 13-28).

The typical PWA housing development has been described as follows, "public housing projects constructed in America between 1933 and 1937 are best defined as a grouping of multi-family, low scale, residential buildings which were organized on a site, around large open spaces and recreational areas, as part of a larger and deliberate plan." (Robinson et. al. 2002, 21). The new housing was designed by government architects, who used a somewhat experimental approach in design and provision of amenities. (Wright 1981, 225). For example, designers were particularly intrigued with how to give residents air and light, as well as public art and shared amenities, like pools, playgrounds, and laundries.

In 1937, Congress passed the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act, further cementing the local-federal housing partnership. The Act created the United States Housing Authority (USHA) and charged it with provision of housing for the extremely poor. USHA furnished 60-year low interest loans, with ten percent down, to local governments for housing construction. "By the end of 1940, there were 350 USHA housing projects completed or under construction across the country." (Wright 1981, 227). There are currently no known examples of PWA or USHA housing projects in the eastern Kentucky project area.

Many other New Deal agencies experimented with public housing. Most of these entities were not just concerned with housing the disadvantaged, but also providing them with employment, better land, and opportunities for communal enterprise. The most significant of these programs was focused on rural rehabilitation—of people and the land.

Rural Rehabilitation

During the 1930s, the Depression was not the only factor contributing to rural decline. All across the United States, but especially in the Plains, there had been a severe drought that further reduced farmer's incomes. Regrettably, poor land management practices, combined with a lack or rainfall, caused the most severe conditions in the west and midwest of the country. Soil depletion and dust storms engulfed areas west of the Mississippi. Consequently, land abandonment and transiency became important problems. These factors joined to create a major rural crisis, even in eastern states such as Kentucky. Though there was a small-scale drought in Kentucky of the 1930s, the real issue was a decline in farm prices, the high rate of tenancy in the eastern part of the state, and large scale destruction of the land through over-farming and destructive practices of the logging and coal industries.

In order to address this crisis, the New Deal established programs centered on solving the farming problem. First among these was the PWA's Subsistence Homestead program under NIRA Title II, which moved farm workers to experimental agricultural colonies and moved industrial workers into wholesome newly built suburban surroundings. The program attempted to combine farming with part-time work in industrial undertakings. In addition to these efforts, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) offered small loans to farmers to educate them regarding soil improvement

Farmstead in Kentucky, near Hyden. Photo: Marion Post Wolcott, October, 1940. (FSAOWI).

Above: "Mr. Back, FSA borrower, with his new mowing maching which he purchased through a community cooperative FSA. Noctor, Breathitt County, Kentucky." August, 1940.

Below: "Josh Calahan's new home and new barn. Southern Appalachian Project near Barbourville, Knox County, Kentucky." November, 1940. Both photos: Marion Post Wolcott, (FSAOWI).

and proper farming techniques. In May 1935, both of these programs were condensed within the new Rural Resettlement Administration (RRA). The RRA, as noted in previous sections, was responsible for rehabilitation of marginal and sub-marginal farm lands and construction of new housing for displaced families. RRA constructed large scale discrete communities, like the suburban "Greenbelt" towns, as well as housing meant to integrate the displaced farmer into an already established community. The Farm Securities Administration (FSA) subsumed the RRA in 1937 and included assistance for tenant and sharecropper families as among its top priorities. Again, housing was constructed and rehabilitated through FSA. In general, these projects provided decent modern housing, but they also had as their charge an effort to rehabilitate residents.

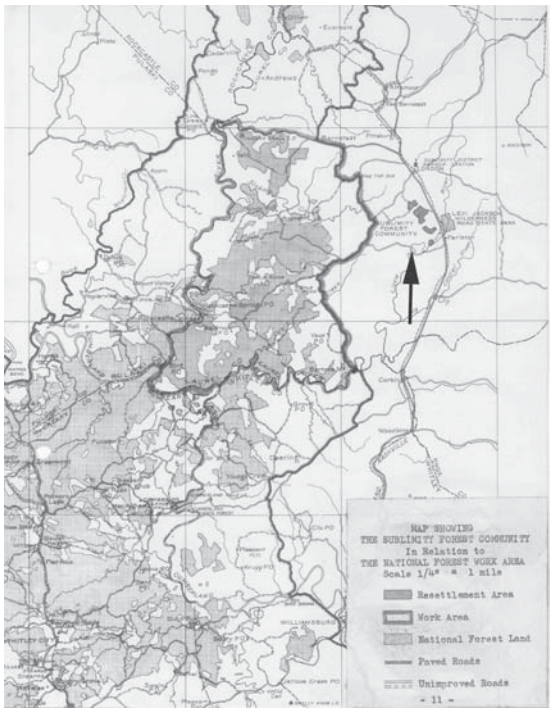
Other New Deal programs that directly affected housing include the Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC), which rewrote existing mortgages as low-cost long-term mortgages for urban homeowners. The Farm Credit Administration (FCA) did the same for rural dwellers. In all, HOLC "had rewritten more than nine thousand Kentucky mortgages valued at $25 million" by April 1935, and the FCA "rural rescue efforts had cost approximately $43 million in long-term loans to the state. The eighteen thousand Kentucky farmers and nine thousand urban dwellers who escaped foreclosure were doubtless grateful for the New Deal's willingness to establish precedent regarding property ownership." (Blakey 1986, 32-33).

New Deal Case Study: Sublimity Forest Community

The Cumberland National Forest was formally established in February 1937 to include portions of Bath, Estill, Jackson, Laurel, Lee, Madison, McCreary, Menifee, Owsley, Powell, Pulaski, Rockcastle, Rowan, Whitley, and Wolfe Counties. (Collins 1975, 200-201). The forest had been in planning stages since at least the early 1930s and had gained the elevated status of a National Forest area, upon Roosevelt's advocacy. The Cumberland Forest purchase area, which contained some 1,338,214 acres, also included a large number of residents within its borders. 48,000 people or 8,000 families lived in the forest boundaries. (Collins 1975, 210). A great many of these families were permitted to stay in the forest area, though they had to sell their land to the US Forest Service and obtain special use permits to continue residence. General characteristics of the occupants of Cumberland Forest were perceived as being hard scrabble at best. According to a Forest Service Report, for example, "the average farm was 87 acres of which only 17 acres was harvested cropland; …the value of all farm products annually was

$759 and almost one-half the value of products was consumed by the family [denoting subsistence conditions]; …4 percent had electric lights in the dwelling, 6 percent had running water, 3 percent had bathrooms—at this time this was 75 percent lower than the average farm in the United States." (Collins 1975, 211).

It is within this backdrop that the Rural Resettlement Administration and the US Forest Service (USFS) established the Sublimity Forest Community. Initiated by the Forest Service, with regard to the impending national forest purchase area in 1933, Sublimity was developed under the authority of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935. The RRA partnered with the Forest Service to create Sublimity Farms in Laurel County Kentucky and Drummond in northern Wisconsin. (Hedges 1947, 5; Haswell 1987). The project was administered by the Forest Service on the district level, and guidance and monies were provided by the RRA, which by 1937 had become the Farm Securities Administration (FSA). Sublimity became widely known across the state. *Kentucky City* magazine noted in its November 1935 edition that the "state was to have a new town known as Sublimity thanks to the Rural Resettlement Administration." (*Kentucky City* November 1935, 12)



Map of Sublimity in relation to the National Forest area. (Hedges 1947, History of the Sublimity Forest Community. Hereafter Hedges 1947).

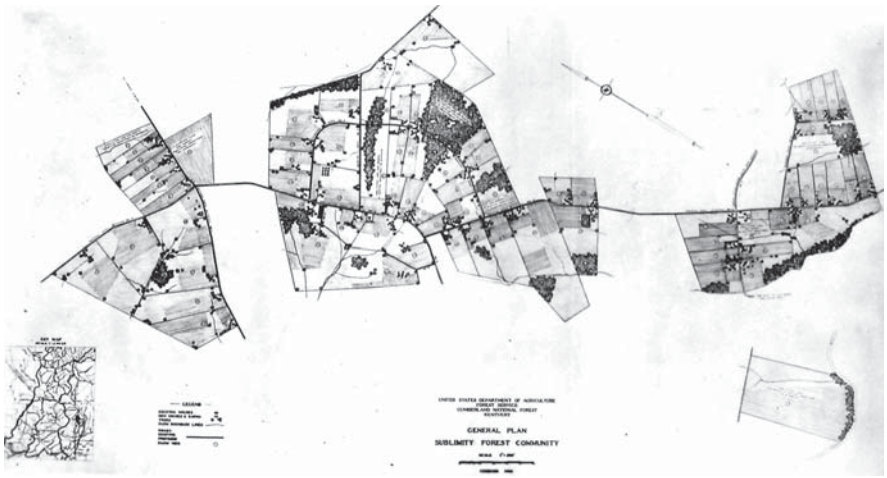
A typical farm house in the National Forest area. (Hedges 1947).

The project was to house, employ, and rehabilitate 66 marginal farm families who lived in the Cumberland National Forest area. The families were to lease small farmsteads from the USFS, and they were to participate in part-time employment in the timber or other USFS industries on the Cumberland Forest land. Lease payments were based upon the resident's ability to pay and ranged between $6.50 and $12.00 a month. Additionally, families were to keep model farmsteads, subject to inspection by the RRA or the USFS. Sublimity residents were not required to sign a contract that specified their tenure in the community. Residents stayed anywhere from a few weeks to the duration of the project. In terms of residential selection, the process was

Sublimity housewives meet with the community social worker. (Hedges 1947).

somewhat complex and will not be dealt with in this case study, though some general principles will be shared. All families must have lived in the Cumberland Forest boundary area; all families must have two parents and children, though young couples intending to have children were approvable; men had to be between 20 years and 40 years in age, while the approvable wife was 18 years to 35 years; and the families had to meet certain income criteria. (Hedges 1947, 17).

Beginning in 1935, the USFS purchased a total of 583 acres of land from twelve separate landowners in the Laurel County Sublimity Ranger District. The land was adjacent to the forest, but not located literally within the preserves. The initial plan for Sublimity was to situate it close to the forest for ease of transport, but also to make certain it was distinct to preserve the virtues of "wholesome country life." (Hedges 1947, 10). With these principles in mind, the Sublimity site plan was developed by the USFS landscape architect, D'Arcy Bennett, in conjunction with the University of Kentucky cooperative extension agents.



Sublimity Site Plan. (Hedges 1947).

In 1936-37, Sublimity[8] was constructed outside London (Laurel County) by 169 WPA skilled non-relief workers[9] and 333 WPA relief workers. The community consisted of 66 farmsteads complete with: "1 dwelling house with appropriate landscaping 4,5,7 rooms, a well, gravity water system (hand operated from well), bathroom, heating stove, cooking stove, hot water tank, kitchen sink, septic tank, 1 combination root cellar and coal house, 1 barn, 1 chicken house (either separate or built into barn), 2.3 to 26.5 (average 6.8) acres of farm land (well fenced), 1 graveled driveway, 119.6 acres of farm land in 9 tracts, ranging from 5.3 to 37.4 acres available to community occupants for pasture and cultivation on the basis of need and desire." (Hedges 1947, 27). The houses themselves were referred to as Type 6A (5 rooms), of which 13 were built; Type 7A (5 rooms), of which 15 were built; Type 8A (4 rooms), of which 18 were constructed; and Type 9A (4 rooms), of which 15 were constructed. (Hedges 1947, 17). At this time, it is unclear what the difference was among these types in plan, as no floor plans have been found and sufficient field work has not been attempted. In addition to the domestic realm, roads were built and improved within the community; a community center, a warehouse, and a supply shed was constructed; and general landscaping was done throughout the project area. No schools or commercial enterprises were developed by the government to serve the

[8] The name Sublimity does not refer to some New Deal state of utopian living, but was the name of the area prior to the establishment of Sublimity Farms.

[9] Non-relief workers were laborers chosen from the free marketplace, based upon skills needed for a project. It was WPA policy to select workers from local relief rolls first. In some cases, though, it was necessary to employ skilled laborers off established unemployment lists to construct a particularly technical project.

community. Therefore, Sublimity was never intended to be a self-sufficient community, like the RRA's "greenbelt" communities.

In addition to the WPA, other New Deal agencies shared in the construction of Sublimity. The CCC constructed the combined root cellar/coal houses, and performed routine maintenance and repairs on the property, including road improvements. The NYA assisted with maintenance tasks as well, like painting and yard work. (Hedges 1947, 6 and 41). NYA female students also participated in home-making tasks and used ten of the houses as residence centers. (Renneisen 1941, 4). "The NYA houses sixty girls from Laurel and surrounding counties for thirteen days at a time. Then another sixty arrive for a similar length of time." (Renneisen 1941, 4). According to this article, the girls learn homemaking skills, "the hard way," that is through utilizing methods they would employ in their own homes.

Houses within Sublimity were built of frame construction and were clad in wood siding. Most of the houses had six-over-six wood frame windows with non-functional ornamental shutters. A brick chimney was visible on the roof's ridgeline and the house's entry was either on the eave side (long end) or located facing the driveway on the gable end. Occasionally, houses had both types of entryways. There was no roof overhang; the roof ended flush with the walls. This eave treatment created issues later on with drainage. All of the house types had front and side porches and stone or concrete block foundation walls. Additionally, houses had a fully modern kitchen, sanitary facilities, and a small water tank in the attic. The outbuildings, which were located adjacent to the house in the domestic yard, were also constructed of wood frame. The small barn (14' x 20') was built with board and batten siding and had two levels. The top story was a hay loft, as there were two large doors for easy loading and removal of hay, and a hay hood with a fork. The bottom level was probably meant for storage. The large barn (16' x 20') appears to have been frame construction as well. Large barns always contained a chicken house within its walls; domestic yards with smaller barns had separate chicken houses. No good photos could be obtained of the larger barns, but they appear to be of vertical board construction. The combination root cellar/coal house was similar in appearance to the small barn in its use of board and batten siding. Apparently, the combination structure, which was designed by architects in the "regional office," was fraught with construction failures and had to be rebuilt within a year by the

A type 9A house in Sublimity. (Hedges 1947).

A type 6A house in Sublimity. (Hedges 1947).

A small barn at Sublimity. (Hedges 1947).

CCC. (Hedges 1947, 28). According to descriptions, the original structure set on posts and had four-inch thick sawdust-packed walls. The redesigned building had a concrete foundation and ten-inch thick walls.

In spite of a few construction difficulties, the community's soundness was instantly praised by RRA officials. Mr. Irwin of the RRA wrote, "This is a construction record about which the Forest Service may justly find great satisfaction. In addition to the excellent time record, the quality of craftsmanship is to be praised. The workmanship is excellent from foundation to roof." (Hedges 1947, 24).

In 1945, Sublimity was liquidated by the USFS, due to improved economic conditions after the War and a desire to disengage in experimental housing projects by the USFS and the FSA. The farmsteads were placed up for sale and began a long tenure in private ownership. It is not yet evident whether Sublimity residents purchased their houses at this time. More research needs to be done on this matter.

In terms of the sociological impacts of the program, it is unclear whether Sublimity was a "success." At least 103 families lived in the community with an average occupancy of 18 months. (Mastran and Lowerre 1983, 60). According to Hedges, the majority of the residents were better off, though his statistical analysis shows that most families returned to tenant farming. (Hedges 1947, 71). In the end, Hedges states that, "the seasoned consensus appears to be that except for experimental and demonstration purposes such projects have little or no place in our economic and political and social set-up." (Hedges 1947, 80).

Case Study: Sublimity Current Conditions

The community of Sublimity has received reconnaissance survey work by KHC project staff. From this initial field work, it appears that many of the Sublimity houses remain standing and some of the barns and outbuildings are extant. However, it also seems that much of the original land surrounding the houses has been subdivided and contemporary housing has been constructed on these new lots in the last 30 years. As a result, some of the setting of Sublimity has been destroyed. In other words, Sublimity seems to have been subsumed by suburban development from the city of London. More work needs to be done to prove this assertion. If true, this does not mean that the community is not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Rather, it may be that smaller areas untouched by modern suburban development or single farmsteads would qualify to be listed in the National Register; a district approach may not be warranted. Therefore, it is recommended that a focused study and intensive field work be done in Sublimity, in order to determine eligibility.

During field work, project staff surveyed one original house at 611 Sublimity School Road.[10] The dwelling appears to be a Type 6A house with five rooms. Entry to the house is on the side (south façade) directly into the original porch, which is now an enclosed vestibule. The first room encountered is the living room. The room retains its original wood paneling, though it

House at 611 Sublimity School Road, 2004. South façade.

Rear façade of 611 Sublimity School Road, 2004.

has been painted a lighter color. The original stair is situated against the far wall of the living room and leads to two small bedrooms on the upper story. A hallway is located off the living room, through which the bathroom and master bedroom can be accessed. Entry can also be made into the combined kitchen/dining room area from this passage. The kitchen/dining area can also be accessed near the front entrance.

The house retains its original wood cladding, however, many of the windows have been replaced and a new porch has been appended to the south façade of the house. A dining room and bedroom addition has been made to the rear (east façade) and south façade. None of the original outbuildings survive. In sum, 611 Sublimity Farm Road has had many alterations, but they do not significantly detract from its original appearance. The house is clearly identifiable as a Type 6A and maintains the necessary characteristics of *feeling* and *association*. The original massing and style of the house is discernable on the interior and the exterior, which denotes integrity of *design*. The house has not been moved and, thus, has integrity of *location*. The dwelling does not possess integrity of *setting*, as the rural farmstead has been compromised. The house probably maintains enough *materials* and *workmanship* to argue this element of integrity as well on a nomination form. Therefore, the house has four definite elements of integrity and is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, under Criteria A. It is important for its association with the USFS and FSA Sublimity Forest Community. Archival research could give it additional significance for association with another New Deal agency, such as the NYA, or rural rehabilitation efforts in Laurel County.

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[10] Special thank to Anglee Smith of the Laurel County Historical Society and Madgel Miller owner of 611 Sublimity School Rd for assisting in the field work.

The New Deal and Public Health: Waterworks, Sanitary Sewers, and Privies

Leaders in the public health field have all recognized that it would be too much to hope that public health would escape the effects of the years of economic depression and that such effects were bound to find, sooner or later, concrete manifestations in increased mortality and morbidity. The surprise is that such manifestations have not come sooner.

J.F. Blackberry, Kentucky Department of Health. In *Kentucky City* April 1935, 21.

A safe and wholesome water supply is absolutely essential to any community. We have plenty of evidence as to what will happen to a community which has an unsafe water supply. Thousands upon thousands have paid the price of long illness or death by being infected with the typhoids and dysenteries through bad water.

F.C. Dugan, Chief Engineer for the State Board of Health. In *Kentucky City* December 1933, 24.

Background

Public health became an institutionalized concern during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Progressive era. Scientific and medical communities concluded that in order to prevent communicable diseases such as cholera and typhoid fever, cities and towns must have proper sanitation and water treatment systems. (Diehl 1951, 385).

"Outwitted by community sanitation ; [sic] Community sanitation planning keeps flies away from deadly disease germs..." John Buczak, artist. Illinois Federal Art Project, 1940. (LOC WPA Poster Collection).

As the country became increasingly industrialized, urban populations grew exponentially. Overcrowded housing and haphazard land use contributed to unsanitary conditions. (Rosen 1958, 201-203). Natural geologic systems that cleaned waste and provided potable water in rural areas could not be effective in areas with concentrated populations and increased pollutants. (Murray and Scott 1963, 48). The need for public works, such as water treatment plants and sewage disposal sites, became apparent. Even in more dispersed rural areas, it was recognized that proper sanitation facilities were needed to prevent the spread of disease.

Local and county governments initiated public works projects to improve sanitary conditions in their communities. Spending on public health infrastructure, like waterworks, sewer systems, trash incinerators, and hospitals, dramatically increased in cities during the early decades of the twentieth century, peaking in 1928. The onset of the Depression slowed progress on these projects. (Gayer 1935, 165).

The New Deal and Public Health

New Deal programs allowed the federal government to take a leading role in the development of public health projects. The work of the PWA, WPA, CWA, and FERA encompassed important public health infrastructure such as sanitary sewers, water treatment plants, hospitals, and sanitary privies. (Gayer 1935, 88). New Deal projects were able to modernize existing systems or to install new systems where none had existed before, thus effectively preventing infectious diseases.

"Corbin sewers under construction by the WPA, 1940." (GP Collection).

Perhaps the most prolific New Deal health infrastructure builder was the PWA. In fact, the PWA's enabling legislation, the NIRA of 1933 "provides ways and means for stimulating construction of much needed public works. Generally speaking, water supplies, sewerage and sewerage treatment projects are given priority, as it is felt that these types of projects are the most important in the protection of the public health." (Dugan December 1933, 24).

In terms of federal PWA projects, funding was granted to the National Institute of Public Health (NIPH), the government's research and prevention arm, for malaria control (draining swamps); construction of research laboratories and marine hospitals; sealing abandoned coal mines to prevent acidic waste discharge using CWA, FERA, and WPA labor; and the development of sanitary privies for small towns and rural areas across the nation, also through CWA, KERA, and WPA labor forces. (Ickes 1935, 164). However, PWA contributed more funding and construction expertise to local communities through non-federal public health projects over the course of its existence. From 1933 to 1935, for example, PWA "had allocated, by January 1, 1935, about 241 million dollars for this purpose. Nearly 149 millions were assigned to sewer projects; about five millions to combination sewer and water systems projects; approximately 82 millions to water systems, and slightly more than 5 millions for garbage and rubbish disposal plants." (Ickes 1935, 170). These funds were in addition to PWA federal projects to develop sanitary privies, drain marsh lands, and seal coal mines. Additionally, PWA sponsored 874 non-federal hospital building projects and 181 federal hospital projects from 1933 to 1939. (Short and Brown 1939, 672). These hospitals and institutions offered modern facilities with central heating and air conditioning, as well as efficient use of floor space, to local communities and state organizations throughout the country.

The WPA, CWA, and FERA also participated in public health projects, albeit on a smaller scale. From 1935 to 1941, the WPA spent $287 million or 2.5 percent of its total expenditures on water supply projects; $758 or 6.7 percent on sewerage collection and disposal projects; and $222 million or 1.9 percent of the total on public sanitation. (Howard 1943, 130). National statistics for CWA and FERA have not yet been uncovered, though their impact is less considerable than the WPA.

Public Health in Kentucky

The health of Kentuckians suffered during the Depression. Access to adequate nutrition became more difficult as economic conditions worsened. This affected immunity by lowering resistance; thus, making people vulnerable to communicable diseases. Exposure to unsanitary conditions and unclean water put compromised people at additional risk to life-threatening disease. Initial governmental response was to provide direct relief, like food, clothing, and money. It was soon realized that a more comprehensive response was required to provide safe and sanitary conditions through water supply systems and sewage treatment facilities. (Dugan December 1933, 24).

"Prestonsburg School Lunch program, 1942." WPA school lunch programs addressed nutritional needs of students across the Commonwealth during the Great Depression. (GP Collection).

Many Kentucky communities were eager to construct water supply and sewerage systems, but lacked access to funds throughout the 1920s. Prior to the 1926 Kentucky Waterworks Act and its amendment in 1930 to include fifth and sixth class cities, small towns could not afford to finance projects due to insufficient borrowing power, potential revenue shortfalls, and a lack of marketability for municipal bonds. (Hopkin June 1937, 5). According to the director of the State Board of Health, F.C. Dugan, as of late 1933, only 55 cities held municipal water supply plants. Of these, 32 were rated of "bad" or "doubtful" quality due to inadequate treatment facilities. Moreover, very few cities had any type of sewage treatment facilities. Instead, they dumped waste products into streams and rivers. Even fewer localities provided for proper disposal of landfill waste, which again ended up in Kentucky's waterways. (Dugan December 1933, 25).

Upon inception of New Deal agencies like the PWA and WPA, generous terms were established which enabled communities to initiate public health projects. Low-interest loans and outright grants gave local sponsors the incentives to install modern public health infrastructure. For the first time in Kentucky history, many small towns gained access to waterworks systems, sewer treatment facilities, and trash incinerators. By 1937, for example, the PWA had received 102 Kentucky applications for new waterworks systems or improvements to existing ones, half of which had already been completed, primarily from communities with populations of less than 1000 or sixth class cities. (Hopkin June 1937, 5). With the financial assistance of the federal government through CWA, WPA and PWA, Kentucky communities were able to make permanent public works improvements that otherwise would have been unattainable. (Dugan December 1933, 25).

PWA was the most significant Kentucky builder of public health infrastructure followed by the WPA. In fact, of PWA non-federal endeavors in the state, health projects were predominant. Approximately 140 waterworks, 31 sanitary sewers, and 18 waste disposal plants and incinerators were constructed across the Commonwealth for a total of 32 percent of PWA projects. (NARA Record Group 135, Entry UD-19).

Nationally, the WPA also took as active role in developing public health infrastructure. By June 30, 1938, thousands of miles of water mains, aqueducts, and distribution lines were

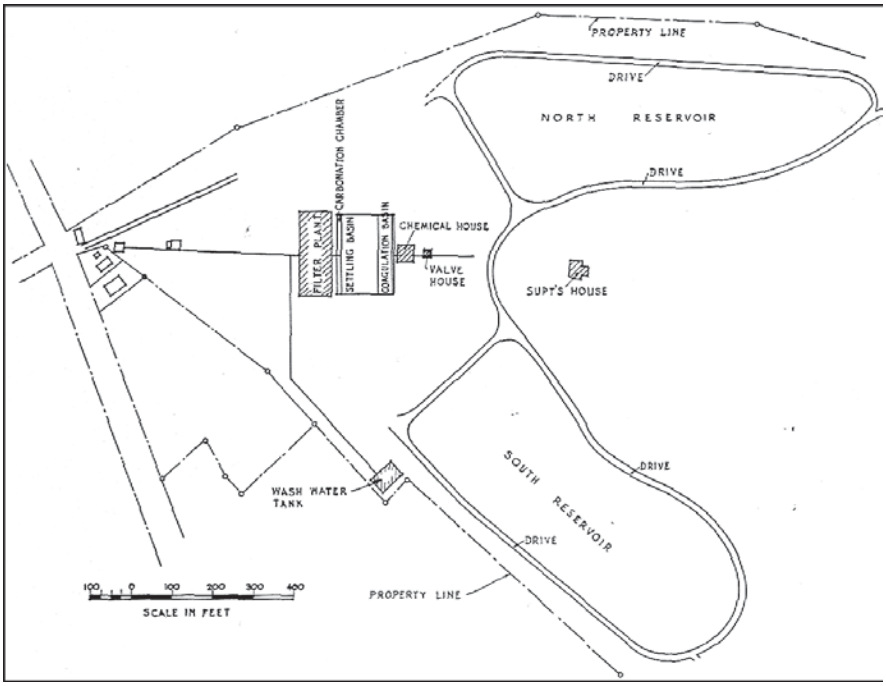
constructed. (Gill 1939, 192). Projects completed by this time included construction or improvement of 1700 storage tanks, reservoirs, and cisterns; 4500 storage dams; 540 sewage treatment or water purification plants; several hundred pumping stations; and 9000 miles of storm sewers. (Gill 1939, 192). Kentucky was certainly a recipient of these types of projects. The Goodman-Paxton photographic archive contains numerous examples of public health infrastructure.

The New Deal and Waterworks in Kentucky

Water supply facilities for the treatment and distribution of water are among the most essential public utilities. (Murray 1963, 44). Water systems have historically served two main purposes: providing clean, safe water required for domestic and industrial needs and supplying water for fire-fighting purposes.

Water is distributed to consumers using a series of holding tanks and water pump stations. The infrastructure associated with waterworks facilities generally consists of pumping stations, sediment basins, water filtration plants, water tanks, reservoirs, and water mains. (Ashland Water Works 1920, 1). Functionally designed, these resources are generally constructed with cast iron, concrete, and steel. (Armstrong 1976, 233-241). Based on WPA and PWA photographic evidence, however, stone or brick was often used for filtration plant and pumping station buildings in the 1930s and early 1940s. (GP, PA64M1; Short and Brown 1939, 472-497).

In terms of types of New Deal era water works, "there have been three distinct types of pressure systems. (1) well supply with no filtration plant, the water being pumped to the standpipe or reservoir after chlorination; (2) well supply with filtration beds and settling basins; and (3) creek and impounded supply with filtration beds and settling basins." (Hopkin June 1937, 5).



Covington (KY) Waterworks site plan. (Short and Brown 1939).

The PWA and WPA were both heavily involved in waterworks projects in the study area. The PWA in particular was involved in the development of 21 waterworks and water filtration projects in the study area. These projects occurred in nearly every county in the region including Knox, Whitley, Clay, Floyd, Greenup, Magoffin, and Lewis Counties.

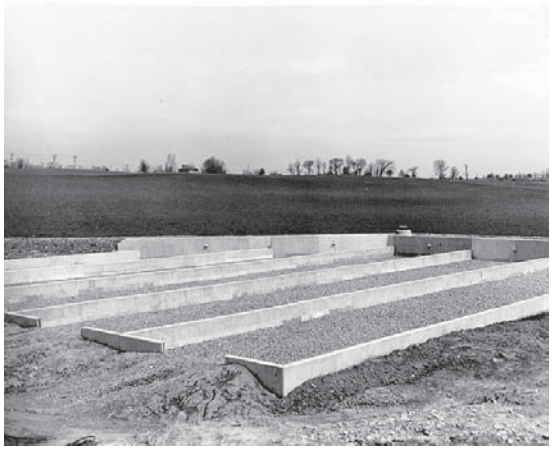
Four WPA waterworks projects in East Kentucky were identified from the

Goodman-Paxton Collection. WPA waterworks were constructed in Ashland, Evarts, Hazard, and West Liberty.

KERA also participated in the development of waterworks. Though it is unclear exactly how many projects were developed in the study area, KERA did construct five water reservoirs, two water pumping stations, and seven miles of water main between 1934 and 1935. Additionally, two water pumping stations were improved by KERA. Regrettably, there is insufficient information on the location of these projects. The CWA did not construct any water works in the study area; however, they did complete landscaping work around the Salyersville PWA waterworks. The nature of CWA work projects, which were intended to be quickly planned and completed, did not lend themselves to highly technical waterworks projects.

The New Deal and Sewers/Sewage Treatment in Kentucky

Another one of the most vital public health systems is sewage or wastewater treatment system. Improper disposal of waste into streams and creeks can lead to the spread of disease and groundwater pollution. (Diehl 1951, 394). The construction of sewer treatment facilities was considered essential to the preservation of public well-being throughout the New Deal era.

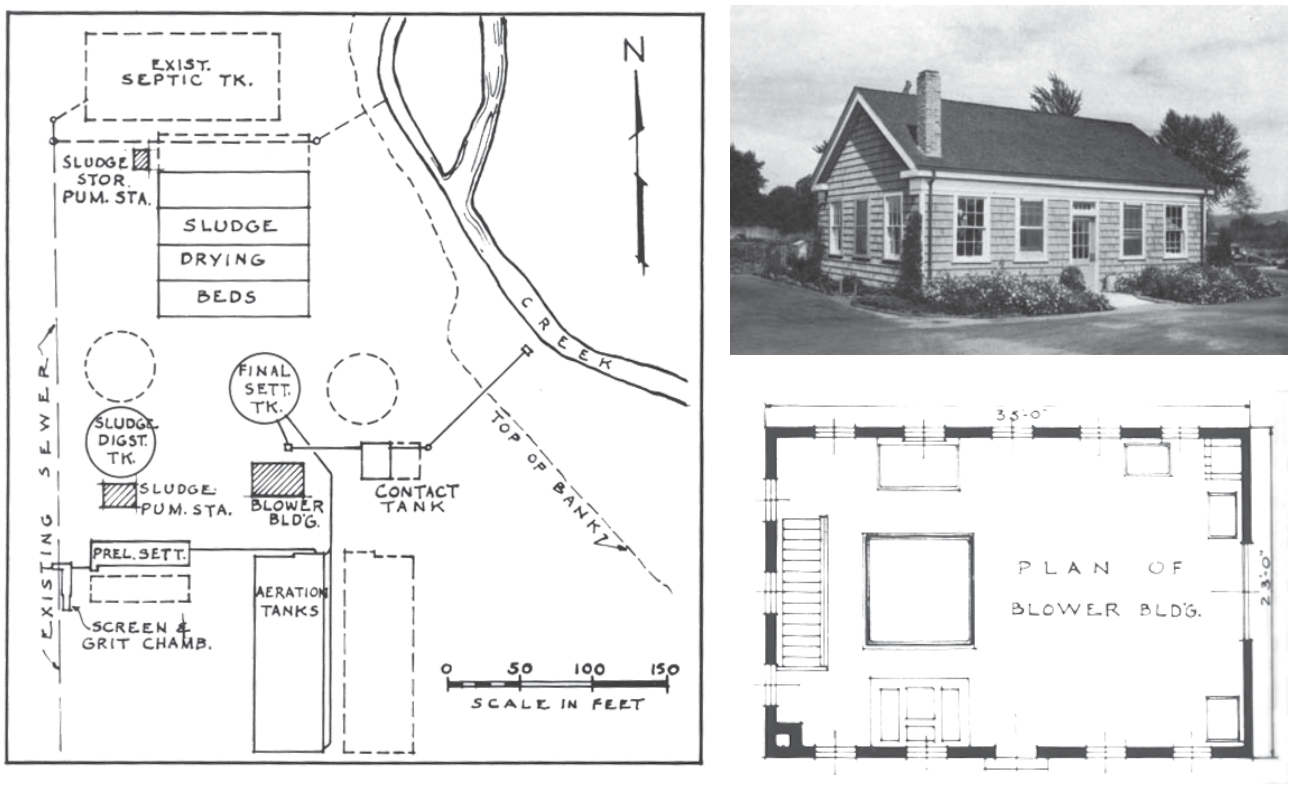


Slush drying beds at Danville (KY) sewage disposal plant. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Probably the most important technological innovation during the early decades of the twentieth century was the wastewater treatment plant. The infrastructure of wastewater treatment was invented before the 1930s, but it was not in widespread use. Previously, communities dumped untreated effluent directly into waterways. By the 1910s and 1920s, treatment plants began to be constructed to avoid polluting local water sources.

The process of modern wastewater treatment involved a complex infrastructure, largely made of subterranean structures. Sanitary sewer mains collect waste from individual locations. The wastewater is then collected using sewer pump stations and forced mains, and carried to the treatment plant. The treatment plant processes all wastewater pumped in through the collection system. Once at the treatment plant, effluent passes through a number of screens, tanks, and beds before being discharged into a water source such as a river or lake.

In cooperation with local governments, New Deal projects modernized existing systems or in some cases put systems in where none had existed. The New Deal assisted local communities with funding and technical expertise that expanded the use of treatment plants across the country. New Deal resources, such as treatment plants, sewer mains, and pump stations, were typically constructed with durable materials like cast iron, steel, stone and concrete. (Murray 1962, 67-70).



Site plan, photograph and floor plan of the Medford Sewage Disposal Plant in Medford Oregon. "The process consists of preliminary sedimentation, sludge storage, sludge digestion, chemical treatment of the effluent and its discharge into Bear Creek, and sludge drying." (Short and Brown 1939).

Most Kentucky towns did not have adequate sewerage facilities at the beginning of the Depression era. The State Board of Health estimated in 1933 that at least 150 communities across the state required new or updated sewage treatment systems. (Dugan December 1933, 25). Partially attributed to the statute known as the "Sewer Rental Law" that excluded fifth and sixth class cities, response to calls by the PWA and the State Board of Health to construct local sewer projects was initially muted. (Dugan December 1933, 25).

The PWA was again among the largest builders of sewer systems statewide. Thirty-one sanitary sewer systems were constructed with PWA funds across the Commonwealth. In the study region, nine PWA sanitary sewer systems were developed in cities like Middlesboro, Pikeville, Cumberland, and Beattyville.

The Goodman-Paxton Archive and the NARA index revealed that at least eight WPA sewerage projects were undertaken in eastern Kentucky including construction in Ashland, Corbin, Cumberland, Paintsville, Raceland, Stearns, Worthington, and Bell County. These projects ranged from installing sanitary sewer mains, to constructing sewage pumping stations, and treatment facilities. CWA records indicate that six wastewater projects were undertaken in the study region. CWA projects were initiated in Ashland, Greenup, Cumberland, and Lawrence County. (NARA RG 2920, Series 65-67). KERA may have been involved in sewer projects in East Kentucky, though none have been specifically identified at this point.

The New Deal and Sanitary Privies

The construction of sanitary privies was actually part of a larger community sanitation project conducted by the National Institute of Public Health using PWA funds and CWA, KERA, and WPA labor. The aim of this national project was to bring sanitary privies to rural and suburban areas where sewer systems were considered impractical, due to the cost of installing the systems in a relatively dispersed area. (NARA 2920; Ickes 1935, 166).

An example of a sanitary privy constructed by WPA labor in McCreary County (KY). Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Sanitary privies were primarily constructed for schools and private homes. In Kentucky, the CWA, in partnership with the State Board of Health and county health offices, initiated projects that were continued by KERA and the WPA.

The privy structures themselves were usually small, wood-frame shelters with shed roofs. A description of sanitary privies, located in a 1935 KERA study, is instructive regarding their construction and appearance. "While the pits were being dug by unskilled labor assigned to the projects, carpenters engaged in constructing the super-structure of the unit. When the pit was completed, the concrete floor slab and riser were put into place. The carpenters were ready to finish the unit. The concrete floor slabs and risers were precast at a central location, usually the county seat, and were then transported to the individual sites and set up." Thus, sanitary privy structures should be relatively uniform in appearance in each county, due to prefabricated materials and techniques.

During the tenure of the CWA, eight counties have been identified as sponsors of privy projects in the study region including Boyd, Floyd, Greenup, Johnson, Letcher, Magoffin, Martin, and McCreary. (CWA 2920, Series 65-67). KERA continued on with this work, constructing 8,371 sanitary privies statewide.[11] The WPA project encompassed 30 counties in eastern Kentucky, including Lewis, Johnson, Pike, and Wolfe Counties. The number of privies varied for each county, but in McCreary County, which is representative of the area, 203 privies were constructed for the community sanitation project. (GP, PA64M1).

Documentation and Integrity Issues

Water and sewage treatment facilities constructed during the New Deal era may have been altered due to changing technologies. According to local contacts, pumping stations, filtration plants, and water mains have been subject to replacement, especially since the 1960s. (Steve T. Owen, Superintendent of McCreary County Water District and Sewer Plant, December 2004; Marion Russell, Assistant Director of the Boyd County Public Services Department, October 2004).

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[11] We have no local data for KERA, therefore, we do not know where in the study region KERA constructed sanitary privies.

Recording intact resources associated with water supply and treatment is also challenging. The nature of resources, such as storm and sanitary sewers, makes identification difficult since they are likely to be partially or completely underground. Sometimes, access to facilities is restricted without proper authorization, due to public safety concerns. Additionally, the survival rate of the sanitary privies is likely to be minuscule given their wood-frame construction. Consulting with engineering professionals might facilitate the documentation process with regard to sewer systems or waterworks. These persons would likely be knowledgeable about various technologies and their implementation.

In this project, staff was unable to find enough intact waterworks, sewers plants, sanitary privies, or wastewater treatment facilities to determine eligibility standards. More field work and research needs to be done to evaluate these important public health resources.

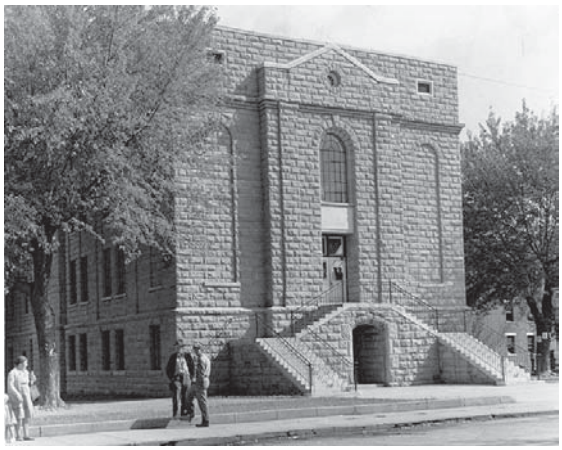
The New Deal and Government Buildings: Post Offices

> *The outstanding accomplishments in planning of both Federal and Non-federal buildings are the elimination of waste space, economy in cost, and proper consideration of light, ventilation, and sanitation; while in design, careful study of line, scale, and proportion, greater simplicity and an extremely sparing use of ornament, and a skillful and effective handling of materials, are noteworthy characteristics."*
>
> Short and Brown 1939, *Public Buildings: A Survey of Architecture of Projects Constructed by Federal and Other Governmental Bodies Between the Years 1933 and 1939 with the Assistance of the Public Works Administration, II.*

Background

The construction of federal, state, and local governmental buildings was a priority for most New Deal agencies. Government buildings are defined in this section as all buildings designed for distribution of state, local, or federal government services, with the exception of schools and other educational facilities. Examples of government buildings include city halls, local, state, and federal courthouses, jails, libraries, and post offices—to name a few.

New governmental responsibilities, such as construction and management of evenly paved roads and the growth in educational mandates, had grown enormously since the end of the First World War. As a noted historian of public works puts it, "Providing space for the expanded federal work force also involved recognition that the nature of government work was changing. From the traditional activities found in courthouses, marine hospitals, customhouses, and mints grew the large service bureaucracies which engaged in research, prepared statistical reports and surveys, and administered federal assistance programs." (Armstrong 1976, 464). In sum, new activities on all levels of government employed more staff and required larger, more modern buildings in which to execute this work. During the Great Depression, as noted throughout this report, governmental activities on every level were expanded to provide employment relief and new services. "The Depression created new demands on the federal government for social services, relief coordination, and the administration on the local level of federally funded jobs." (Armstrong 1976, 465). It was not enough anymore to house few government services in converted buildings, dispersed throughout a city. Modern government offices needed to be planned for coordination among agencies and divisions.



Greenup County Courthouse. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

At the same time, building systems were altered by architects and engineers to enhance productivity and create efficient spatial arrangements. New Deal governmental buildings were often the first buildings in a community to utilize fluorescent lighting, ventilation systems, and central heating. During this era, in fact, lighting, heating, and ventilation became necessities for every modern government building. So, while a building's architectural style was assessed for its references to modernity, so was its systems and their efficiencies. (Armstrong 1976, 469-474).

Public buildings, such as city halls, courthouses, libraries and post offices, were intended to convey the symbolic strength of democracy in the United States. (Armstrong 1976, 457). Given this need, public buildings often take on a monumental quality in their design. During the New Deal era, both classical and modern functionalist styles were used in the design of public buildings. Architects and their patrons seemed to favor the use of classical forms as a way to demonstrate national democratic ideas, though Art Deco and Streamline Moderne influences were also used in public building design. (Armstrong 1976, 457). In particular, modern architectural expressions symbolized progress and a better future, during a dark time. In any form, these public buildings were seen as a way to give hope to socially and economically demoralized Americans.

The New Deal and Government Buildings

Most major New Deal agencies participated in the construction of governmental buildings. The PWA was probably the largest builder of federal and non-federal government buildings during the era. Under PWA funding, tens of thousands of local courthouses, municipal buildings, state capitols, miscellaneous state buildings, police and fire stations, jails and penal institutions, public libraries, federal courthouses, and federal post offices were constructed across the nation. (Short and Brown 1939, II). From 1933 to 1938, for example, PWA spent nearly $125 million on 678 non-federal government buildings and over $90 million on 538 federal governmental buildings.[12]

In Kentucky, the PWA also made a significant impact on the development of federal, state, and local government buildings. Fifty-three municipal buildings, courthouses, jails, libraries, fire departments, and city halls were constructed with PWA sponsorship. In the study area, there are two municipal buildings constructed by the PWA non-federal program: one in Martin and the other in Pineville. Undoubtedly, there are federal PWA projects located in the study area; however, only post offices have been documented in the region.

Carter County Jail in Grayson KY. The building is currently vacant. Photo taken in 2004.

The WPA, FERA, NYA, and CWA were also responsible for the construction of government buildings on the state and local levels. If national statistics for the WPA are any indication, these three related agencies had an enormous impact on government

[12] These numbers include libraries, municipal auditoriums and armories, courthouses and city halls, penal buildings, office and administration buildings, state capitols, and post offices.

building construction. From 1935 to 1941, for example, the WPA spent $780 million on local and state governmental buildings, such as municipal buildings, courthouses, libraries, and city auditoriums. "Public buildings constructed or reconstructed [by the WPA] included more than 110,000 public libraries, schools, auditoriums, or other public buildings." (Howard 1943, 128).

Above: London City Hall and Fire Station, circa 1938. (GP Collection). Below: London City Hall building as it appears today. Photo taken in 2004.

In Kentucky, these agencies also made great strides in the construction and modernization of structures designed to perform government services. Between 1935 and 1938, the WPA spent $627,072 on 85 public buildings, other than schools. (*Kentucky City* April 1938, 7). Among these public buildings were courthouses, city halls, libraries, and the ubiquitous combination city hall/jail/ police and fire department structure. The New Deal municipal building with combination functions appears often in small towns across the Commonwealth. Typically, the structure held police, jail, and fire offices on the lower level. Parking was integrated into the body of the building. Upper stories served as city office space and municipal legislative chambers. Generally, these buildings look like a 1930s Main Street commercial building without the store front. Examples of this type of structure in the study area were in Barbourville (Knox County), Paintsville (Johnson County), London (Laurel County), and Cumberland (Harlan County).

Like their counterpart the WPA, the KERA, NYA, and CWA also built municipal buildings. CWA undertook 138 public buildings projects, exclusive of schools, in its short tenure. (Pyne May 1934, 6). From 1934 to 1935, KERA's work division constructed a total of 16 libraries, courthouses, municipal garages, city halls, and improved 90 local relief offices and 24 jails. (KERA 1935-36, 11). Both agencies built structures similar to those constructed by the WPA, and in some instances, the WPA completed CWA and KERA public building work projects.

Though not a large scale builder, the NYA did construct a few public buildings. Generally, these structures appear similar to those built by the WPA, CWA, and KERA. An example of an NYA governmental building can be found in Pineville. The Pineville Municipal Building, now in private ownership, was built in 1941. The structure is a two-story stone building with definite Art Deco stylistic influence. NYA Area Supervisor said of the building, during its dedication in August 1941, that "the NYA had taken considerable pride in the building and made an effort to see that Pineville's building was the best that could be had of its type." (*Kentucky City* August 1941, 17).

New Deal Case Study: Post Offices

Post offices were a place where virtually everyone in the community would be at one time or another; therefore an emphasis was placed on their construction. (Bruns 1998, 94). During the decade of the 1930s, nearly three times as many post offices were constructed as had been in the previous fifty years. (Boland 1994, 3). The US Treasury Department administered the construction of post offices in cooperation with the Postmaster General. The PWA was a large funder of post office projects in the 1930s, though they did not participate in the development of designs or plans for the structures. Plans were developed and construction was administered by the Public Buildings Branch of the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department. (Short and Brown 1939, 579). At least 406 post offices were constructed with PWA involvement during the period. (Boland 1994, 3).

As with many federal buildings built after 1934, New Deal era post offices were designed by the Office of the Supervising Architect in the Treasury Department. It was determined that hiring private architects for small architectural projects would not be as economical as using in-house resources. (Boland 1994, 3). By 1939, the Treasury Department reversed its decision and allowed private architects to compete for projects. (Boland 1994, 3).

The architectural style favored by the U.S. Treasury in the 1930s was Colonial Revival in a stripped-down form known as "Starved Classicism." This term originated with Louis Craig in the 1960s, Director of the Federal Architecture Project for the National Endowment for the Arts. (Bruns 1998, 95). The style itself drew on neo-classical forms with an emphasis on symmetry, but appeared surprisingly modern due to the utilization of flat surfaces and sparse ornamentation. Building materials used on 1930s post offices ranged from native stone to brick and concrete with steel framing systems. Nearly all post offices of this period were designed to be fireproof structures.

Whitesburg Post Office (Letcher Co) interior, 2004.

Based on the 1915 general classification system devised by Treasury Secretary William McAdoo, post offices fell into one of four categories—Class A, Class B, Class C, or Class D facilities. Class A facilities were considered to be reserved for "great cities," like New York and Chicago. Class B post offices were generally constructed in large cities, like Cincinnati or St. Louis. (Bruns 1998, 81). Most rural post offices were Class C or Class D facilities, meaning that they were generally small in scale and had minimal ornamentation. (Boland 1994, 2). The typical rural post office was designed as "one man" structure, so that the postmaster could work without the services of an assistant. (Short and Brown 1939, 579). By contrast, some larger post offices were designed to house other office spaces that could be leased by government agencies. These spaces had separate entrances and did not connect internally with the post office proper. An official description for Class C and Class D post offices follows as excerpted from James H. Bruns, *Great American Post Offices*:

Mailboxes at Whitesburg Post Office, 2004.

> Class C
>
> Definition
> Buildings that include a Post Office of a second class with receipts of $15,000 or more, and of the first class up to $60,000 receipts; valuation of surrounding property that of a second class city.
>
> Character of Building
> Brick facing with stone or terra cotta trimmings; fireproof floors; non-fireproof roof; frames, sashes, and doors wood; interior finish to exclude the more expensive woods and marbles; the latter used only where sanitary conditions demand; public spaces restricted to very simple forms of ornament.
>
> Class D
>
> Definition
> Buildings that include a Post Office having annual receipts of less than $15,000; real estate values justifying only a limited investment for improvements.
>
> Character of Building
> Brick facing, little stone or terra cotta used; only first floor fireproof; stock sash, frames, doors, etc., where advisable; ordinary class of building such as any businessman would consider a reasonable investment in a small town. (Bruns 1998, 82)

Building on the 1915 classification system for determination of community post office requirements, the Treasury Department developed standardized interiors for the post offices. Typically, specifications called for a lobby, a postmaster's office, a workroom, a mailing platform, a swing room, a carrier's room, storage, and space for mechanical systems. These standards were used by all post office designers during the 1930s. (Boland 1994, 3).

New Deal Case Study: Public Murals

Mural and sculpture projects in public buildings in the 1930s were directed under the auspices of the U.S. Treasury Section of Painting and Sculpture, later renamed the Treasury Section of Fine Arts. (Marling 1982, 4). The mission of this division was to place fine art in public buildings. Embellishment funding of this sort usually comprised one percent of the total costs of the building project. (Raynor 1997, 1).

Umberto Romano and Paul Fontaine, "Aftermath of WWI and the Depression." Springfield, MA Post Office, 1935-37. (From John E. Phelps. 1992. Forgotten Mural Painters of Springfield 1933-1938. Image available online at http://www.fontaine.org/).

Unlike the WPA's Federal Art Project where artists were employed for relief purposes, Section artists were selected on basis of competition. (Park and Marokwitz 1984, 8). Artists chosen for mural projects usually had knowledge of the region where their work would be installed. (Beckham 1989, 10). Once selected, artists' proposals were juried by the Post Office Department and the local community where the art would be installed. Through this process, the artist was reminded that the community was their patron. (Raynor 1997, 2).

By embellishing public buildings, the Section hoped to make art part of the everyday experience in cities, small towns, and rural communities across the country, thus "democratizing" good art work. (Park and Markowitz 1984, 8). New Dealers hoped that this program could expose a variety of citizens to fine art, while creating a sense of national culture. (Park and Markowitz 1984, 5). One of the principal places that the murals were installed was in local post office buildings. Post offices were considered an ideal location for art since nearly every community had one and postal patrons would have free access to the artwork. (Raynor 1997, 1).

In keeping with the Section's philosophy on the importance of democratic ideas, there was no standardized theme for mural subjects. Generally, a mural's subject matter was either historical or contemporary. These scenes depicted vernacular traditions, places, or histories associated with the community in which the art were placed, giving the murals a direct connection to local citizens. (Park and Markowitz 1984, 180).

The Section did, however, dictate the style of the public art projects that it administered. Realism became the favored style for Depression-era murals. This artistic style was defined by representation that attempts to convey the essence of life in real terms without exaggeration. (Park and Markowitz 1984, 180). Cubism was also permitted. Many of the murals and sculptures created for the Section of Fine Arts relied on this form of artistic expression to convey realism of the subject matter. Although not pure Cubism, many of the murals rely on simplified forms and planar flattening that typifies the style. (Marling 1982, 9). Frequently called "WPA art," the Cubist influence is commonly associated with New Deal era artwork in both popular and fine art formats.

New Deal Case Study: Post Offices and Murals in East Kentucky

At least seven Class C or Class D post offices constructed during the New Deal period have been identified in the East Kentucky study region including those in Whitesburg, Jenkins, Pineville, Corbin, Williamsburg, Hazard, and Louisa. No Class A or B structures have been documented as built in the region during the time period.

All of the post offices have a similar plan and design. They are brick veneer one-story structures with flat roofs and poured concrete foundation walls. Some of the buildings have raised basements for additional space. Their style is overwhelmingly influenced by Colonial Revival movement commonly referred to as "Starved Classical," though some Art Deco/Moderne elements may be present. Four of these post offices incorporated art projects from the Treasury Section of Fine Arts, either as murals or sculptures. Post offices in Corbin, Williamsburg, and Pineville all had murals, and the Jenkins Post Office had a terra-cotta relief. (Beckham 1989, 317-318). The current status of this artwork is unknown, except for the Pineville building. The last time that New Deal art work was confirmed intact for the remaining postal buildings was in the late 1980s. (Beckham 1989, 317-318).

New Deal Case Study: Pineville Post Office

The Pineville Post Office was constructed in 1935 by the US Treasury Department at a cost of $65,000. (*The Kentucky City* July 1936, 21). Located on Walnut Street, the Class D post office is on the town square across from the Bell County Courthouse. The building was designed by U.S. Treasury Department Supervising Architect Louis A. Simon.

The overall design is typical of New Deal era post offices. The exterior exhibits the "starved classical" style typical of the era. Constructed with a brick veneer and poured concrete foundation, the building has a symmetrical rectangular form and approximately 3500 square feet plus a full basement. The one-story, flat roofed building has minimal ornamentation. Some alteration to the entry has occurred due to flood damage in 1977. These changes include a metal and glass enclosure that replaced the original entry area. The extent of these changes appears minimal, in that the original plan and spatial relationships are intact. Any other alterations are undocumented at this point, due to a lack of access to service portions of the building. Nevertheless, the building appears to have undergone few significant changes in its main plan. The building is still utilized as the post office for the city of Pineville.

Pineville Post Office, 2004.

Pineville Post Office Mural, "Kentucky Mail En Route." Photo taken in 2004. Note the door surround that obscures the lower-left corner of the mural.

One of the most significant features of the Pineville Post Office is its New Deal era mural. Known as "Kentucky Mail on Route," the oil-on-canvas mural was created by artist Edward B. Fern, a portrait artist from Ohio. The mural was painted in 1942 with rich and vivid colors. Executed in a style that relies on curvilinear and smooth forms, the mural embodies important elements of Depression era art, heavily influenced by both Realism and Cubism. Situated above the post master's office, the mural depicts a mail carrier on a horse delivering mail to a woman with a baby. A girl wearing a bonnet is in the background, waiting to give a letter to the postman. The landscape is rural in character with rolling hills, rocky outcroppings, and mountains in the distance.

The mural underwent conservation treatment in 1984, presumably to restore color and detail. It appears that expansion of the main service window may have impacted the mural's lower left-hand corner. A soffit over the window extends past the mural surface area essentially blocking out this section. Further investigation would be required to determine if this portion of the mural survives.

While more field work, including an examination of all of the building's interior spaces, will be necessary to determine the Pineville Post Office's eligibility, a few thoughts regarding post office integrity can be discussed. A post office can be eligible for the National Register for its association with the development of New Deal era government buildings (Criterion A), if it has a medium level of integrity of *design*. To have this, the main public spaces and facades should not have experienced major alterations. The building should also have integrity of *location* (the building has not been moved), and a medium level of integrity of *materials* and *workmanship*. Should these elements be present, the building should retain integrity of *feeling* and *association*. Integrity of *setting* is not essential for conveying the importance of the post office as a central part of the New Deal government building program. For a Criterion C nomination, more importance will be placed on integrity of *design*, especially as it relates to "Starved Classicism" and the main public spaces. Additionally, if a mural or relief exists, it must be in its original place with few alterations to its original fabric. Integrity of *materials* and *workmanship* will also need to convey a greater value, yet they do not have to have the highest level of integrity.

The New Deal and Recreation: Clubhouses and Golf Courses

> *Recreation in its truest and most comprehensive sense does not mean merely idleness and cessation from labor; but consists in easing the wearied part, whether mind or body, by change of occupation.*
>
> Ashland Mayor Edgar B. Hagar 1939. In *Kentucky City* December 1939, 7.

Leisure time for working and middle classes was relatively unheard of during the first three and a half centuries of American life. American cultural norms, based upon the ever-present Protestant Work Ethic, shunned unstructured free time in favor of a philosophy that personal worth and good citizenship were gained only though labor. (Dulles 1965, 386). On the other hand, those who had become wealthy were considered worthy to engage in leisure time activities. Sports and recreation were reserved for the elite, who had already proven themselves through hard work.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, views about work and leisure time began to change. Though much too complex to clarify in this study, changes in American social, economic, and cultural make-up reorganized daily life. In sum, many working people, while still laboring 48 to 54 hour weeks, had more free time than before. (Giordano 2003, 9). And, it was this free time that had many Americans concerned.

Upon the arrival of large groups of immigrant workers with "suspect" values into the country in the early 1900s, native born protestant Americans began to express concern over what they called the "leisure problem." The problem was that, in spite of extremely long work hours, workers still found time to engage in activities that the middle and upper classes disapproved of, such as drinking and gambling. Industrialists, like Henry Ford, teamed up with progressive sociologists and temperance reformers in attempts to limit workers' interaction with these "base" elements. Instead they promoted better habits, like reading, attending church, and athletics. The goal of these groups was to improve the lives of workers and make them better men and women through promulgation of American values, such as industry, sobriety, duty, and responsibility. Industrialists approved of this effort, as they benefited from a stable, quiescent work force. Progressives for their part, saw this move as benefiting workers' social and cultural capacities. Leisure and recreation time became recognized as an important way for citizens to rejuvenate themselves which, in turn, would create more productive workers. (Kelly 1982, 99). The philosophy was that sound character and good citizenship could be developed if leisure time was used effectively. (Hager 1934, 8). In fact, recreation and leisure time became considered imperative to the continuation of wholesome community life as illustrated in this quote, "Municipal neglect of the

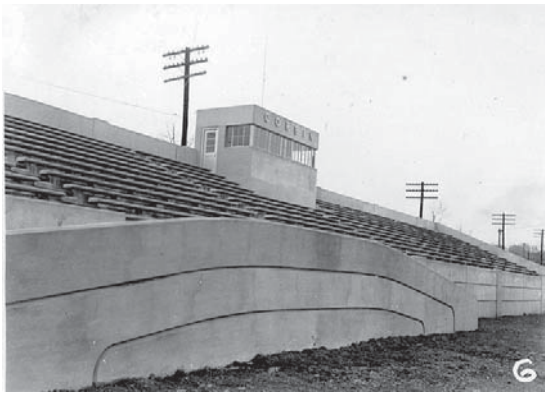
"Athletics," Silkscreen Poster, Illinois Federal Art Project, 1939. (LOC WPA Poster Collection).

cultural and recreational phases of community life entails danger to the physical and governmental phases of civic existence." (Hager 1934, 21).

The Great Depression and the large number of unemployed workers was also a cause for great concern in the early 1930s. Put simply, "free public recreation and leisure-time programs were desperately needed to offset idle time and social disorder." (Giordano 2003, 83). However, municipalities had no money left over after relief efforts were satisfied. A system of public recreation would have to wait for federal government involvement during the New Deal.

Recreation and the New Deal

Roosevelt and his New Deal counterparts were as obsessively interested in public recreational activities as their reformer predecessors in the early twentieth century. In fact, under New Deal agencies, the federal government took on its first active role in recreation leadership through funding and sponsorship of programs. This interest created the most extensive public recreation program ever to be attempted. (Sessoms 1975, 38). While New Deal agencies were primarily interested in employment of out-of-work laborers, they also were concerned with the promotion of enlightened cultural and social activities. To this end, New Dealers sponsored not only gymnasium and community buildings, but theatre and art projects, library book-mending projects, and state and national parks development.



Corbin Stadium, 1940. (GP Collection).

"Recreation Centers," Silkscreen Poster, Iowa Art Program, between 1936 and 1940. (LOC WPA Poster Collection).

Most major New Deal agencies participated in recreational projects. The WPA, FERA, NYA, CCC, and the CWA developed some public programs and facilities to promote wholesome recreation. Perhaps the most prolific in promoting public recreation was the WPA. From 1935 to 1941, the WPA funded $941 million worth of recreational facilities, and spent another $229 million on public recreation programs. (Howard 1943, 130). Examples of the types of recreational facilities include community centers, gymnasiums, tennis courts, swimming pools, parks, golf courses, and athletic fields. The WPA also sponsored a highly successful "Recreation Program" that employed out-of-work coaches, dancers, artists, and teachers to raise community awareness about the proper use of increased leisure time. These recreation leaders provided guidance on the local or county level to adults and children and they "organize them into groups according to their interests; they guide them toward new social

relationships and toward learning by doing." (Welch December 1938, 5). The WPA Recreation Program was held in community buildings across each state, which were sometimes constructed or improved by the WPA work program. Examples of activities in WPA recreation programs include baseball teams, puppet shows, toy repair workshops, hiking and bird watching, musical performance, and the visual arts.

The NYA was another leader in the New Deal public recreation movement. The status of youth and young adults was a much-fretted concern during the New Deal era. Youth were considered to be extremely vulnerable to the effects of the economic downturn. Some of the difficulties noted by NYA advocates include a high juvenile crime rate, lack of financial resources to stay in high school or college, and a lack of vocational and recreational guidance to assist young people. (NYA 1935-36, 2). In fact, NYA officials noted, "Very few comprehensive studies have been made to ascertain the connection of delinquency and improper use of leisure time. All that have been made indicate that delinquency and improper use of leisure time are tied hand in hand." (NYA 1935-36, 4).

In order to fix these pressing problems, the NYA focused specifically on three types of aid, one of which included "recreational advice." (NYA 1935-36, 2). In particular, NYA work projects for youth community development and recreational leadership were conducted to organize and establish "recreational and community activity in playground, athletic fields, water sports areas, camps, parks, community houses, indoor recreation centers, gymnasiums, community activity, arts and crafts…" (NYA 1935-36, 28). In some instances, youth constructed facilities to accommodate these activities, and in others, they participated in developing recreational programs.

"Man golfing at WPA course. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

FERA, PWA, and CWA also participated in the development of recreational facilities. Their recreation work projects were basically similar to that built by the WPA, despite the fact that neither CWA, PWA, nor FERA had a division for recreational programs. Some examples of recreation projects constructed by them include gymnasiums, stadiums, amphitheatres, parks, athletic fields, swimming pools, golf courses, auditoriums, fair buildings, community buildings, and bath houses.

Among the primary missions of the CCC was construction of recreational amenities in state and national parks. The idea was to make natural resources more accessible to the vacationing public. In turn, the public was educated about the importance of conservation and recreation. Oddly enough, although the Depression had made most American cash-poor, it did not halt small, regional auto trips to natural and historic sites. (Giordano 2003, 102). State and national parks capitalized on the increased trade through development of inexpensive tourist amenities on their grounds built by the CCC. Examples of recreational facilities constructed by the CCC include cabins, camp grounds, barbecue pits, water fountains, picnic shelters, lodges, ranger stations, ticket offices, concession stands, amphitheaters, overlooks, roads, and trails.

New Deal Recreation Facilities in Kentucky

Kentucky also participated in New Deal recreation projects. From April 1934 to May 1935, KERA, for example, was responsible for 146 recreational projects statewide. These projects range from construction of playgrounds and croquet fields to construction of two entire lakes to improvement of three children's camps. A list of KERA work division projects is included in Appendix Two. During its short life, the CWA contributed a few public entertainment projects in the state. Forty-one playgrounds and parks were developed by CWA workers and 138 public buildings were built, some of which were gymnasiums and auditoriums.

The WPA was responsible for a full range of recreational property types in Kentucky, similar to those on the national level, such as gyms, auditoriums, and parks. The Kentucky WPA Recreation Program, held in partnership with the State Department of Education, garnered interest in many counties across the state. (Blakey 1986, 62). These centers sponsored craft projects, hiking, puppet shows, and athletics to children and adults alike. Over 215 recreation centers were sponsored in Kentucky in 1938 alone with average attendance of 584,000 children and adults each month. (Welch December 1938, 6; Blakey 1986, 62). Mayors in these communities supported projects that would benefit the health and welfare of the citizens. (Welch December 1938, 5). Recreation Centers determined to exist in the study area include those built in Corbin, Ashland, and Middlesboro, though there are certain to be many others. It is uncertain at this time in what type of facility the activities were held. Numerous recreation-oriented work projects were also undertaken with WPA funds in the East Kentucky study area, including at least six athletic fields/stadiums, one auditorium, 22 gymnasiums, two playgrounds, four swimming pool, three golf courses, and four clubhouses. (GP, PA64M1).

Unfortunately, comprehensive NYA records for the state of Kentucky have not been located at this time. However, statistics for the 1935-1936 fiscal year indicate that 133 recreation and community development projects were undertaken statewide that employed 6,655 youth and 184 adult supervisors. (NYA 1935-36, 31). Among these endeavors was a Leslie County project in which several basketball courts were constructed for the county, and the construction of a band stand in the Barbourville Courthouse grounds. (NYA 1935-36, 51; Baxter December 1936, 7). Other NYA projects in the study area include development of playgrounds and/or tennis courts in Corbin, Williamsburg, and Pineville; construction of five playgrounds in Middlesboro; and unspecified recreational improvements in Whitesburg. (Baxter 1937, 9-11).

"Story telling hour at the WPA Recreation Center." Location and date of photo unknown. (GP Collection).

The PWA also played a role in the development of recreational facilities in Kentucky. In terms of non-federal projects, the PWA funded construction of approximately 35 recreational related facilities in the state, five of which are in our East Kentucky study area. Property types constructed by them include community buildings, recreational centers, swimming pools, stadiums, lodges, county fair buildings, gymnasiums, and auditoriums. Examples of PWA

non-federal recreational projects in our study area are: a municipal swimming pool in Pineville, a community building in Barbourville, and an auditorium/ gymnasium in Catlettsburg. Federal PWA projects are more difficult to document, as their involvement was through the federal sponsor and was not always publicized. For example, the PWA funded improvements through the National Park Service for the development of Mammoth Cave National Park. More research will need to be done to document other federal PWA recreational projects in the state.

J. Albert Bagby Memorial Park Community Building, Grayson (Carter Co.). Constructed by the NYA in 1941. Photo taken in 2004.

Finally, the CCC constructed public recreational facilities across the state. In our study region alone, CCC camps built three state park facilities at Cumberland Falls (Whitley County), Pine Mountain (Bell County), and Levi Jackson State Park (Laurel County). Additionally, fire tower sites constructed by the CCC included picnic facilities for the public. The CCC improved tower sites with stone tables, benches, and open stone fireplaces for tourist use. (The Algonquin 2/25/37, 6). Development of these sites was seen as a convenient way to educate the public about forest fire prevention, while providing pleasing picnic areas with scenic views. This drive was quite successful, in terms of numbers of visitors. In 1936 alone, the Laurel District Forest Director reported over 100,000 visitors to various towers in the Daniel Boone National Forest alone. (Camp Revue of 1502 11/30/36, 6).

New Deal Case Study: Clubhouses and Golf Courses

Along with gymnasiums and athletic fields, golf courses were a typical WPA recreational project. Prior to the 1930s, golf had been mainly a sport of the wealthy. Some industrialists constructed golf courses for their workers, i.e. Stearns Lumber and Coal constructed a course for its employees, but generally access to golf courses was restricted to those who were members of country clubs. As a result of the WPA's recreation focus, public golf courses were made available to everyone. (Dulles 1965, 358-359). Recreation historian Ralph Giordano comments on the exclusivity of golfing as a past time and the effects of New Deal public recreation programs, "Golf and tennis that had previously been exclusive recreations of private country clubs had lost some of their appeal. This loss of interest was attributed

"Paintsville Club House from the #2 Fairway." Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

to the fact that the increased numbers of public golf courses and tennis courts made them 'everyman's' game." (Giordano 2003, 87).

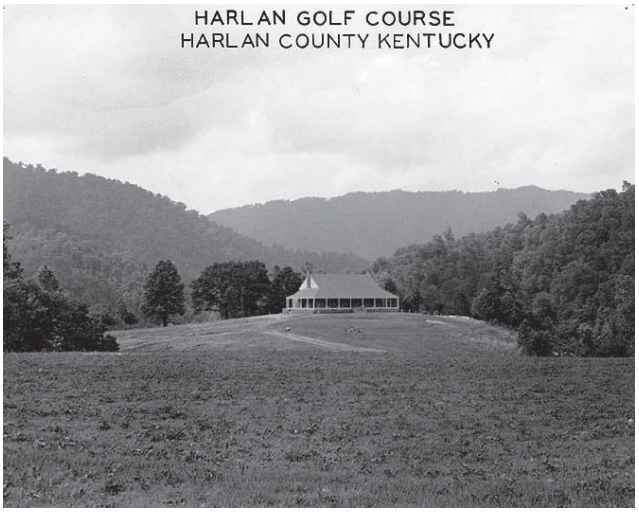
In the study area, there were at least four country club and golf course developments including facilities in Johnson, McCreary, Harlan, and Letcher Counties. All survive except the Letcher County Country Club near Fleming that burned down in 1941. The other clubhouse developments are still standing in Paintsville, Stearns, and Harlan.

Letcher County Country Club. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Clubhouses and golf courses were commonly built as an ensemble. Clubhouses constructed by the WPA in Kentucky generally took on a "rustic" appearance, though they could also have colonial revival or art deco references incorporated in the design. (GP, PA64M1). The rustic look of these facilities was accomplished by using native materials, such as log and stone. Typically, foundation walls and chimney stacks were built of stone, while the main body of the structure was often log. Often times, the one-to-one-and-half story buildings look domestic in appearance with gable roofs and chimney stacks. They usually have large porches that wrap around the buildings, in order to take advantage of scenic vistas on clubhouse grounds. Golf courses, which were located directly adjacent to the clubhouse, were either nine or eighteen-hole courses.

New Deal Case Study: Harlan Country Club

Harlan Country Club is situated on an 80-acre site with a nine-hole golf course. The WPA constructed the clubhouse and golf course in 1940. The one-and-a-half story clubhouse has rustic elements. It is constructed with native sandstone and wood-frame elements. A large wrap-around porch dominates the lower level of the building. Currently, the clubhouse is used as a pro-shop and restaurant, and the course is still operating. The only obvious alterations to the building are that the original porch has been screened-in**,** and that the exposed stone masonry has been painted. The nine-hole golf course has 30 wooded acres with the balance being open areas. Today, it is classified as a Rodney Wilson PGA Class A Professional course.



Harlan Golf Course. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

Harlan Golf Course. Photo taken from clubhouse, 2004.

Harlan Country Club, 2004.

The Harlan Country Club is eligible for the National Register as an example of a recreational facility constructed by the New Deal to enhance facilities in Harlan Kentucky. The site maintains enough of its original acreage and rural viewsheds, and the remaining 30 acres has been little changed since its inception. Thus, integrity of *setting* and *location* are intact. Additionally, the clubhouse and grounds have received very few alterations in terms of *materials*, *design*, and *workmanship*, as noted above. The screened-in porch does not obscure the signature view from the clubhouse, and the paint does nothing to detract from the stone masonry. The original rustic style is evident with the heavy rusticated stonework, and there have been no substantial additions or subtractions to the building's interior or exterior. The building has enough of each of these elements of integrity to read as a WPA era clubhouse and golf course. Integrity of *feeling* and *association* also remain with the property. It is locally known as the WPA golf course.

The New Deal the Civilian Conservation Corps: State Parks

The CCC is doing much to develop the southeastern part of the state. Beautiful parks are being established at Cumberland Falls, Pineville, and London. These are being made accessible to tourists by the state of Kentucky though the cooperation of the State Park Commission, the State Highway Department and the Civilian Conservation Corps. Places of historic interest are being marked and preserved.

Much credit is due to the early pioneers but credit must also be given to the pioneers of today—the members of the CCC. They too are blazing trails building roads and establishing anew the "Empire of Southeastern Kentucky."

Comments from the Dedication Services for Levi Jackson State Park June 14, 1935.
In *The Whispering Pine* June 1935, 3.

State parks were a central focus of development during the Depression years. The idea was to make natural resources more accessible to the touring public. In turn, they would be educated about the importance of conservation and recreation. (*The Mountain Laurel* March 1940, 3). New Deal agencies like the CCC and the WPA were involved in developing national, state, and local park facilities. These facilities were designed using the rustic architectural style, which employed natural materials like stone and wood, in order to integrate the buildings within the surrounding natural environs. The rustic style can be most easily compared to the Craftsman and Prairie styles, popular in the 1920s and 1930s, and was often used in state, national, and local park facilities. (Grosvenor 1999, 33).

Campground shelter at Pine Mountain State Resort Park (SRP), 2004.

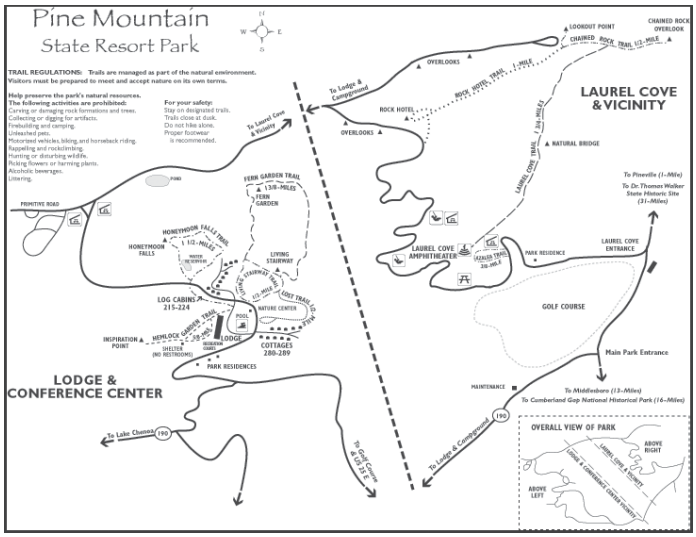
Below: Interior of campground shelter, 2004.

In eastern Kentucky, the CCC and to a lesser extent the WPA were involved in at least four state park projects, including Pine Mountain State Park, Cumberland Falls State Park, Levi Jackson State Park, and Dr. Thomas Walker State Shrine. Of these projects, Pine Mountain State Park and Cumberland Falls State Park were extensively developed to provide overnight accommodations and amenities for tourists. The CCC was the primary agency involved with construction at these parks, though, the WPA also conducted a few projects. (KHS, RG2001M01; GP, PA64M1)

New Deal Case Study: Pine Mountain State Park

Pine Mountain State Park, which was established in 1924, underwent major development during the New Deal era. (Kentucky Department of Parks 1968, 222). The CCC played an active role in constructing park facilities.

The first CCC camp established at the park was SP-3, Company 548 in May 1933. The camp was located at Clear Creek Springs near Pineville. (*The Whispering Pine* October 1935, 2). This camp was charged with creating a two-to-three year master plan for park development work. The master plan laid out roads and trails, the water supply system, a picnic and camping area, a custodian's house, a service building, and a parking area. (*The Whispering Pine* December 1935, 3). In terms of construction projects, Company 548 built a gatehouse in the rustic style, designed by the CCC Landscape Foreman Mr. Barker, a custodian's house, service buildings, a contact (ranger) station, a water reservoir and pump house, roads, campgrounds, and parking areas. (*The Pine Mountaineer* August 1935, 2). The SP-3 camp disbanded in December 1935. (*The Whispering Pine* October 1935, 2).



Pine Mountain SRP current site plan. Image courtesy of the Kentucky Department of Tourism Creative Services.

The second CCC camp involved with Pine Mountain State Park was SP-10, Company 3563. This Company had been located at Levi Jackson State Park in Camp SP-4, but was transferred in August 1935 to Camp SP-10. (*The Whispering Pine* August 1935, 1). At Pine Mountain, the first project that Company 3563 worked on in the park was the construction of additional roads. The camp was then assigned to building shelters, cabins, and a garage and tool house near the Park Manager's house site, and hiking trails including the "Living Stairway." (*The Whispering Pine* August 1935, 1). This Company also constructed the Arch Bridge located on Upper Park Road. The native stone masonry bridge traversed a ravine with a 62' span. (*The Mountain Laurel* November 1938, 3). While the CCC did the majority of work at Pine Mountain State Park, at some point, the WPA took over the construction on the park entrance road. (*The Mountain Laurel* March 1936, 4).

CCC workmen at the Pine Mountain lodge site. Photo date unknown. Photo courtesy of Pine Mountain SRP Naturalist Dean Henson.

Arch Bridge at Pine Mountain SRP, 2004.

Perhaps the most unique project, and one that illustrates the conscious effort of the CCC to blend buildings and structures into the natural landscape, was the Laurel Cove Amphitheater and grounds. Laurel Cove was a natural forest cove that was transformed by the Camp SP-10 into an amphitheater complete with a stage, reflecting pool,

theater seating, and a dressing room. The CCC also constructed the Laurel Cove Shelter, landscaping, and parking area adjacent to the amphitheater. (*The Mountain Laurel*, 1936-37). The site was created for the annual Mountain Laurel Festival. Held every year since 1931, the festival culminates in the crowning of the Mountain Laurel Queen. (Kentucky Department of Parks 1968, 223). Camp SP-10 hoped that the Laurel Cove project would be the "beauty spot" of Pine Mountain State Park. (*The Mountain Laurel* January 1936, 3).

Laurel Cove Amphitheater, 2004.

In all, the major improvements that CCC camps are credited with at the park included a lodge, eleven cabins, Laurel Cove amphitheater and dressing room, three picnic shelters plus a gazebo, a gate house, a contact station (ranger station), hiking trails including the Living Stairway, Holly Springs campground site, four scenic overlooks, parking areas, barbeque grills, water fountains, and landscaping improvements. Infrastructure improvements for the park undertaken by the CCC were the construction of park roads, truck trails, the Arch Bridge, a custodian's house, a park manager's residence, service building, a garage and tool house, water reservoir and pump house, and dynamite magazines. These resources were constructed with natural materials like native stone and rough timber logs, reflecting the CCC's rustic architecture design philosophy. In sum, the CCC created a dynamic and viable state park that has proven to be a valuable asset to the state and the region.

Steps that lead from the Laurel Queen's dressing rooms to the amphitheater stage. Note the Queen's House to the far right of the photo. 2004.

New Deal Case Study: Current Conditions

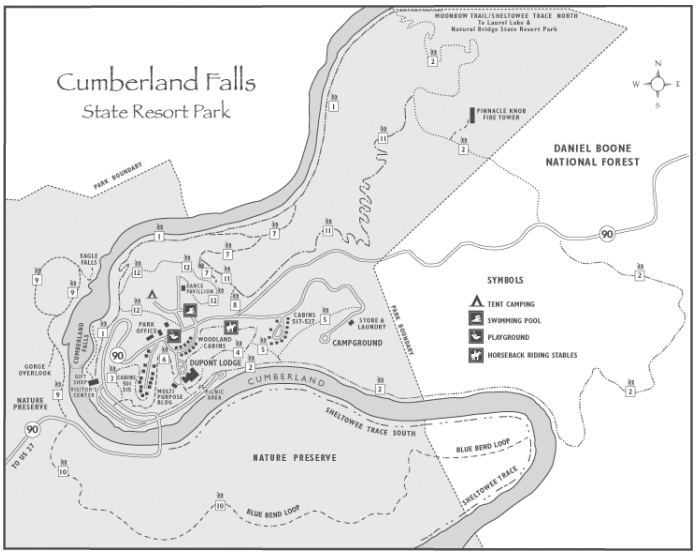
Pine Mountain State Park holds an immense number of extant CCC resources within its boundaries. Most of the 1930s resources survive and are intact, except for the gatehouse constructed by Camp SP-3 that was demolished at some point. The historic Laurel Cove Amphitheatre and its surrounds, the picnic shelters, the arch bridge, custodian's house, park manager's residence, service buildings, dynamite magazines, hiking trails, truck trails, Holly Springs campground, and the landscaping and roads that tie these elements together are in a remarkably good state of preservation. In fact, the park could easily be nominated to the National Register as a historic district under Criterion A for its association with park development in the state and the work of the CCC.

A few resources have been altered over time to keep up with current park needs. The state first renovated the lodge and guest cabins in the 1940s and 1950s. Lexington architect Robert McMeekin designed a substantial addition to the lodge in 1963. (Kentucky Department of Parks 1968, 229). The lodge's integrity was dramatically impacted during the last renovation as the original massing and form have been enveloped. The structure is not currently eligible for the National Register. However, the lodge addition and renovations have been done in a sensitive manner for the park as a whole, and could be eligible when the resource reaches 50 years of age or older. The guest cabins, which were renovated in the 1980s, have fared much better. Small additions were made to create modern kitchens. In some of the cabins, porches were enclosed to make more usable space. Materials used for the additions were similar but not exact replicas so that the progression of construction can easily be read. For the most part, the CCC associated resources at Pine Mountain State Park remain as an intact cultural landscape that expresses the conservation ethos of the agency.

Pine Mountain SRP Contact Station, 2004.

Original lodge at Pine Mountain SRP. Photo date unknown. Photo courtesy of Pine Mountain SRP Naturalist Dean Henson.

Current lodge at Pine Mountain SRP. Photo courtesy of the Kentucky Department of Tourism Creative Services.



Cumberland Falls State Resort Park (SRP) site plan. Courtesy of the Kentucky Department of Tourism Creative Services.

Dupont Lodge at Cumberland Falls SRP, 2004.

Picnic shelter at Cumberland Falls SRP, 2004.

New Deal Case Study: Cumberland Falls State Park

Cumberland Falls State Park was established in the early 1930s, just as the effects of the Depression were becoming apparent. In fact, the new state park came into existence at just about the same time that the Civilian Conservation Corps was created. The Park nearly missed becoming private property, when Governor Sampson lobbied to have the area turned over to private developers for a utility investment project. (Blakey 1986, 17).

Two CCC camps have been identified with an association to the park. Camp SP-7, Company 563 was actually located in the confines of the Park and started work in December 1933. (*The Bugler* August 1934, 2). Based on primary sources, it appears that this Camp was focused on developing tourist facilities. The Dupont Lodge was the main camp project. The lodge was a two-story, rustic building that was constructed for a cost of $5000. (*The Bugler* September 1934, 1). When the 26-room building burned in 1940, it was estimated to have a value of $60,000. (Blakey 1986, 85). Camp SP-7 also constructed five overnight guest cabins of the "most modern type" on a scenic bluff. Governor Laffoon and Mrs. Emma Guy Cromwell, Procurement Officer for the Kentucky State Park Commission officially dedicated the cabins in September 1934. (*The Bugler* September 1934, 4). A stone pump house was also constructed by this camp to serve as a water supply system at the park. (*The Bugler* August 1934, 2).

CCC Camp SP-1, Company 1578 at Corbin was organized as a veteran company and established on July 3, 1935. The veteran's camp disbanded a year later in July 1936, and was reorganized as a

junior camp at SP-1. These camps were charged with infrastructure development at the 600-acre site. Their work generally consisted of developing trails, building roads and guardrails, installing drinking fountains, creating firebreaks around the park boundary, and razing "undesirable" structures. (*Cumberland Falls Spray* September 1936, 1).

Once these improvements had been made, efforts were concentrated again in developing additional lodging facilities. By February 1937, overnight cabin sites were laid out and a cabin road was being built. (*Cumberland Falls Spray* February 1937, 9). Camp SP-1 continued working in the Park until October 1937 when it was moved out of state. Other accomplishments from this Camp are the "Jacob's Ladder" trail and stone stairway to the Falls from Dupont Lodge, a concession building near the Falls, and planting 1000 walnut trees. (*Cumberland Falls Spray* April 1937, 3).

Additionally, CCC Camp F-7, Company 509 did some work in the park, but was not directly affiliated with Cumberland Falls. This camp was based in Williamsburg (Whitley County), and was charged with forest protection and management. This camp, which did most of the fire presuppression and fire fighting work for Cumberland Falls State Park, was probably responsible for construction of Pinnacle Knob Fire Tower. Further research would be required to confirm this connection to the lookout tower. (*The Forerunner* May 1936, 5). The WPA was involved with construction projects at Cumberland Falls State Park. After the original CCC Dupont Lodge was destroyed by fire, the WPA actually rebuilt the Dupont Lodge in a rustic style with 26-rooms. Construction was completed in 1941. (GP, PA64M1).

Above left: Fireplace at Trail #11 Shelter, 2004. Below left: Original cabin built by the CCC. Photo taken in 2004. Right: Trail from Dupont Lodge to the Falls area. Built by the CCC. Photo taken in 2004.

New Deal Case Study: Current Conditions

The CCC and the WPA were both instrumental in the development of Cumberland Falls State Park. Several resources associated with their tenure at the Park remain intact.

The Dupont Lodge has been renovated three times, since the WPA rebuilt it. Even though additions were made to the Lodge, the original section of the building is intact and readable. Some interior modifications to the guest room areas have been made that cover original materials; however, these appear to be reversible changes, given that the new materials cover rather than replace the old. Six of the original CCC cabins survive on the bluff east of Dupont Lodge. Constructed with stone foundations and horizontal log walls, these cabins retain a high degree of their original materials and design. Renovations were made in 1999 to add modern kitchens, which are successfully integrated into the cabin design while still being clearly delineated through use of vertical board siding. One resource associated with tourist facilities has been demolished; the original CCC concession stand at the Falls was replaced with a newer Visitor's Center.

The hiking trails known to be associated with the CCC are numbers 4, 9, 11, and 12. Other trails in the Park are likely to have been constructed by the CCC as well, based on information in the CCC Camp Newsletters.[13] Various features associated with the CCC also remain intact on or near the trails. For instance, dynamite magazines used during the CCC era are located on Trail #4. The trail that leads visitors to the Falls also remains intact. The lodge parking area guardrails and trailheads are also believed to be associated with the CCC, and are intact.

There are three park shelters that were constructed by the CCC, although they were not specifically mentioned in camp newsletters. The picnic shelter located on Trail #2 near the Cumberland River is a rustic style shelter with a massive central stone fireplace. Along Trail #11, there is a smaller shelter

Fireplace at cabin 521. Note the altered wall surfaces and the original stone chimney. Photo taken in 2004.

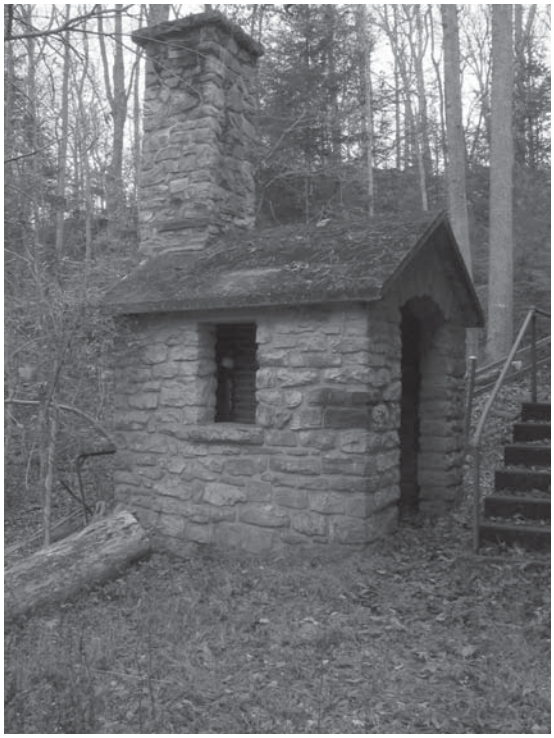
Remodeled kitchen in Cabin 521. Photo taken in 2004.

CCC Dynamite Magazine on Trail #4, 2004.

Trail #11 Shelter, 2004.

[13] For instance, *The Cumberland Falls Spray* names Job #206 as a project for foot trails in the Park, but no names or numbers are given.

that is an octagon shape and constructed with stone and log. This shelter also has a massive stone fireplace on a gable end wall. The other shelter known as the "Gorge Overlook" is located on Trail #9; a small shelter constructed of vertical log designed to serve as a viewing station for the Falls area.



Clifty Incinerator, 2004.

Infrastructure elements such as roads, water supply, and waste disposal constructed during the New Deal era also survive. The amount of alteration to the road system remains unclear. It could be assumed that with modern transportation advancements that at least the road surface has been altered over time, though original alignments seem to be intact. The stone pump house remains intact, but not in use. It is located near the shelter on Trail #2 by the Cumberland River. The Clifty Incinerator is also thought to be associated with the CCC. It is a small stone building with a massive chimneystack. This building is located directly adjacent to the 1950s Clifty Hall that served as a dormitory for park employees.

In all, Cumberland Falls State Park is eligible for the National Register as a historic district associated with the development of the state park system and the work of the CCC in Kentucky. In spite of some inappropriate preservation treatments, which appear for the most part to be reversible, the structures still read as part of the New Deal era.

The New Deal and the Civilian Conservation Corps: CCC Camps

The average boy who comes out of the Civilian Conservation Corps camps has in him the makings of a good citizen. He may have entered discouraged and soured on the world. But he leaves with the knowledge that a nation bent on conserving both its human and its natural resources must have at heart the interest of every one of its citizens.

More than one boy has learned the glory of work in these camps. More than one has been taught to realize the virtue of real effort. Their contribution to this country has been more than little trees planted, fire lanes cleared, and streams held in their banks. Theirs has been a spirit of service…

From *The Algonquin*, 25 February, 1937.

Bald Rock (Laurel Co.) camp enrollee, Leroy Eddy, 1941. Photo courtesy of USFS archaeologist Randy Boedy. (Source: Tom Mayne, Bald Rock enrollee, 1940-41).

The CCC established camps in every state and in rural areas across the country to serve their mission of forest fire prevention, forest husbandry, and recreational and natural improvements. (Merrill 1981, 15). Much of the work accomplished by the CCC was in remote areas, such as forests or parks. Since there was a need to keep enrollees close to project sites, camps were established in close proximity to work areas.

The War Department administered camp operations. Administrative duties included assigning personnel, selecting the camp site, providing supplies and equipment, and the maintenance of facilities and equipment. (Merrill 1981, 15). Probably due to military involvement, CCC camps operated like a military post, as enrollees, ate, slept and lived at the camp.

Three men at the Greenwood Camp (McCreary Co.), 1935. Photo courtesy of USFS archaeologist Randy Boedy. (Source: Verne Acord, 1935 Greenwood enrollee).

In terms of operations, CCC enrollees were assigned to companies of approximately 200 men. These companies were given a three-to-four digit number by the War Department that signified the corps area where the company was originally formed. Companies could be transferred to areas where there was a need for more men. It is not unusual to find companies from other parts of the country based in a different corps area. For instance, Kentucky is in the fifth corps area, but some companies from Kentucky were sent to California in the ninth corps area. These transferred companies retained their fifth corps area designation even though they were now located in California.

Camp numbers were specific to the type of project being undertaken. A letter in front of the camp number designated the type of project the CCC Company was assigned: F for national forests; S for state forests; P for private land; SP for state parks; and NP for national parks. (Merrill 1981, 16). Camps

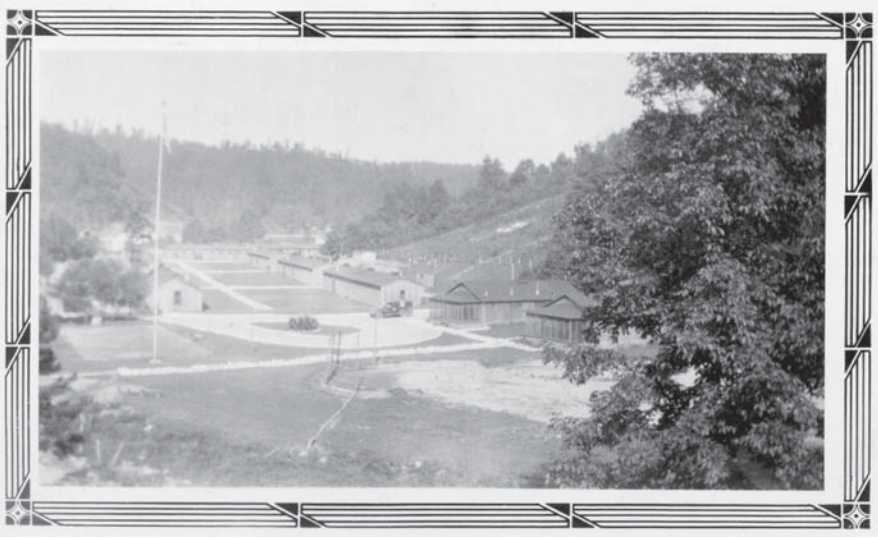
were also given an informal name that either related to a place, a geographic feature, an animal, or a person. The most likely reason for naming the camp was to give their temporary home a more personal identity.

CCC camp buildings at Pine Mountain. Photo date unknown. Photo courtesy of Pine Mountain SRP Naturalist Dean Henson.

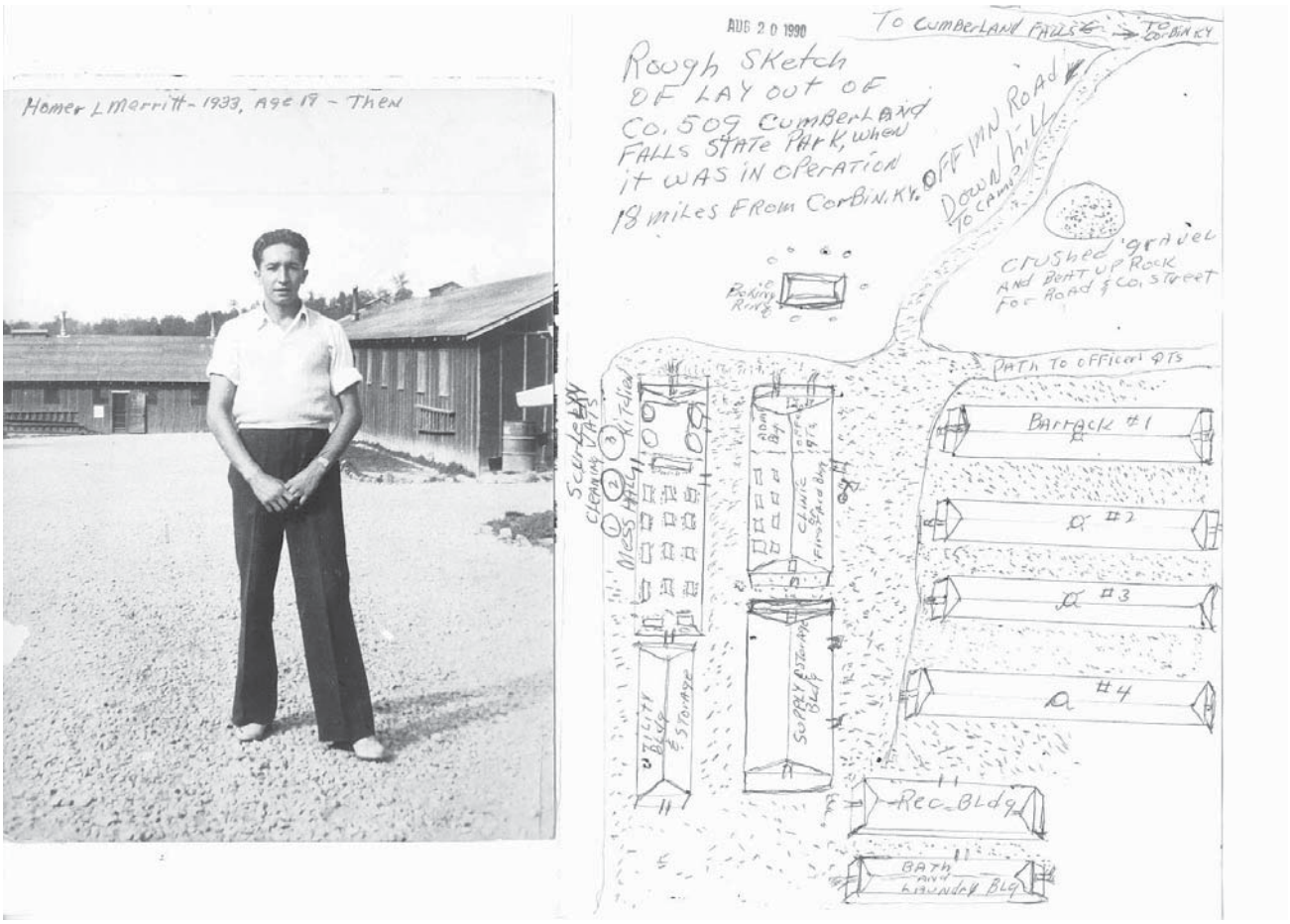
Although policy forbade discrimination on the basis of color, race, creed, or politics, camps were segregated. Black camps were designated with a "C" in the Company number. (Albright et. al. 1990, E-3). Very few camps were integrated, though if the company number has an "X" this indicates that it was a "mixed" camp. Veteran's camps were also established, providing employment for World War I veterans who were beyond the traditional CCC age. Those companies would have a "V" in the number. (Albright et. al. 1990, E-3).

Upon arrival at a new site, enrollees were charged with clearing the site and setting up camp. Men were initially housed in tents, until sturdier buildings could be erected. As the CCC program developed at a site, most buildings were designed to be portable, yet solid. It was important that buildings could be easily moved and reassembled at other camp sites when an existing camp shut down. To make this process more efficient, the CCC adopted standardized designs for camp buildings using precut lumber. (Cohen 1980, 25). Since CCC camp buildings were generally intended to be temporary in nature, it is unusual to find buildings extant at former camp sites. (Albright et. al. 1990, E-4).

The nature of CCC projects and number of men at a camp created a need for a variety of buildings. The typical buildings found in a CCC camp included four to five barracks, officers quarters, kitchen/mess hall, laundry, bath house, latrine, recreation hall, education building, infirmary, tool storage building, garages, oil house, paint house, and generator house. Most buildings were of wood-frame construction with clapboard or board-and-



Stearns CCC Camp (McCreary Co.), circa 1936-37. Photo courtesy of USFS archaeologist Randy Boedy. (Source: Verne Acord, 1935 Greenwood enrollee).



Homer Merritt at the Cumberland Falls CCC Camp. His rendering of the camp site is to the right. Photo courtesy of USFS archaeologist Randy Boedy. (National Association of CCC Alumni, St Louis).

batten siding and had gable roofs. Buildings such as pump houses and dynamite magazines were constructed with reinforced concrete. Foundation walls could be concrete slab or piers.

CCC camp buildings were usually one story and rectangular in form. (Merrill 1981, 16). These buildings had varying dimensions depending on use. (Merrill 1981, 16). For example, at Camp F-9 Company 1559, barracks sheltering at least 50 men were 20 feet by 112 feet, while officers quarters were 20 feet by 44 feet. The mess hall at the camp was 20 feet by 116 feet, while the recreation building was only 28 feet by 56 feet. (*Pine Ridge Peckerwood* 1935, 1).

Site plans and building types varied depending on the terrain and camp needs. (Albright et. al. 1990, E-3). Concrete dams and waterworks were also constructed at CCC camp sites to supply water. (*Rockcastle Camp Chatter* 1936, 1). Along with the camp buildings, the enrollees improved their environs with athletic fields, walkways, roads, and sometimes pools. This work was done during the enrollees leisure time.

When the CCC undertook projects in isolated locations a significant distance from the main camp, a side camp would be established. (Merrill 1981, 16). Side camps, sometimes known as spike or spur camps, consisted of a group of 20 to 30 enrollees from a company. These camps were temporary in nature and were generally in existence only for the duration of the project. Tents were used for shelter and administrative purposes at the side camp. Occasionally, a side camp would become a main camp and more sturdy structures would be added.

CCC Camps in Kentucky

In Kentucky, approximately 85 CCC camps were established across the state. Of this number, 32 CCC camps are known to have existed in the East Kentucky study region, mainly with forest or park project designations. (http://www.cccalumni.org/states/kentucky1.html).

Alidade at Bald Rock Lookout Tower. From USFS Interpretive Marker at Bald Rock Tower site.

Not all of the East Kentucky counties had camps, especially if there was little forested land to preserve, such as in Greenup and Boyd Counties. Other areas had numerous camps. The Cumberland National Forest, for example, had 15 camps during the period. Workers at these camps constructed fire towers, truck trails, fire breaks, telephone lines, and developed park facilities in the region. Without these camps' improvements, the development of the Daniel Boone National Forest might have been severely diminished. (Collins 1975, 217).

New Deal Case Study Example: Camp Bald Rock

The CCC camp at Bald Rock in Laurel County, known as Camp F-15, Company 3552, was located in the Cumberland National Forest, later named the Daniel Boone National Forest. According to camp newsletters, the camp started as a side camp in 1936 and was established as a permanent camp in 1938. (*Rock Castle Camp Chatter* 9/10/36, 7). It was responsible for building the Bald Rock Lookout Tower, as well as the Sublimity Bridge. Camp F-15 also assisted in forest fire presuppression and suppression efforts.

Today, this site is used by the U.S. Forest Service as a training facility for forest fire fighters. The camp site is still in active use, although, most of the original buildings have not survived There is one wood-frame, clapboard sided building that survives on the site, known as the "Sheet Shack." This building appears to date to the CCC camp era. Local sources at the USFS have corroborated the CCC association with the structure as well. Though its original use remains elusive, project staff believe it was utilized as office space. The building has a high degree of integrity and retains most of its original materials.

The "Sheet Shack" is a gable-front building that is one story in height. The original front door and windows remain in place. The interior has wood floors with tongue and groove panel walls and ceiling. The building rests on a concrete slab foundation. Part of this foundation extends past the footprint of the building which may point to its original use. The building remains in its original *location*, and its forested *setting* has not been altered. Additionally, original *materials* and *workmanship* are in high evidence on the structure. The building has experienced no additions to its initial form, and its plan has not been changed, preserving integrity of *design*. Therefore, the structure retains integrity of *setting*, *location*, *materials*, *workmanship*, and *design*.

Buildings at Bald Rock Camp, circa 1941. Enrollee Mark Gibson is in the foreground. Photo courtesy of USFS archaeologist Randy Boedy. (Source: Tom Mayne, Bald Rock enrollee, 1940-41).

All of these factors combine to convey integrity of *feeling* and *association*. This structure is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A for its association with the CCC in Kentucky.

Bald Rock CCC building, known as the "Sheet Shack." Photo taken in 2004.

The "mess hall" on the Bald Rock site is also believed to be associated with the CCC. However, it has been drastically altered over time making identification nearly impossible, though a few historic elements are visible on the interior and exterior. Put simply, the structure does not retain enough elements of integrity to read as a structure associated with the CCC. A great deal of detective work is necessary to find extant materials and design elements that associate it with this time. Integrity of *design* and *materials* do not exist in this case, even on a low level, making it ineligible for the National Register.

Bald Rock Mess Hall, 2004. Modern alterations have made this structure ineligible for the National Register.

In sum, some CCC camp structures will have questionable integrity. Since it is rare to uncover such buildings intact, integrity standards must be very flexible. When assessing these buildings and landscape features, they should retain low-to-medium integrity of materials, design, workmanship, association, setting, and location.

Generally, CCC camp sites should involve an archaeological survey to determine extant resources from the New Deal period. Archaeologists can help determine site boundaries, layout, and asses the site's condition. Given the inherent ephemeral nature of most camps, it is rare to identify extant buildings associated with the CCC. If remains are found, they should be treated as sensitive archaeological sites that may be eligible for the National Register.

CCC dynamite magazine near Bald Rock site, 2004.

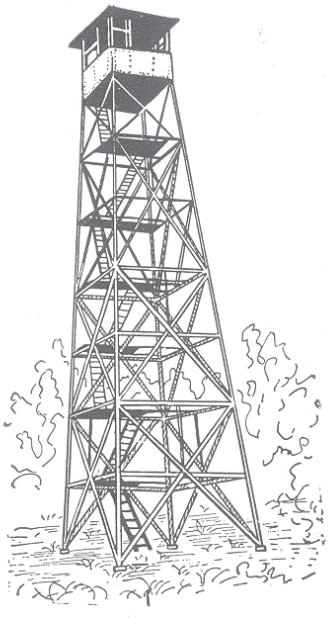
Concrete foundation remains, which are generally rectangular in form with some type of raised edge rather than a flat slab, are the most likely resources to be encountered on a site. The concrete will likely have a lot of pebble in its composition and may also have visible steel rebar used for reinforcing. Features such as concrete stairs or cisterns may also be present, since these were also made of durable materials. Water systems, such as stone or concrete dams or iron pipe and drainage ditches, may also be observed. Field surveyors should inspect streams or creeks for evidence of water distribution elements.

The New Deal and the Civilian Conservation Corps: Lookout Towers

This trail on contour location leads to Reid's Branch over headwaters of Britton Branch; thence to a proposed tower site on Little Black Mountain at Elevation of 2428. Anticipated trails will converge from this tower site to County Road on Cranks Creek, out Little Black Mountain Ridge to the village of Tway on Martins Fork and State Highway.. Construction of the above Tower and Trails will permit fire protection over a heavily timbered section in which many fires have originated in the past. The transportation of men into this section (to the actual site of fires) has in the past been very slow and difficult. The area to be developed is now under protection by cooperative agreement with the State Forest Service. From the above Tower site, lands on Yookum's Creek, Cranks, Creek, Crummies Creek, are readily visible. Triangulation with existing tower at Putney and proposed tower on Chumklick Knob (P-74) will be possible from this tower.

From *The Cloverleaf*, 4 July, 1936.

The Lookout Tower before 1905. (Kylie 1937, CCC Forestry).



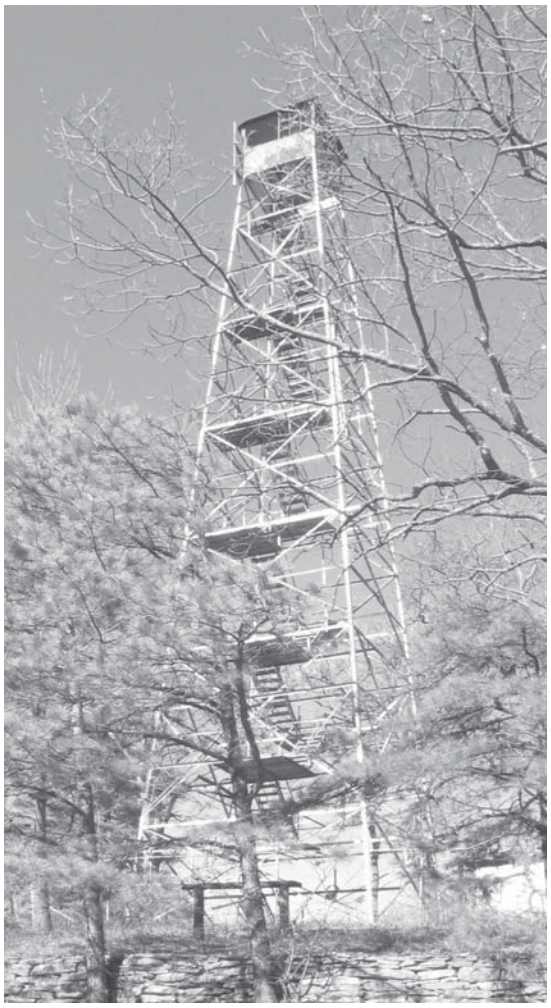
A typical CCC era Fire Tower. (Kylie 1937, CCC Forestry).

National and state forests are vulnerable to the dangers of wildfires, making fire detection and suppression a critical element in forest management. In the interest of conservation, the mission for forest fire prevention and suppression was developed in the early 1900s by Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the Forest Service. (Grosvenor 1999, 95). Early fire detection methods included placing forest observers on high peaks with unobstructed views to detect potential fires. Having lookouts located in tall trees with crude platforms or small log cabins became favored after 1905. (Grosvenor 1999, 96).

Before dependable telephone lines were installed, fire lookout watchmen, or "fire spotters" would communicate between stations with small mirrors called heliographs. This device was made of two mirrors that reflected sunlight. Messages were sent by using Morse Code. Fire spotters were also charged with fighting fires and were equipped with fire suppression tools. Once a fire was located, the fire spotters headed to the site either on foot or by horse. (http://www.fs.fed.us/r1/bitterroot/recreation/rentals/lookouts/lookouts.htm).

The first fire towers or lookout towers, which began to appear in the 1910s, marked an evolution in forest resource management. (Kickert 1990, 2). Integral to the landscape of forest fire detection and suppression, towers along with truck trails and telephone lines provided an organized communication system to survey forests and spot fires in early stages. This lookout system relied on a group of regional fire towers that allowed for triangulation in locating a fire. Fire fighting crews could then be dispatched to the site to suppress the fire. (Osborne 1934, 3). Generally, there was a hierarchy of fire towers with one primary tower that commanded the maximum range in the territory. Several secondary towers were located on less prominent peaks and had a shorter command range. Watchmen in the towers communicated with telephones. Once a fire was

spotted, firemen could be dispatched to the forest on a network of truck trails. (Osborne 1934, 3). Therefore, the lookout tower existed within an extremely important transportation and communication network of phone lines and truck trails.



Putney Fire Tower (Harlan Co.), 2004.

The lookout tower in the eastern states is typically made of galvanized steel that has an open structural frame similar to a derrick. The observation platform, commonly called a cab, is enclosed. The cab size varied from 7' x 7' to 14' x 14' and was either steel or frame in construction. Larger cabs actually had space for living quarters based on the duBois design used mostly in California. The smaller cabs were stations for observation only.

Several varieties of towers were constructed by the CCC for the Forest Service. The different types of cabs include: L-4 cabs, L-5 cabs, L-6 cabs, R-6 Cabs, and the Aermotor towers. The L-4s were 14'x14' frame cabs made for human habitation, and could be placed atop tall fire towers. The earliest models have a gabled shingle roof and heavy shutters. The L-4s built in 1933-1953 have hip roofs with bolts from extended ceiling joists, instead of 2"x2" pine struts to hold the shutters open. The L-5 is a 10'x10' cab and the L-6 an 8'x8' cab. The R-6 tower uses a flat roof cab and is typically constructed of plywood. The Aerometer Company based in Chicago produced the 7' x 7' galvanized steel cabs on towers that ranged 34' to 175' tall. (Grosvenor 1999, 96-97). (http://www.firelookout.net/Primary_Pages/definitions.htm).

All towers were equipped with telephones and fire finders that usually were located in the center of the cab. To maximize viewing capabilities, windows were on all sides allowing for a panoramic view of the forest. Cabs were accessed by wooden or steel stairs with entry through a trap door. The larger cabs have catwalks on the perimeter.

Often times, there were watchman's cabins at the base of towers without living quarters. Most towers operated only during fire season; however, primary stations were run year round.

CCC Associated Fire Towers

The CCC contributed immensely to development of lookout towers, truck trails, and telephone lines in state and national forests. The conservation mission of the CCC fit well with the Forest Service's resource management plans.

Buck Knob Fire Tower (McCreary Co.), circa 1935-37. Photo courtesy of USFS archaeologist Randy Boedy. (Source: Verne Acord, 1935 Greenwood CCC Camp enrollee).

Stearns Fire Tower (McCreary Co.), 2004.

CCC camps located in forests worked on the construction of towers, truck trails, telephone lines, and fire suppression. (Collins 1975, 216). Lookout towers were generally purchased in prefabricated parts, then constructed on site by enrollees. Occasionally, side camps were established at a tower site to facilitate construction.

The CCC blazed truck trails to tower sites and through the forest for convenient access. Truck trails are generally characterized as roads covered with crushed rock or left surfaced with dirt. These roads formed a fire prevention network through the forest, and allowed vehicles and machinery access to timber stands. (Havlick 2002, 15). Fire towers also served as tourist sites since picnic tables and trails were often developed around their base. By providing recreational facilities, the Forest Service saw this as a way to educate the public on fire safety. The CCC also constructed watchman cabins and cisterns that were associated with lookout towers.

Lookout Towers in Kentucky

The CCC constructed numerous lookout towers for the US Forest Service in Kentucky during the New Deal era. The total number of fire towers constructed by the CCC for the U.S. Forest Service is estimated to be 155. (http://www.ffla.org). Evidence suggests that they were built in forested areas across the state.

Many towers were built in eastern Kentucky due to vast amount of forest land being developed at the time. At least 20 towers have been identified in the research area through initial archival research. (See Appendix Four). Of these, project staff has documented three lookout towers at Stearns, Pinnacle Knob, and Putney. Many more towers, however, are likely to have been constructed in the region, which remain undocumented and unrecorded.

Lookout Towers and Integrity

For CCC associated fire towers to be considered eligible for the National Register, there should be a moderate level of integrity of *setting*, *location*, *design*, *feeling*, and *association*. Ideally, tower sites should have forest surrounding the lookout. The tower must be on its original site, and it must retain enough of its original *design*, *setting*, *feeling*, and *association* to associate it with the CCC's tenure in forest fire prevention measures. Replacement materials on the steps and catwalks do not make a tower ineligible, as long as they are of the same general rise and run or form as the original. These materials can be expected

to need replacement, due to their exposure to the elements. The tower's *design*, then, is a more important element of integrity to be addressed.

Alidade fire-spotting device. (Kylie 1937, CCC Forestry).

New Deal Case Study: Pinnacle Knob Fire Tower

The Pinnacle Knob Lookout Tower located in Whitley County was constructed in 1937 by the CCC for the US Forest Service. The site is currently, and was historically, within the boundaries of Cumberland Falls State Resort Park. Initially, the National Park Service objected to the location of the tower on a prominent point in the park. Park officials were concerned that the tower would be an intrusion on the natural setting of the park. The U.S. Forest Service, however, went ahead with the construction of the tower in the fall of 1937. (Kickert 1990, 3). The tower replaced an earlier wooden structure that also had been constructed by the CCC overlooking Dryland Ridge. The new tower was sited on Pinnacle Knob with an elevation of 1300 feet. At a commanding 40 feet in height, the 14' x 14' frame cab had a panoptic view of the forest.

Pinnacle Knob Tower trail, 2004.

The Pinnacle Knob Tower triangulated fires with towers at Bald Rock, Buck Knob, Stearns, and Shelley Knob. (Kickert 1990, 2). The tower's L-4 design provided a cab with space for living quarters. Tower staff lived there during fire season. The cab was equipped with a bed, a small step stove, a radio, and a telephone. A cistern below the tower collected water from the roof. The Osborne Fire Finder, which was an alidade-type fire-sighting device, was used in conjunction with maps to pinpoint the exact location of a fire. This instrument occupied the center of the cab. (Kickert 1990, 4).

The use of lookout towers for fire detection was greatly diminished by aerial surveillance in the 1960s and 1970s. The Pinnacle Knob Tower was decommissioned by the U.S. Forest Service in 1976. (Kickert 1990, 5). Many towers were sold, abandoned, or dismantled for scrap metal, making survival rates extremely low. Locating and documenting towers can be challenging. Dense forest locations obscure towers from view. Local informants and tower enthusiasts will most likely have knowledge of tower sites.

Pinnacle Knob Fire Tower, 2004.

New Deal Case Study: Current Conditions

Currently, the Pinnacle Knob Tower remains in fair condition and is in need of restoration. Despite being abandoned in 1976, however, the tower retains much of its integrity, and is eligible for the National Register.

Pinnacle Knob Tower view, 2004.

Located a half mile north of Highway 90 at Pinnacle Knob, the wood frame L-4 cab sits atop the 40 foot steel tower, and has never been moved. The site remains surrounded by its original forest setting.

Accessed by steel steps, which replaced the original wooden steps, the cab's interior has wooden floors, walls, and ceiling. Windows wrap around the entire cab creating panoramic views. Several of the steel divided light windows are still intact, though the glass is missing. Most of the interior furnishings are gone with the exception of a cabinet and the base for the Osborne Fire Finder. The hipped roof of the cab has replacement cedar shakes. A steel catwalk which was originally wood, surrounds the exterior of the cab. In sum, the Pinnacle Knob Tower maintains much of its historic *design* elements, in that its form, plan, space and structure have not changed. The Tower has a low-to-medium level of integrity of *materials*, because some of the exterior original wooden materials were replaced with steel. The rise and run of the steps, however, is unchanged. Additionally, the catwalk's design has not been altered.

The combination of integrity of *setting*, *design*, and *materials* taken together convey integrity of *feeling* and *association* with the development of fire fighting technologies by the CCC and the US Forest Service.

The New Deal and the Civilian Conservation Corps: USFS Ranger Stations

One of the main missions of the CCC was to promote environmental conservation on public lands. Since national and state forests were not intended to be used as parks but as natural resources, administrative buildings and infrastructure were needed for access and management purposes. Working in conjunction with national and state forest divisions, the CCC constructed numerous support buildings for forestry personnel and equipment. (Grosvenor 1999, 33). CCC projects included construction of forestry division facilities, such as stations, dwellings, garages, warehouses, and waterworks.

Forest Service buildings were typically constructed with locally available materials, such as log and stone, in order to harmonize with scenic natural surroundings. (Grosvenor 1999, 36). In fact, use of these materials was strongly favored by the US Forest Service, which consistently supported rustic architectural styles and materials, often referred to in CCC newsletters as "old fashioned Indian or Daniel Boone style." (*The Wildcat* 1937, 1). The rustic architectural style is generally characterized by a horizontal emphasis and low massing, similar to the Craftsman style popular at the time. (Grosvenor 1999, 33). In terms of designs, these too were approved by the US Forest Service. Plans for buildings were often already drawn and available in CCC camp manuals with specifications for construction.

New Deal Case Study: Putney Ranger Station

In 1919, the site of the first state forest, Kentenia, was established on the south side of Pine Mountain in Harlan County. The land was acquired by the state as a gift from the Kentenia-Cantron Corporation, which was presumably a company associated with timber extraction. The forest was comprised of seven scattered tracts totaling 3,624 acres. (http://www.forestry.ky.gov/programs/stateforest/State+Forest+Locations.htm).

In order to assist in the protection and management of the forest, an on-site district headquarters was needed. Infrastructure for the forest such as lookout towers, truck trails, and telephone lines were also necessary for forest fire prevention. To manage the program, Putney Ranger Station was established as the first district headquarters for the Kentucky State Division of Forestry and was situated in the Kentenia Forest. (Howard and Greene 1992, 488).

The ranger station was constructed by CCC Camp S-53, Company 512 with work starting in January 1937. Camp S-53 was established in May 1933 and was among the first CCC camps established in Southeast Kentucky. (*The Wildcat* 1935, 4). The camp was located adjacent to the Kentenia State Forest. Work by Company 512 encompassed forest fire presuppression, fire fighting, and forest stand improvements. The camp also did extensive construction in the Kentenia Forest including roads, truck trails, fire towers, and telephone lines, as well as building the district headquarters. (*Wildcat Weekly* 1939, 2).

Putney Ranger Station, west façade, 2004.

Plans for the district headquarters were approved by the Regional Forester to construct a 69 feet by 49 feet rustic style building to serve as an office and a dwelling house for the forest ranger and his/her family. The building program included two offices, a large drafting room, a living room, a dining room, four bedrooms, and a bathroom. A basement was also constructed to provide space for heating equipment.

Putney Ranger Station, massive interior stone chimney, 2004.

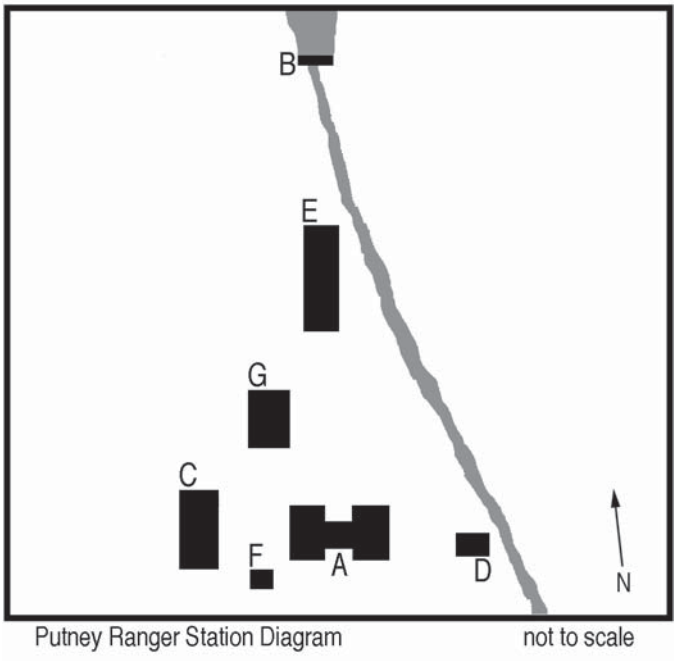
Materials specified for the construction of the headquarters were native sandstone quarried from state forest land to be used in the foundation to a height directly under the window sills; 10 inch logs for walls above the window sills; split shingles for the roof; and chestnut paneling with black walnut trim for the interior walls. To enhance the rustic appearance, a large stone fireplace was included between the living room and dining room and wood beamed ceilings were installed in the public spaces. (*The Wildcat* 1937, 1).

On the exterior, plans called for a front verandah measuring 13 ft x 28 ft. Further enhancing the site, a terraced lawn with ornamental plantings was included in the overall design.

New Deal Case Study: Current Conditions

Putney Ranger Station (A) is extant and in good condition. The building is one story in height plus a basement and has a gable roof. The structure utilizes an H-shaped floor plan with a front terrace and a screened porch in the rear. The sandstone foundation and log walls remain exposed.

A creek is located to the east of the ranger station. This creek was used as a source to supply water for the Putney Ranger Station. The CCC constructed a reservoir with a dam to establish a water supply (B). It is located a short distance to the north along the creek The dam is made with a heavy rock wall and has an adjustable flood gate. (*The Wildcat*, Aug. 1937, 1).



Putney Site plan.

The ranger station site has several support buildings also constructed by the CCC. These buildings had a variety of uses for the purpose of forest management from storage to vehicle maintenance. Two garages and a warehouse remain extant, as well as two other buildings with unknown functions.

Putney "Tool Warehouse," Building E. Photo taken in 2004.

To the west of the ranger station is a two bay garage is a log structure with a gable roof (C). The other garage is on the east side of the ranger station. It is a single bay structure with principal log framing elements and vertical wood siding (D). It has a gable front roof and a pit that appears to have been for servicing automobiles.

The rectangular "warehouse" building is located to the northeast of the station near the creek bed (E). It is of frame construction with wood clapboard siding. The structure has a gable roof with one side extending outward to form a porch along the length of the building. It sits on stone piers and has been filled in with concrete block to make a basement space. Based upon the appearance of this structure, it could have been used as living quarters for USFS staff or the CCC.

CCC-constructed dam at the Putney site, 2004.

There is also a small frame building with clapboard siding and a gable-front roof directly beside the ranger station on the west side (F). The building rests on piers and may have been moved to the site at a later period. The other building sits behind the ranger station on the north side (G). It is frame with board-and-batten siding and clerestory lighting. The style and materials differ from the rest on the compound, which might indicate that it was constructed during a separate building campaign.

New Deal Case Study: Integrity

The Putney Ranger Station is eligible for the National Register under Criterion A because of its association with the first state-owned forest in Kentucky and its association with New Deal era conservation services provided by the CCC.

Putney double bay garage, Building C. Photo taken in 2004

It is very rare to find a forest station complex intact from this era, especially with a high level of integrity. The Putney Station is an exception, as it maintains a high degree of integrity. The site retains its forested *setting* and none of the buildings have been moved. Most of the original *materials* on the interior and exterior remain intact for the entire complex, including the Station building and support structures. The original windows, floors, beamed ceilings, fixtures, and paneling are still in place in the station. Additionally, the original floor plans have been retained on all structures.

There have been very few alterations to the buildings. On the station building, the kitchen and bathrooms have undergone minimal modern renovations, and split shingles on the roof have been replaced with asphalt shingles. Additionally, building E has been altered through enclosure of the open area between foundation piers with concrete block. Otherwise, there has been very little loss of materials and design elements. The former five elements of integrity, when taken together, combine to give the site integrity of *association* and *feeling* with the New Deal era. Therefore, the Putney site possesses integrity of *design*, *materials*, *workmanship*, *setting*, *location*, *feeling*, and *association*.

Today, plans for the Putney Ranger Station are to rehabilitate it as a tourism welcome center and CCC museum. The welcome center will provide crucial tourism infrastructure to Harlan County. The museum will pay homage to the CCC heritage of Harlan County. Plans include a new roof, log restoration, new heat, air, plumbing, and wiring. The outbuildings will also be repaired and restored. This project will preserve the history of the ranger station and its dependencies that were a vital element in forest management of the Kentenia Forest.

Section Six

Conclusion and Notes for Future Research

This report has attempted to chronicle New Deal history during the 1930s and 1940s across the state and in the East Kentucky study region. Contexts have been developed that address such themes as PWA and FSA housing and rural rehabilitation efforts, New Deal recreation sites, and CCC conservation infrastructure. It has become clear from these efforts that the impact of the New Deal is far-reaching. The roads we drive on, the state parks we enjoy, and the water we drink has all been influenced to some extent by a New Deal agency.

In combination with these studies, surveys have been undertaken in the region to develop an understanding of potential property types. In particular, this data along with contextual themes, has permitted for evaluation and integrity assessments of certain classes of resources, although much more still needs to be done. The four county surveys have also revealed a disturbing trend—the destruction of New Deal resources at a rate of 65 percent on average. This is a regrettably low rate of retention that undoubtedly points to a lack of recognition of the historic significance of these resources, and a subsequent need for educational efforts regarding the New Deal. The rewards for such actions will be felt in local communities gaining a broader, more holistic view of their past.

Future Research

As is always the case, there is still much work to be done. There are several classes of resources of which we are just beginning to understand. Few of these resources were documented in this study, though it is realized that they too are as ubiquitous as schools and courthouses. Particular examples of these property types are sanitary sewers, wastewater treatment facilities, incinerators, and waterworks. It will be important in future studies to document their presence and develop workable integrity standards for these property types. These studies should be done in concert with a mechanical engineer or expert in public health infrastructure.

Also important to a complete understanding of the New Deal is inclusion of all the main agencies whose mission involved construction or altering the cultural landscape. Future research should encompass the work of the PWA, CWA, CCC, KERA, FSA/RRA, HOLC, NYA, and TVA, not just projects undertaken by the WPA. The WPA's influence has largely become synonymous with the New Deal, yet its progeny do not equal half of these agencies combined.

Further augmenting these endeavors will be future county and state park surveys and National Register work. This report has largely not attempted to tell the New Deal story on this level, because of the need for a large scale context through which to view local works projects. It is hoped that this study can be utilized to initiate more studies on a smaller scale. In the region, for example, two state parks are in need to comprehensive documentation, Dr. Thomas Walker State Park and Levi Jackson State Park. Beyond the area, a full scale survey should be undertaken of state park architecture, or parkitecture, that would assist with understanding and preserving our park's historic resources, and marketing them appropriately. Additionally, all counties in the region benefited from a New Deal program, yet there are very few surveys

or National Register work accomplished in this area. A county study could, for example, link New Deal quarry sites to specific construction projects, or document CCC camp sites and work projects in a county or region.

In sum, the New Deal was the consummation of progressive efforts to modernize the state of Kentucky and the nation. Evenly paved roads, modern hospitals and clinics, and potable water can date their beginnings to the New Deal era. It is hoped that this report has successfully documented these endeavors and has shed new light on the important historic resources that date from the Great Depression that were built by local sponsors with federal government labor and assistance.

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Appendices

Appendix One: Survey Forms Received from Project Area

County	*Name of Resource*	*Current Use*	*New Deal Agency*
Breathitt	Little Rock School	Demolished	U*
Breathitt	Rousseau School	_____	WPA
Breathitt	Breathitt High School	Demolished	WPA
Breathitt	Five Mile School	Vacant	WPA
Breathitt	Strong Fork School	Demolished	WPA
Breathitt	Vancleve School	Church Use	WPA
Breathitt	Big Rock School	Vacant	WPA
Breathitt	Houston School	Vacant	U
Breathitt	Breathitt County Jail	Jail	WPA
Breathitt	Old Lees College Dorm	Demolished	U
Breathitt	Cockrell's Fork School	Residence	U
Breathitt	Caney School	Vacant	CWA/KERA
Breathitt	Jackson City Hall	City Hall	WPA
Breathitt	Altro School	Vacant	U
Carter	Grahn School	School	WPA
Carter	Olive Hill HS Steps	Steps	WPA
Carter	Carter City School	School	WPA
Carter	Hitchens School	School	WPA
Carter	Prichard School	Demolished	WPA
Carter	Grayson Community Center	City Hall	NYA
Carter	Carter Co. Jail	Vacant	WPA
Jackson	Water Resevoir	Abandoned	CCC
Jackson	Retaining Wall	Wall	WPA
Jackson	Jackson Co. Courthouse	Courthouse	WPA
Jackson	Horse Lick Creek Bridge	Bridge	WPA
Jackson	McKee High School	Vacant	WPA
Jackson	KY 89 Culverts	Culverts	WPA
Johnson	Oil Springs Gym	Community Center	WPA
Johnson	Old Johnson County Library	Board of Ed. Office	WPA
Johnson	Old Johnson County Jail	Jail	U
Johnson	Flat Gap Gym	Gym	WPA
Johnson	The 3-C Road	Road	CCC
Johnson	Meade Memorial Gym	Gym	WPA
Johnson	Paintsville Board of Education	School	WPA
Johnson	Paintsville City Hall	City Hall	WPA
Johnson	Van Lear Gym	Masonic Lodge	WPA
Knott	Buffalo Elementary School	_____	WPA
Laurel	Sublimity Forest Community	Housing/Suburb	RRA/FSA
Laurel	Hazel Green School	School	WPA
Laurel	Bush School	School	WPA
Laurel	County Municipal Bldg	Sheriff, Jail	WPA

* *U=Unknown*

County	*Name of Resource*	*Current Use*	*New Deal Agency*
Laurel	Bennett Branch School	Community Center	WPA
Laurel	School	School	WPA
Laurel	London School/Gym	School/Gym	WPA
Laurel	Cold Hill School	Residence	WPA
Laurel	Lily School Gym & Classrooms	Private	WPA
Laurel	East Bernstadt Ind. Elementary School	School	WPA
Laurel	Wiggins Gymnasium	Gym	WPA
Laurel	Pittsburg School	School	WPA
Laurel-LJSP*	Custodians House	House	CCC
Laurel-LJSP	Little Laurel River Dam	Dam	CCC
Laurel-LJSP	Log Shelter	Picnic Shelter	CCC
Laurel-LJSP	Stone Walls @Park Entrance	Walls	CCC
Laurel-LJSP	Maintenance Barn	Barn	CCC
Laurel-LJSP	LJ SP Museum Bldgs	Museum	WPA
Laurel-LJSP	McHargue's Mill Reconstruction	Museum Site	WPA
Laurel-LJSP	Stone Gate House	Vacant	CCC
Laurel-LJSP	Stone Wall	Wall	CCC
Lawrence	Martha School House	Vacant/Ruins	U
Lawrence	Blaine School	Vacant/Ruins	KERA
Lawrence	Clifford School Gym	Vacant	WPA
Lawrence	City of Louisa City Hall	City Hall	WPA
Lawrence	Lowmansville School	Private Business	U
Lawrence	Meades Branch School	Church	U
Lawrence	Webville School Bldg.	Storage	U
Lawrence	Lawrence County Courthouse (Jail)	Sherriff Office	WPA
Lee	Beattyville City Hall		WPA
Lewis	Lewis County Elementary (Central)	School	U
Lewis	Lewis County Courthouse	Courthouse	WPA
Martin	Martin County Courthouse	Courthouse	WPA
Martin	Tomahawk School	School	WPA
Morgan	Morgan County HS	Govt Building	KERA/WPA
Morgan	Crockett School	Private Owner	WPA
Morgan	Cannel City School	School	WPA
Morgan	Wrigley School	School	WPA
Morgan	Woodsbend School	Vacant	WPA
Morgan	Morgan County Jail	Historical Society	WPA
Pike	Shelbiana School	Vacant	WPA
Pike	Pauley Bridge	Abandoned	WPA
Whitley	Pleasant View School	School	WPA
Whitley	Rockholds School	School	WPA
Whitley	City School Auditorium	Cumberland College Bldg.	WPA
Wolfe	Campton Elementary	School	WPA

Source: Local County Judge Executives, Historical Societies, and Tourist Commissions

**Levi Jackson State Park*

Appendix Two: Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration Work Projects, April 1934 - July 1935

Type of Project	*Number of Projects*	*Description*
Abattoir	1 abattoir	Improved and Repaired
Abattoir	1 abattoir	Constructed
Acres of Ground Landscaped	792 acres	New Construction
Acres of Ground Landscaped	13100 acres	Improvements
Airport Buildings	2 airport bldgs.	Improved and Repaired
Airport Buildings	2 airport bldgs.	Constructed
Airports	2 airports	Improved
Airports	19 airports	Constructed
Amphitheatre	1 amphitheatre	Improved
Armories	4 armories	Improved and Repaired
Armory Riding Hall	1 armory riding hall	Constructed
Auditoriums	3 auditoriums	Constructed
Auditoriums	2 auditoriums	Improved and Repaired
Baseball Fields	10 fields	Constructed
Baseball Fields	27 fields	Improved
Bath House	1 bath house	Improved and Repaired
Beautified Highway	825 miles	Beautified
Bridges	576 bridges	Constructed
Bridges	446 bridges	Improved and Repaired
Buildings	8 bldgs.	Demolished
Children's Camps	3 camps	Improved and Repaired
Children's Camps	4 camps	Constructed
Children's Playgrounds	3 playgrounds	Constructed
Children's Playgrounds	9 playgrounds	Improved
City Halls	3 city halls	Constructed
City Halls	12 city halls	Improved and Repaired
Combination Athletic Fields	20 fields	Constructed
Combination Athletic Fields	22 fields	Improved
Combination Community Bldgs	3 community bldgs	Improved and Repaired
Combination Community Bldgs	2 community bldgs	Constructed
Concrete Roads	2 1/2 miles	Constructed
Concrete Roads	29 miles	Improved and Repaired
Concrete Stadium	1 stadium	Improved and Repaired
Concrete Stadium	1 stadium	Constructed
Courthouses	50 courthouses	Improved and Repaired
Culverts	1035 culverts	Constructed
Culverts	660 culverts	Improved and Repaired
Curb and Gutter	5 miles	Improved and Repaired
Curb and Gutter	28 miles	Constructed

Type of Project	*Number of Projects*	*Description*
Dams	3 dams	Improved and Repaired
Dams	8 dams	Constructed
Dirt Roads	2303 miles	Improved and Repaired
Dirt Roads	163 miles	Constructed
Drainage Ditch	15 miles	Improved and Repaired
Drainage Ditch	9 miles	Constructed
Electric Line	2 miles	Constructed
Electric Power Plant	1 power plant	Improved and Repaired
Fair Buildgs.	63 fair bldgs.	Improved
Fire Cisterns	13 fire cisterns	Constructed
Firehouse	1 firehouse	Constructed
Firehouses	17 firehouses	Improved and Repaired
Fish Hatcheries	3 hatcheries	Improved and Repaired
Fish Hatcheries	2 hatcheries	Constructed
Football Fields	5 fields	Constructed
Game Preserve	1 game preserve	Improved
Garbage Transfer Station	1 transfer station	Constructed
Gas Main	5 miles	Improved and Repaired
Golf Courses	1 golf courses	Constructed
Golf Courses	7 golf courses	Improved
Gravel Roads	248 miles	Constructed
Gravel Roads	3181 miles	Improved and Repaired
Gymnasiums	8 gymnasiums	Improved and Repaired
Gymnasiums	3 gymnasiums	Constructed
Hospitals	22 hospitals	Improved and Repaired
Houses	21 houses	Repaired and Remodeled(in lieu of rent)
Incinerator	1 incinerator	Improved and Repaired
Jails	24 jails	Improved and Repaired
Jails	6 jails	Constructed
Lake	1 lake	Improved
Lakes	2 lakes	Constructed
Large Courthouse	1 courthouse	Under Construction
Large Parks	2 parks	Constructed
Large Parks	13 parks	Improved
Levees	14 miles	Improved and Repaired
Libraries	18 libraries	Improved and Repaired
Libraries	2 libraries	Constructed
Macadam Roads	354 miles	Improved and Repaired
Macadam Roads	32 miles	Constructed
Masonry Grandstand	1 grandstand	Constructed
Military Reservation	1 reservation	Constructed
Military Reservations	2 reservations	Improved

Type of Project	*Number of Projects*	*Description*
Miniature Artillery Range	1 artillery range	Constructed
Misc. Courts, Croquet, etc.	33 misc.	Constructed
Municipal Garages	3 garages	Constructed
Municipal Garages	4 garages	Improved and Repaired
Other Roads	7 miles	Constructed
Other Roads	21 miles	Improved and Repaired
Other Waterways	63 miles	Flood Control
Park Building	1 park bldg	Improved
Park Buildings	21 park bldgs.	Constructed
Paths and Trails	68 miles	Constructed
Pumping Stations	2 stations	Constructed
Pumping Stations	2 stations	Improved and Repaired
Relief Offices	90 offices	Improved and Repaired
Rip-rap Retaining Wall	1|2 mile	Constructed
Running Tracks	7 tracks	Constructed
Sanitary Privies	8371 privies	Constructed
Schools	19 schools	Under Construction, capacity 1-50
Schools	7 schools	Constructed
Schools	25 schools	Under Construction, capacity 51-500
Schools	1 school	Constructed
Schools	262 schools	Improved and major repairs
Schools	844 schools	Minor repairs
Schools	7 schools	Constructed
Schools	1 school	Under Construction, capacity over 500
Septic Tanks	115 septic tanks	Constructed
Septic Tanks	26 septic tanks	Improved and Repaired
Sewage Disposal Plants	2 disposal plants	Improved and Repaired
Sewer	32 miles	Constructed
Sewer	21 miles	Constructed
Shrubs	22449 shrubs	Planted
Sidewalks	5 miles	Improved and Repaired
Sidewalks	21 miles	Constructed
Small Hospital	1 hospital	Constructed
Small Parks	24 parks	Improved
Small parks	2 parks	Constructed
State, Co., & City Poor Farms	12 poor farms	Improved and Repaired (209 acres)
Stone Retaining Wall	3|4 mile	Constructed
Storm Sewer	1 mile	Improved and Repaired
Storm Sewer	2 miles	Constructed
Streams	15 miles	Cleared
Streets	391 miles	Improved and Repaired
Streets	47 miles	Constructed

Type of Project	*Number of Projects*	*Description*
Swimming Pools	5 pools	Constructed
Tennis Courts	59 tennis courts	Constructed
Tennis Courts	76 tennis courts	Improved
Trees	74820 trees	Planted
Wading Pool	1 wading pool	Constructed
Water Main	7 miles	Laid
Water Reservoirs	5 reservoirs	Improved and Repaired
Wells	380 wells	Improved and Repaired
Wells	52 wells	Dug
Wooden Grandstand	1 grandstand	Improved and Repaired
Wooden Grandstands	13 grandstands	Constructed

Source: Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration, Annual Report of the KY Emergency Work Division, April 1, 1934 to July 1, 1935.

Appendix Three: Civilian Conservation Corps Camps in East Kentucky*

County	Closest Post Office	Camp Type	Company #	Start Date
Bell	Pineville	SP-3	548	11/26/1933
Bell	Pineville	SP-10	563	8/10/1935
Breathitt	Noble	S-51	547	6/6/1933
Harlan	Cumberland	P-64	555	12/2/1933
Harlan	Pathfork	P-74	3546	7/20/1935
Harlan	Putney	S-53	512	5/23/1933
Harlan	Crummies	S-84	3545	10/1/1939
Harlan	Chappell	P-83	512	10/25/1939
Harlan	Louellen	P-75	3536	7/21/1935
Harlan	Bledsoe	P-77	3535	7/21/1935
Harlan	Cumberland	P-64	599	12/2/1933
Harlan	Chappell	P-83	3565	1/15/1942
Jackson	McKee	F-13	564	10/2/1935
Johnson	Paintsville	P-73	1518	9/27/1934
Laurel	London	SP-4	563	6/15/1935
Laurel	London	F-11	3552	7/30/1935
Laurel	London	F-15	3552	9/6/1938
Laurel	London	SP-4	566	11/18/1933
Laurel	London	F-5	3544	6/17/1935
Leslie	Wooton	P-54	1519	6/19/1933
McCreary	Greenwood	F-6	523	10/4/1934
McCreary	Stearns	F-12	1502	11/18/1935
McCreary	Stearns	P-65	597	11/16/1933
McCreary	Bell Farm	F-14	509	9/11/1938
Perry	Buckhorn	P-76	547	4/30/1936
Pike	Pikeville	P-81	1519	1/14/1936
Pike	Mallier	S-82	1518	11/1/1939
Whitley	Corbin	SP-1	1578	7/3/1935
Whitley	Corbin	SP-7	563	12/14/1933
Whitley	Corbin	SP-1	509	10/8/1933
Whitley	Williamsburg	F-7	509	5/23/1933
Whitley	Kalyn	P-52	598	11/26/1933

**This list is not comprehensive.*

Source: http//www.cccalumni.org

Appendix Four: Selected Civilian Conservation Corps Projects in East Kentucky

County	*CCC company/camp*	*Camp location*	*Project name*
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Lower Parking Area
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Resettlement Fire Tower Telephone Line
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Upper Park Rd Culvert
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Quarry
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Laurel Grounds Seating
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Upper Rd "The Arch Bridge"
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Laurel Grounds
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Laurel Grounds Landscaping
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Upper Park Rd
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Park Road
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Hiking Trail
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Garage
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Dynamite Magazine
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Shelter House
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Entrance Road
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Laurel Grounds Truck Trail
Bell	Co. 3563/SP-10	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Roadside Lnd
Bell	Co. 548/SP-3	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Road Grd Rail
Bell	Co. 548/SP-3	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Entrance Road
Bell	Co. 548/SP-3	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Water Resevoir
Bell	Co. 548/SP-3	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Holly Springs Camp Rd.
Bell	Co. 548/SP-3	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Service Bldg
Bell	Co. 548/SP-3	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Custodian Hse
Bell	Co. 548/SP-3	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Lower Parking Area
Bell	Co. 548/SP-3	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Contact Stn.
Bell	Co. 548/SP-3	Pineville	Pine Mtn. SP Gatehouse
Bell	Co. 548/SP-3	Pineville	Pine Mtn. Shelter Hse Laurel Festival Grounds
Breathitt	Co. 547/S-51	Noble	Cole's Fork Road
Breathitt	Co. 547/S-51	Noble	Wooten Project
Harlan	Co. 3536/P-75	Louellen	Little Black Mtn. Fire Tower
Harlan	Co. 3536/P-75	Louellen	Big Black Mtn. Truck Trail
Harlan	Co. 3536/P-75	Louellen	Project on Little Black Mtn.
Harlan	Co. 3536/P-75	Louellen	Benham Spur Fire Tower
Harlan	Co. 3536/P-75	Louellen	Black Mountain Trail
Harlan	Co. 3536/P-75	Louellen	Baxter Truck Trail
Harlan	Co. 3536/P-75	Louellen	Fugitts Creek Truck Trail
Harlan	Co. 3545/P-74	Pathfork	Martin's Fork Ridge Truck Trail West
Harlan	Co. 3545/P-74	Pathfork, Hulen	Lovely Branch Truck Trail
Harlan	Co. 3545/P-74	Pathfork	Martin's Fork Bridge
Harlan	Co. 3545/P-74	Pathfork	Chunk Link Tower

County	*CCC company/camp*	*Camp location*	*Project name*
Harlan	Co. 3545/P-74	Pathfork	Pathfork Bridge
Harlan	Co. 3545/P-74	Pathfork	Pathfork Lookout Tower
Harlan	Co. 3545/P-74	Pathfork	Rockhouse Road
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Gatun Trail
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Pine Mountain Trail
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Laden Trail
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Benham Spur Telephone Line
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Putney Lookout Tower
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Gross Knob Fire Tower
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Dam for District Hdqtrs
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Issac's Creek Trial
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Ridge Top Trail
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	District Headquarters
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Greasy Road
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Kentenia Trail
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Putney Tower Trail
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Camp Harlan Quarry
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Gross Knob Tower Rd
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Telephone Lines
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Laden-Laurel Trail
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Kentenia State Forest Telephone Lines
Harlan	Co. 512/S-53	Putney	Pine Mountain School Trail
Jackson	Co. 1502/F-12	McKee	Drip Rock Rd
Jackson	Co. 1502/F-12	McKee	McKee-Livingston Rd.
Jackson	Co. 564/F-13	McKee	Indian Creek Bridge #2
Jackson	Co. 564/F-13	McKee	Horse Lick Bridge
Jackson	Co. 564/F-13	McKee	McKee-London Telephone
Jackson	Co. 564/F-13	McKee	Drip Rock Indian Creek
Jackson	Co. 564/F-13	McKee	Jackson Quarry Dynamite Magazine
Jackson	Co. 564/F-13	McKee	Warfork Bridge
Jackson	Co. 564/F-13	McKee	Indian Creek Bridge #1
Johnson	Co. 1518/S-82	Heiller	Sycamore Truck Trail Guard Rails
Johnson	Co. 1518/S-82	Heiller	Flatwoods Truck Trail
Johnson	Co. 1518/S-82	Heiller	Sycamore Truck Trail
Johnson	Co. 1518/S-82	Heiller	Flatwoods Game Farm Fire Tower
Johnson	Co. 1518/P-73	Paintsville	Spring Knob Fire Tower
Johnson	Co. 1518/P-73	Paintsville	Spring Knob Truck Trail
Johnson	Co. 1518/P-73	Paintsville	Boones Camp-McClure Trail
Laurel	Co. 3544/F-5	London	Bray Quarry
Laurel	Co. 3544/F-5	London	Matthew's Quarry
Laurel	Co. 3552/F-11	London	Camp Waterworks
Laurel	Co. 3552/F-11	London	Sublimity Rd
Laurel	Co. 3552/F-11	London	Bernstadt-Hazelpath Rd

County	*CCC company/camp*	*Camp location*	*Project name*
Laurel	Co. 3552/F-11	London	Mize Quarry
Laurel	Co. 3552/F-11	London	Mt. Victory Rd
Laurel	Co. 3552/F-11	London	Sand Hill Fire Tower
Laurel	Co. 3552/F-11	London	Mt. Victory Rd Culverts
Laurel	Co. 3552/F-11	London	Pine Creek Trail
Laurel	Co. 3552/F-11	London	Bernstadt Johnson Church Rd
Laurel	Co. 3552/F-11	London	Penitentiary Hollow Dam
Leslie	Co. 3535/P-77	Bledsoe	Asher Fire Tower
Leslie	Co. 3535/P-77	Bledsoe	Beechfork Creek Bridge
Leslie	Co. 3535/P-77	Bledsoe	Bledsoe Truck Trail
Leslie	Co. 3535/P-77	Bledsoe	Laurel (Fork) Creek
Leslie	Co. 3535/P-77	Bledsoe	Laurel Bridge
Leslie	Co. 3535/P-77	Bledsoe	Middlefork Bridge
Leslie	Co. 3535/P-77	Bledsoe	Gray Mountain Truck Trail
Leslie	Co. 3535/P-77	Bledsoe	Spruce Pine Bridge
Leslie	Co. 3535/P-77	Bledsoe	Beverly Truck Trail
Leslie	Co. 3535/P-77	Bledsoe	Straight Creek Truck Trail
Leslie	Co. 512/P-83	Chappel	Laurel Creek Rd Culvert
Leslie	Co. 512/P-83	Chappel	Greasy Creek Bridge
Leslie	Co. 512/P-83	Chappel	Laurel Creek Rd
McCreary	Co. 1502/F-12	Stearns	Bower Rd
McCreary	Co. 1502/F-12	Stearns	Slavens Tower
McCreary	Co. 1502/F-12	Stearns	Yamacraw Bridge
McCreary	Co. 1502/F-12	Stearns	Turkey Knob Tower
McCreary	Co. 1502/F-12	Stearns	Day Ridge Quarry
McCreary	Co. 1502/F-12	Stearns	Sandhill Rd
McCreary	Co. 1502/F-12	Stearns	Hickory Knob Tower
McCreary	Co. 1502/F-12	Stearns	Red Bird Rd
McCreary	Co. 1502/F-12	Stearns	Bell Farm Rd
McCreary	Co. 1502/F-12	Stearns	Sand Hill Truck Trail
McCreary	Co. 1502/F-12	Stearns	Cave Creek Quarry
McCreary	Co. 1502/F-12	Stearns	Skull Bone Tower
McCreary	Co. 1502/F-12	Stearns	Funston Tower
McCreary	Co. 1502/F-12	Stearns	Bald Knob Tower
McCreary	Co. 1502/F-12	Stearns	Buck Knob Tower
McCreary	Co. 523/F-6	Greenwood	Greenwood Quarry
McCreary	Co. 597/P-65	Stearns	KY Border 22 mile Foot Trail
McCreary	Co. 597/P-65	Stearns	South Fork River Truck Trail
McCreary	Co. 597/P-65	Stearns	Bell Farm Truck Trail
McCreary	Co. 597/P-65	Stearns	Sunset Rock Fire Tower
McCreary	Co. 597/P-65	Stearns	Yamacraw Ford
McCreary	Co. 597/P-65	Stearns	Rock Creek Rd Culverts

County	*CCC company/camp*	*Camp location*	*Project name*
McCreary	Co. 597/P-65	Stearns	Stearns-Shelly Knob Telephone Lines
Perry	Co. 547/P-76	Buckhorn	Camp to Hazard Road
Perry	Co. 547/P-76	Buckhorn	Buckhorn-Oneida Truck Trail
Perry	Co. 547/P-76	Buckhorn	Buckhorn Dam Project
Pike	Co. 1519/P-81	Nigh	Lucinda Knob Fire Tower
Pike	Co. 1519/P-81	Nigh	Telephone Lines
Pike	Co. 1519/P-81	Nigh	Staggerwood Truck Trail Culvet
Pike	Co. 1519/P-81	Nigh	Motley Fork Truck Trail
Pike	Co. 1519/P-81	Nigh	Pond Creek Truck Trail
Pike	Co. 1519/P-81	Nigh	Dick's Knob Trail/Fire Tower
Pike	Co. 1519/P-81	Nigh	Mudlick Truck Trail
Pike	Co. 1519/P-81	Nigh	Staggerwood Truck Trail
Pike	Co. 1519/P-81	Nigh Big	Creek-Long Fork Trail
Whitley	Co. 1578/SP-1	Corbin	Boat Landing
Whitley	Co. 1578/SP-1	Corbin	DuPont Stone Steps
Whitley	Co. 1578/SP-1	Corbin	Walnut Tree Planting
Whitley	Co. 1578/SP-1	Corbin	Overnight Cabins
Whitley	Co. 1578/SP-1	Corbin	"Jacob's Ladder" Combo Trail and Stone Stairs
Whitley	Co. 1578/SP-1	Corbin	Creosoting Plant
Whitley	Co. 1578/SP-1	Corbin	ECW Garage
Whitley	Co. 1578/SP-1	Corbin	Park Trail
Whitley	Co. 1578/SP-1	Corbin	Improvements at Cumberland SP
Whitley	Co. 1578/SP-1	Corbin	Concession Building
Whitley	Co. 1578/SP-1	Corbin	Waste Disposal for Cabins
Whitley	Co. 1578/SP-1	Corbin	Park Foot Trails
Whitley	Co. 509/F-7	Williamsburg	Stearns Telephone line
Whitley	Co. 509/F-7	Williamsburg	Williamsburg Fire Tower
Whitley	Co. 509/F-7	Williamsburg	Shelby Knob Tower
Whitley	Co. 563/SP-7	Cumberland Falls	DuPont Lodge
Whitley	Co. 563/SP-4	Corbin	Levi Jackson State Park
Whitley	Co. 563/SP-7	Cumberland Falls	Park Cabins
Whitley	Co. 563/SP-7	Cumberland Falls	Pumphouse
Whitley	Co. 598/P-52	Emyln	Mud Creek Road
Whitley	Co. 598/P-52	Emlyn	Gatliff Truck Trail
Whitley	Co. 598/P-52	Emyln	Henderson Settelment School
Wolfe	Co. 1559/F-1	Pine Ridge	Red River Bridge
Wolfe	Co. 1559/F-1	Pine Ridge	Red River Rd
Wolfe	Co. 1559/F-1	Pine Ridge	Bridge and Culvert
Wolfe	Co. 1559/F-1	Pine Ridge	Parched Corn Rd
Wolfe	Co. 1559/F-1	Pine Ridge	Timber Stand Improvement
Wolfe	Co. 1559/F-1	Pine Ridge	Tunnel Ridge Truck Trail

Source: Civilian Conservation Corps Camp Newsletters, Kentucky Historical Society

Appendix Five: Public Works Administration Projects in East KY

City/County	*Project Name*	*Docket #*	*File Available*
Artemus/Knox	Auditorium/Gym	X1453	No
Ashland/Boyd	Sanitary Sewer	5078	No
Ashland/Boyd	School	8796	No
Ashland/Boyd	School	W1140	No
Ashland/Boyd	School Improvements	X1293	Yes
Barbourville/Knox	Waterworks	421	No
Barbourville/Knox	Community Building	W1202	No
Beattyville/Lee	Waterworks	1732	No
Beattyville/Lee	Sanitary Sewer	W1243	No
Beattyville/Lee	High School	W1245	Yes
Belfry/Wolfe	School	W1003	No
Bell Co.	Schools	W1003	No
Booneville/Owsley	Waterworks	X1382	No
Booneville/Owsley	Waterworks	W1148	No
Boyd Co.	Schools	8831	No
Campton/Wolfe	School	W1194	No
Caney Creek/Breathitt	School	2820	No
Catlettsburg/Boyd	Auditorium/Gym	W1073	Yes
Corbin/Whitley	Waterworks	1722	No
Corbin/Whitley	Electric Plant	X1301	Yes
Corbin/Whitley	Waterworks Imp.	X1301	Yes
Cumberland/Harlan	School	X1311	Yes
Cumberland/Harlan	Bridge	X1042	Yes
Cumberland/Harlan	Lodge Building	W1021	No
Cumberland/Harlan	Waterworks	8910	No
Evarts/Harlan	Waterworks	X1414	No
Evarts/Harlan	School	W1039	Yes
Fleming/Letcher	School	W1203	No
Fullerton/Greenup	Schools	W1177	No
Fullerton/Greenup	Waterworks	W1240	No
Gray/Knox	School	W1136	No
Gray's Knob/Harlan	School	X1313	Yes
Grayson/Carter	School Additions	7058	No
Greenup/Greenup	School	W1175	No
Harlan/Harlan	School Additions	X1356	Yes
Harlan/Harlan	Disposal Plant	X1413	No
Harlan Co	Schools	8809	No
Hellier/Pike	School	W1220	Yes
Hindman/Knott	Waterworks	W1239	No

City/County	*Project Name*	*Docket #*	*File Available*
Jackson/Breathitt	School	5262	No
Jackson/Breathitt	High School Auditorium	W1275	No
Lackey Garrett/Floyd	School	W1147	Yes
London/Laurel	Waterworks Imp.	W1076	Yes
London/Laurel	Sanitary Sewer	W1163	No
Louisa/Lawrence	High School	8505	No
Loyall/Harlan	Bridge	X1337	No
Loyall/Harlan	School	X1312	Yes
Lynch/Harlan	School Additions	X1445	Yes
Manchester/Clay	Waterworks	1946	No
Manchester/Clay	High School	1051	Yes
Martin/Floyd	Waterworks	4132	No
Martin/Floyd	Municipal Building	X1353	No
Middlesboro/Bell	Electric Plant	309	No
Middlesboro/Bell	High School	6478	No
Middlesboro/Bell	Sanitary Sewer	X1339	Yes
Olive Hill/Carter	Filtration Plant	1459	No
Paintsville/Johnson	Gas Plant	9265	No
Pike Co.	Schools	X1373	Yes
Pikeville/Pike	School	W1196	No
Pikeville/Pike	Nurses' Home	8314	No
Pikeville/Pike	Storm Sewer	W1120	No
Pineville/Bell	Schools	X1384	Yes
Pineville/Bell	City Hall	W1182	No
Pineville/Bell	Municipal Building	2185	No
Pineville/Bell	Swimming Pool	W1131	No
Prestonsburg/Floyd	Highway Bridge	X1387	No
Prestonsburg/Floyd	School	X1433	No
Prestonsburg/Floyd	Waterworks	X1456	No
Raceland/Greenup	School Additions	W1290	Yes
Raceland/Greenup	Waterworks	3046	No
Raceland/Greenup	Municipal Improvements	8276	No
Raceland/Greenup	Sanitary Sewer	W1222	No
Russell/Greenup	Electric Plant	W1247	No
Russell/Greenup	School	W1246	Yes
Russell/Greenup	Waterworks	X1386	Yes
Russell/Greenup	Storm Sewer	2664	No
Russell/Greenup	School	W1022	Yes
Salyersville/Magoffin	Waterworks	352	No
Salyersville/Magoffin	School	2286	No
Salyersville/Magoffin	School	7029	No
So. Portsmouth/Greenup	School	7666	No

City/County	*Project Name*	*Docket #*	*File Available*
Stearns/McCreary	School	2829	No
Tollesboro/Lewis	School	W1010	Yes
Vanceburg/Lewis	Streets	W1213	No
Vanceburg/Lewis	Paving	X1324	No
Vanceburg/Lewis	Waterworks	W1212	Yes
West Liberty/Morgan	Waterworks	W1116	No
West Liberty/Morgan	Filtration Plant	6656	No
Whitesburg/Letcher	Waterworks	W1144	No
Whitesburg/Letcher	School	W1204	No
Whitesburg/Letcher	School	W1206	No
Whitley City/McCreary	High School	8783	No
Williamsburg/Whitley	Sanitary Sewer	W1157	No
Worthington/Greenup	Sanitary Sewer	W1252	No
Worthington/Greenup	Highway	2642	No
Worthington/Greenup	Water Mains	8664	No

Source: NARA Record Group 135, Entry VD-19

Appendix Six: Civil Works Administration Projects in East KY

Location	*Name of Project*	*Description*	*Completed*
Bell Co,Middlesboro	Flood Control Project	Changing Several Streams that Flow in or around Middlesboro	No
Bell Co, Middlesboro	Laurel Fork Road	Surface with Limestone Rock	No
Bell Co, Pineville	Construction of County Roads	Drain and Grade with Sandstone	
Bell Co, Pineville	Cumberland State Park Road	Parking Area to Accommodate Hundreds of Cars	No
Boyd Co	11--30	Widen, Grade, and Drain Straight Creek Road	No
Boyd Co	11--9 and 11--9--A	Uncover and Repair Sewer Mains on Long Run Creek in Ashland	No
Boyd Co	11--24	Dredge Keys Creek Hollow in Ashland	No
Boyd Co	11--25	Uncover and Repair Sanitary Sewer on Keys Creek in Ashland	Yes
Boyd Co	11--3	Uncover and Repair Sewers Leading to Sewage Disposal Plant in Ashland	Yes
Boyd Co	11--40	Construct Sanitary Toilets in Rural Boyd Co	Yes
Breathitt Co	Roads	Grading, Draining, and Repairing; 9 Projects, 34 Miles	Yes
Breathitt Co	Streets	Grading, Draining, Repairing, and Surfacing; 8 Projects, 2.03 Miles	Yes
Breathitt Co	Schools	Repairing and Completing 30 Co Schools	Yes
Breathitt Co	Storm Sewer	Main St to North Fork of KY River	Yes
Breathitt Co	Playground	Athletic Field for City and Playground for School	No
Breathitt Co	Caney Cr Cons. School	Completing Interior of 8 Room School Bldg	No
Breathitt Co	Airport		No
Clay Co	Roads (A)	Grading, Draining, and Repairing; 14 Projects, 33 Miles	Yes
Clay Co	Roads (B)	Grading, Draining, Repairing, and Surfacing; 1 Project, 2 Miles	Yes
Clay Co	Streets	Grading, Draining, Repairing, and Surfacing	Yes
Corbin, Whitley Co	Widening of Main Street		Yes
Corbin, Whitley Co	Installation of "White Way"	Removal of Unsightly Telephone and Light Poles	Yes
Corbin, Whitley Co	Lynn Creek Project	Cleaning of Stream that Runs through Town	No
Floyd Co	37-6	Road and Bridge Construction	No
Floyd Co	37-4	Street Paving Job, 18" Wide, Sidewalks on either side	Yes
Floyd Co	37-10 (Prestonburg City Hall)		No
Floyd Co	Roads	14 Road Projects in County	No
Floyd Co	Streets	4 Street Projects	No
Floyd Co	Sanitation Project	Construction of Sanitary Toilets	No
Floyd Co	Sealing Abandoned Mines		No
Greenup Co	47-1	Improvement of 2.7/10 Miles of Rd (Flat Hollow)	No
Greenup Co	47-2	Gymnasium and Auditorium for Greenup High School	No
Greenup Co	47-3 (Brushy Road)	Graveling, Draining, and Grading	No
Greenup Co	47-4 (Worthington Sts)	Repair, Ditching, Draining, and Surfacing with Slag	Yes
Greenup Co	47-5 (Raising Russell Fill)	Connecting City of Russell w/ Riverside Blvd. On Western Outskirts	No
Greenup Co	47-6 (Muddy Branch)	Improvement of Short Road that Connects Important Highways	Yes

Location	*Name of Project*	*Description*	*Completed*
Greenup Co	47-8 (Three Prong)	Grading and Draining; 2 Miles of Road	Yes
Greenup Co	47-9 (Whetstone-Alcorn)	Grading and Draining; 3 Miles of Road	Yes
Greenup Co	47-10 (Argillite-Hunnewell)	Draining, Grading, and Surfacing with Furnace Cinder on 3 Miles of Road	Yes
Greenup Co	47-11 (Leatherwood)	Grading and Graveling; 4 Miles of Road on Leatherwood	No
Greenup Co	47-12 (Oldtown-Laurel Furnace)	Grading, Draining, and Widening; 4 Miles of Rd, Connect To 47-13	Yes
Greenup Co	47-13 (Red Hot-Laurel Furnace)	Grading and Draining 4 Miles of Road, Repair of Bridge and Culvert	Yes
Greenup Co	47-14 (Worthington City Bldg)	Erection of City Bldg	Yes
Greenup Co	47-15 (Sunshine-Edgington)	Improvement of 3 Miles of Road	Yes
Greenup Co	47-16 (Little White Oak)	Widening, Grading, Draining, and Generally Improving 4 Miles of Road in White Oak	Yes
Greenup Co	47-17 (Indian Run-Muddy Branch)	Grading and Draining; 2 Miles of Road	Yes
Greenup Co	47-18 (Indian Run-East Fork)	Repairs to 1 & 1/2 Miles Of Road	Yes
Greenup Co	47-19 (Simonton Cheap)	Widen and Drain 6 Miles on Greenup-Grayson Highway	Yes
Greenup Co	47-20 (Greenup Streets)	Removal and Replacement of Broken Concrete; Build 10" Storm Sewer w/ Basins and Laterals	Yes
Greenup Co	47-21 (Worthington-Wurtland)	Ditching and Draining, Putting in Culverts, Surfacing w/ Creek Gravel; 2 Miles Of Road Connect to Hwy 23	Yes
Greenup Co	47-22 (Bear Run Rd -County)	Building 3100 Ft of Road to Intersect Bellefonte-Raceland Rd to New High School Site	No
Greenup Co	47-23 (Bear Run Rd City)	Building 1600 Ft of Road from Route 23	Yes
Greenup Co	47-24 (South Shore Addition)	Draining, Grading, and Repairing 3 Miles of Streets in Fullerton, South Shore, Morton's Addition	No
Greenup Co	47-25 (Smith Branch)	Improvements, Graded, and Drained 3 and 3/4 Miles of Road near Greenup	No
Greenup Co	47-29 (County Sanitary Project)	Building Sanitary Toilets	No
Harlan Co	50-19 (Playground)	Playground at Tremont School	Yes
Harlan Co	Tremont School Road	Grade and Drain	Yes
Harlan Co	Watt's Creek Road	Grade and Drain	Yes
Harlan Co	50-36 (New City Hall)	City Hall for Wallins	Yes
Harlan Co	New City Hall (Cumberland)	Quarrying Stone	No
Harlan Co	Sewer Lines (Cumberland)		Yes
Jackson Co	Streets	Const. of Sidewalks, Grading, Draining, and Surfacing Of All Streets In McKee, 1 Mile Of Streets, 1 Bridge, 4 Sidewalks, 200 Lin. Ft. Stonewall	Yes
Jackson Co	Roads (A)	Grading, Draining, and Repairing; 6 Projects, 16.25 Miles	Yes
Jackson Co	Roads (B)	Grading, Draining, Repairing, and Surfacing; 1 Project, 1 Mile	Yes
Jackson Co	Bridges	Two, Two-Span Wooden Bridges	Yes
Johnson Co	Roads	Grading, Draining, Widening, and Partly Surfacing 16 County Roads	No
Johnson Co	Streets	Removing Old Brick, Laying New Concrete Pavement (29' W X 1465' L)	Yes

Location	*Name of Project*	*Description*	*Completed*
Johnson Co	Court house	Interior Remodeled, Including Electric, Water, and Heating Systems	Yes
Johnson Co	Sanitation	65 Sanitary Toilets Were Built in Schools and Individual Homes	Yes
Johnson Co	City Hall (Location Unknown)	Prepare the Lot and Lay Foundation for a City Hall	No
Johnson Co	Federal Project	Project for Sealing Abandoned Mines	No
Knott Co, Hindman	Knott Co High School	Playground, Rockwall, Bridge	Yes
Knott Co	Roads	Drain and Grade	Yes
Knott Co	Playground and Retaining Wall	At City School	Yes
Knox Co	Road Projects	Conducted on Pioneer Road System	Yes
Knox Co	Subsistence Homestead	Lower Water Table Not Carried on under CWA, Rehabilitation Used CWA Money	Yes
Laurel Co	Roads	Grade and Drain; 12 To 14 Ft. in Width, Rocked from Sandstone	Yes
Laurel Co	County Courthouse	Wiring, Painting, Roofing, Stairways, Flooring, and Window Repairs	Yes
Laurel Co	County Jail	Raising of Jail Cells, Supported by Steel Beam, Excavation of Basement for Future Boiler Room Equipment	Yes
Laurel Co	Hill Street	Rocked w/ 8- Inch Sand Stone Foundation, 2 to 3 inch Limestone Top	No
Laurel Co	Laurel Co Free Public Library	Completed Basement, Modern Lighting, Plumbing, Kitchen, Sidewalk, and Retaining Wall in Front	Yes
Laurel Co, London	Laurel Co Courthouse	Extensive General Repairs and Painting	Yes
Laurel Co, London	London Graded School	General Repairs and Painting, Stone Entrance, Concrete Walks, and Steps	Yes
Laurel Co, London	Project 65-5 (City Street)	Grade, Drain, and Surface	Yes
Laurel Co, London	Project 65-12 (Hill Street)	Grade, Drain, and Surface	Yes
Lawrence Co	Street Widening	Concrete Paving	Yes
Lawrence Co	Sanitary and Storm Sewers	Digging Ditches, Laying Tile	Yes
Lawrence Co	Concrete Culverts	Building Forms, Mixing and Pouring Concrete	Ye
Lawrence Co	Roads	Filling of Large Holes, Cleaning Ditches, Building New Roads in 2 Instances	Yes
Lee Co	Roads	Grading, Draining, Repairing, and Surfacing; 4 Projects, 14 Miles	Yes
Lee Co	Streets (A)	Grading, Draining; 1 Project, 3450 Lin. Ft.	Yes
Lee Co	Streets (B)	Grading, Draining, and Surfacing, 1 Project, 1875 Lin.Ft.	Yes
Lee Co	Community Bldg	Construction of Community Bldg. 104 X 40 X 28 Ft.	No
Lee Co	Stone Retaining Wall	Eliminates a Hazardous Intersection Corner, Remedies Narrow Mountain Road	No
Lee Co	Steel Bridges	Painting and Repairing 404 Ft. Long Steel Span Street Bridge	Yes
Lee Co	Airport	Cleared, Graded, and Marked; Emergency Landing Field or Fueling Station for Mail Routes	No
Leslie Co	Rustic Bridges	Constructed of 2-3 Slender Logs, Trimmed and Faced to Receive Cross Slats Made of Small Poles	Yes

Location	*Name of Project*	*Description*	*Completed*
Leslie Co	Swinging Bridges	Supported with Wire Cable Anchored at either End, Floor Was Similar to Rustic Bridges	Yes
Leslie Co	School at Shoal	Construction of a School Building	No
Letcher Co	Road Projects	Grade and Drain; Repairs to City Streets	Yes
Letcher Co	Painting and Repairing of Schools		Yes
Letcher Co	County Infirmary	Repairs to Building, Construction of Roads around Building	Yes
Letcher Co	69-38	Street Job in Lower Fleming	Yes
Letcher Co	69-23	County Road Repaired	Yes
Letcher Co	69-19	A Teacherage Painted	Yes
Letcher Co	69-25	County Road Repaired, Little Creek to Yonts Fork	Yes
Letcher Co	69-35	Old County Road Widened, Drained, and Surfaced	Yes
Letcher Co	Streets	Repairs and Construction of Streets	Yes
Letcher Co	69-41 (Community Sanitation)	Community Sanitation	No
Letcher Co	69-15 (County Infirmary)	Completion of Drainage, Fences and Improving Grounds, Driveways, Sidewalks, etc.	No
Letcher Co	69-4 (Pine Mountain Park)	Completion of Roads, Drives, Retaining Walls	No
Letcher Co	69-18 (Camp Branch Road)	1/2 Mile Grade and Drain to Get Road out of Creek	No
Letcher Co	69-26 (Hotspot to Ice Rd)	Complete a Bridge	No
Letcher Co	69-32 (Operating Rd Machinery)	Take out Slides and Dress CWA Built Roads	No
Letcher Co	69-21 (Linfork Rd)	Bridge Built, Rock Excavation, Gordon to Harlan Co Line	No
Letcher Co	69-15 (Ulvah To Dryfork Rd)	Rock Excavation to Complete 1 Mile of CWA Built Grade	No
Letcher Co	69-10 (Town of Neon)	Take out Slides, Filling the Subgrade w/ Stone	No
Letcher Co	69-6 (Town of Whitesburg)	Complete Grade Work on Streets, Retaining Walls, Patch Streets and Sidewalks, and Repair Sewer Lines	No
Letcher Co	69-1 (Town of McRoberts)	Continuation of Repairs to Streets	No
Letcher Co	69-38 (Town of Fleming)	Continuation of Repairs to Streets and Roads	No
Letcher Co	69-24 (Cumberland River Rd)	Const. of New Rd to Avoid 5 River Crossings, Build Bridges	No
Letcher Co	69-14 (Beefhide and Joe's Branch Rd to Jenkins)		No
Letcher Co	69-29 (Mayking to Payne Gap Rd)		No
Letcher Co	Town of Jenkins	Improve Streets, Widening, Draining, and Surfacing	No
Magoffin Co	School Building Project	Repairing 12 "Old Type" School Buildings	No
Magoffin Co	Road Project	Grading, Draining, and Surfacing of Rural Highways	Yes
Magoffin Co	Sidewalk Project	Forms Built, Base Stone Placed	No
Magoffin Co	Street Project	Re-Flooring of Bridge, Resurfacing of Streets in Salyersville	Yes
Magoffin Co	Sanitation Project	Construction of Sanitary Toilets in Public Buildings and Private Homes	Yes
Magoffin Co	Beautifying Grounds	Filling and Landscaping Grounds around PWA Water Plant Project	Yes
Martin Co	82-1	Grade and Drain, and Reconstruction of Old Road, State Route 40, Approximately 4 Miles	No
Martin Co	82-2	Road from Buffalo Creek Ends on Tug River	Yes

Location	*Name of Project*	*Description*	*Completed*
Martin Co	82-3	Reconstruction of Old Road, Grade, Drain, Building of Stone Culverts, Approx. 6 Miles	No
Martin Co	82-4	Construction of Stone Wall around Court House Square	Yes
Martin Co	82-5	Reconstruction of County Road Highway 40 at Tomahawk up Rock House Creek, Approx. 4 Miles	Yes
Martin Co	82-6	Reconstruction, Grade, and Drain of Road in Wolf Creek Section of County, Approx. 3 Miles	Yes
Martin Co	Federal Community Sanitation Project	Construct Sanitary Toilets and Septic Tanks for Public and Individuals	No
McCreary Co	Courthouse St.	Grading of Street around Court House	Yes
McCreary Co	Ten Road Projects	Completion of 28 Miles of Grade and Drain Roads	Yes
McCreary Co	Whitley Co High Sch. Grounds	Construction of Basketball and Tennis Court	Yes
McCreary Co	County Courthouse and Jail	Painting	Yes
McCreary Co	Sanitation	Construction of 97 Sanitary Privies	Yes
Morgan Co	Road Projects	Reconstruction of Old County Roads, Drain, Grade, and Build Culverts	No
Morgan Co	Road Projects	Graveling and Draining Streets in West Liberty	Yes
Morgan Co	Road Projects	Draining a Portion of State Highway 28	Yes
Owsley Co	Roads	Grading, Draining, and Repairing on 11 Projects, 44 Miles	Yes
Owsley Co	Streets	Construction of Concrete Sidewalk for School; 1 Project, 1/4 Mile	Yes
Owsley Co	Co Tractor, Grader, and Air Compressor		Yes
Owsley Co	Sewing Project	Making of Garments for the Needy	Yes
Perry Co	Court house	Repairing and Painting	No
Perry Co	Road Projects	Grade and Drain	Yes
Perry Co	Schools	Construction of School in Vicco, Ky	Yes
Perry Co	Playground	Hazard School	Yes
Perry Co	Colored School	Construction of New Building	No
Perry Co	100-13	Bridge Connecting Pigeon Roost Rd to Highway	No
Perry Co	Bridges	Construction of Bridges over Streams that Cannot be Forded Certain Seasons	Yes
Pike Co	Roads	Work on Secondary Roads across the County	No
Pike Co	Gymnasium Projects	Two Begun	No
Wolfe Co	8 Road Projects	Grading and Draining on 24.5 Miles of Road	U
Wolfe Co	Sanitary Toilets	Completion of Sanitary Toilets	Yes
Wolfe Co	Courthouse Repairs	Repair Damage Done by Dynamite	Yes

Source: CWA NARA Record Group 2920. Series 65-67. Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives.

Appendix Seven: Works Progress Administration Projects in East Kentucky

County/Location	*Name of Resource*	*Date of Construction*
Bell/ Fonde	Fonde School	1936
Bell/ Countywide	Community Sanitation Project	U*
Bell/ Pineville	Pineville City Hall/Jail	1941
Bell/ Pineville	Pineville Swimming Pool	1937
Bell/ Hutch	Hutch School	1935
Bell/ Pineville	Pineville Stadium	1936
Bell/ Balkan	Balkan School	1936
Bell/ Middlesboro	Culvert	U
Bell/ U	Bridge Abutment	U
Bell/ U	Fonde Rd	U
Bell/ U	Bell Co Flood Control	U
Bell/ Yellow Creek	Yellow Creek Drainage Work	U
Bell/ U	Little Clear Creek Rd	U
Bell/ Middlesboro	Bartlett SP Pavillion	1935
Bell/ Pineville	Pineville Jail, City Hall, Fire Stn	1938
Bell/ Middlesboro	Middlesboro Airport	1936
Bell/ U	Sewer Construction	U
Bell/ Middlesboro	Retaining Wall	U
Bell/ Middlesboro	Bartlett SP Bath House	1935
Bell/ Middlesboro	Bartlett SP Lodge	1935
Bell/ Lone Jack	Lone Jack Gym	1936
Bell/ Middlesboro	Bartlett SP Spillway	1935
Bell/ Middlesboro	Bartlett SP Footbridge	1935
Boyd/ U	Culvert	U
Boyd/ Cattlettsburg	Road	U
Boyd/ Ashland	Road	U
Boyd/ U	Sharpes Creek Road	U
Boyd/ Ashland	Rail Road Retaining Wall	U
Boyd/ U	Cannonsburg Road	U
Boyd/ Fairview	Fairview Gym	1938
Boyd/ U	Boyd Co WPA Quarry	U
Boyd/ U	Cemetery Rd	U
Boyd/ U	Daniels Fork Road	U
Boyd/ Ashland	Ashland Water Tank	1938
Boyd/ Cattlettsburg	Cattlettsburg District Office	U
Boyd/ Ashland	Ashland WPA Office	1940
Boyd/ Ashland	Central Park Pool	1935
Boyd/ Ashland	Putnam Stadium	1936
Boyd/ Cannonsburg	Cannonsburg School	1941

**U=Unknown*

County/Location	*Name of Resource*	*Date of Construction*
Boyd/ Ashland	Ashland Deep Sewer	U
Boyd/ Ashland	Ashland Fish Hatchery	1936
Boyd/ Ashland	Sediment Basin	1939
Boyd/ Ashland	Ashland Public Library	1935
Boyd/ Cattlettsburg	Cattlettsburg Playground/Bleachers	1937
Breathitt/ Portsmouth	Portsmouth School	1935
Breathitt/ U	Highland Road	U
Breathitt/ Jackson	Breathitt Co WPA Warehouse	1938
Breathitt/ Stongfork	Strongfork School	U
Breathitt/ Quicksand	Quicksand Auditorium	1940
Breathitt/ Jackson	Breathitt County Jail	1938
Breathitt/ Big Rock	County School at Big Rock	1935
Breathitt/ Jackson	School Playground	1936
Breathitt/ U	Frozen Cedar Road	U
Breathitt/ Rousseau	Rousseau School	1938
Carter/ Grayson	Carter County School	1935
Carter/ U	County Quarry	U
Carter/ Olive Hill	Street	U
Carter/ U	Bridge	U
Carter/ U	County Road	U
Carter/ U	Carter City School	1939
Carter/ U	Bridge Abutment	1940
Carter/ Grayson	Carter Co WPA warehouse	U
Carter/ Grayson	Jailer's House	1935
Carter/ Hitchens	Hitchens School	1937
Carter/ Grayson	Grayson City Hall/Fire Station	1936
Carter/ Grayson	Carter Co Jail	1935
Carter/ Hitchens	Hitchens Gym	1940
Clay/ Manchester	Colored Graded School	U
Clay/ U	Burning School Road	U
Clay/ Manchester	Manchester School	1941
Clay/ Tiger Road	Bridge on Tiger Road	U
Clay/ Manchester	Manchester Warehouse	1941
Clay/ Laurel Creek	Laurel Creek School	1936
Clay/ Manchester	Clay Co Courthouse	1937
Clay/ Flat Creek	Flat Creek School	U
Clay/ Otter Creek	Otter Creek School	U
Elliott/ U	Gym and Community House	1935
Elliott/ Sandy Hook	Elliott Co WPA Warehouse	1938
Elliott/ Sandy Hook	Elliott Co Courthouse	1938
Elliott/ Sandy Hook	Sandy Hook School	1936
Elliott/ U	Road	1941

County/Location	*Name of Resource*	*Date of Construction*
Elliott/ U	Road	U
Elliott/ U	Bridge Abutment	U
Floyd/ U	Drainage Structure	1941
Floyd/ U	WPA Warehouse	U
Floyd/ U	Railroad in Floyd Co	1941
Floyd/ Cracker	Cracker School	U
Floyd/ Martin	Bridge	U
Floyd/ Prestonsburg	Prestonsburg High School/Gym	1937
Floyd/ U	Mine Sealing Project	U
Floyd/ U	Drainage Structure	U
Floyd/ Prestonsburg	Garfield Street	U
Floyd/ Prestonsburg	Retaining Wall	U
Floyd/ Water Gap	Water Gap School	U
Floyd/ McDowell	McDowell School	1936
Floyd/ County Rd	Harold Road	U
Floyd/ County Rd	Abbot Creek Road	U
Floyd/ Prestonsburg	8th Street	U
Greenup/ Raceland	Raceland Sewer	U
Greenup/ U	Whetstone Rd	U
Greenup/ Fullerton (South Shore)	Fullerton School	1937
Greenup/ Greenup	Greenup County Courthouse	1938
Greenup/U	Cheap to Advance Rd	U
Greenup/U	Wingo Creek Road	U
Greenup/U	Flatwood Rd	U
Greenup/U	Alcorn Rd	U
Greenup/ HWY 2/7 @ HWY 784	Kehoe Rd Bridge	U
Greenup/ Russell	Russell Street	U
Greenup/ Greenup	Greenup City School	1938
Harlan/ Totz	Totz School	1938
Harlan/ Harlan	Paddock St.	U
Harlan/ Harlan	Harlan Armory	1940
Harlan/ Benham	Benham Athletic Field	1939
Harlan/ Cumberland	Cumberland Sewers	U
Harlan/U	Harlan St. Retaining Wall	U
Harlan/ Cumberland	Poor Fork Creek Bridge	U
Harlan/ Verda	Verda School/Gym	1938
Harlan/ Harlan	Harlan Negro School	1937
Harlan/ Pine Mountain	Pine Mountain Quarry	1940
Harlan/ Harlan	Harlan Retaining Wall	1940
Harlan/ Brookside	Brookside School	1936
Harlan/ Harlan	Harlan County Infirmary	1938
Harlan/U	Harlan County Golf Course	1940
Harlan/ Blackstar	Blackstar School/Gym	1938

County/Location	*Name of Resource*	*Date of Construction*
Harlan/ Cumberland	Cumberland City Hall	1936
Harlan/U	Girls Recreation Center Swimming Pool	1935
Harlan/ Evarts	Evarts Water Works	1940
Harlan/ Twila	Twila School	1936
Harlan/ Kenvir	Kenvir School	1939
Harlan/ Hall	Hall Memorial Gym	1936
Jackson/U	Bridge Abutment	U
Jackson/ Grayhawk	Grayhawk School	1938
Jackson/ Tyner	Tyner Gym	1936
Jackson/U	Jackson County Quarry	1940
Jackson/U	McKee High School	U
Johnson/ Paintsville	Paintsville Sewer	U
Johnson/ Van Lear	Van Lear School	1938
Johnson/ Paintsville/Johnson Co	Numerous Unnamed Road Projects	U
Johnson/ Paintsville	WPA Warehouse/Office	1938
Johnson/ Johnson Co	State Hwy Cut in Hill (Rifle Site)	1940
Johnson/ Paintsville	Concrete Street Paving	U
Johnson/ Paintsville	Paintsville Golf Course/Clubhouse	1939
Johnson/ Paintsville	Paintsville City Hall/Jail/Fire Stn	1936
Johnson/ Meade	Meade-Memorial Gym	1935
Knott/ Carr Creek	Carr Creek School Bridge	U
Knott/ Irishman Creek	Irishman Creek Bridge	U
Knott/U	Knott Co Road construction	U
Knott/U	Hindman-Hazard Rd	U
Knott/ Pippa Passes	Caney Creek School	1935
Knott/ Sassfras	Sassafras School	1935
Knott/ Hindman	Knott County Jail	1936
Knott/ Carr Creek	Carr Creek School	1935
Knott/ Cutshin Creek	Cutshin Creek Bridge	1940
Knox/ Wilton Rd	Wilton Rd	U
Knox/ Barbourville	Barbourville City Hall/Fire Station	1935
Knox/ Barbourville	Barbourville Bridge	1941
Knox/ Grays	Pam LaRue School 334 W Cedar St	1942
Knox/ Hubbs	Hubbs School	1938
Knox/ Dr. Thomas Walker State Pk	Caretaker's House	1938
Knox/ Barbourville	Barbourville School Addition	1937
Knox/ Lynn Camp	Lynn Camp School	1935
Knox/ Manchester	Manchester Road Drainage Str	U
Knox/ Artemus	Artemus School	1935
Knox/ Jeffs Creek	Jeffs Creek School	1936
Knox/ DeWitt	DeWitt School	1935
Knox/ Flat Lick	Flat Lick Jr. High School	1935

County/Location	*Name of Resource*	*Date of Construction*
Knox/ Barbourville	Central High School Gym	1935
Knox/ U	Hammond School	1935
Knox/ U	Baker School	1935
Knox/ U	Farm to Market Rd	U
Knox/ Bull Creek	Bull Creek School	1935
Knox/ Walker Memorial Rd	Walker Memorial Rd	U
Knox/ New Bethel	New Bethel Consolidated HS/Gym	1935
Knox/ Artemus Rd	Artemus Rd	U
Laurel/ East Bernstadt	East Bernstadt School	1938
Laurel/ Hazel Green	Hazel Green School/Gym	1937
Laurel/ London	London City Hall/Fire Station	1938
Laurel/ Lily	Lily School	1938
Laurel/ London	Laurel Co WPA Warehouse	1939
Laurel/ Owsley	Owsley School	U
Laurel/ Piney Grove Rd	Piney Grove Rd	U
Laurel/ State HWY S. of London	London Sidewalks	U
Laurel/ near Corbin	Felts School	1937
Laurel/ U	Laurel Co Stone Quarry	1941
Laurel/ London	London Negro School	1939
Laurel/ near London	Levi Jackson State Park	U
Laurel/ London	London City School	1935
Lawrence/ Lowmansville	Lowmansville School	U
Lawrence/ Webville Rd	Webville Rd	U
Lawrence/ U	Lawrence Co WPA Garage/Whse	1938
Lawrence/ Blaine	Blaine School	U
Lawrence/ Clifford	Clifford School	U
Lawrence/ Louisa	Louisa Grade School	U
Lawrence/ Fallsburg	Fallsburg School	U
Lawrence/ Martha	Martha School	U
Lawrence/ Louisa	Louisa City Hall	1939
Lawrence/ Louisa	Lawrence Co Jail	1938
Lawrence/ Blaine Rd	Blaine Rd	U
Lawrence/ Meade	Meade Branch School	U
Lee/ Beattyville	Beattyville City Hall	1938
Lee/ Quarry Rd	Quarry Rd Drainage Str.	U
Lee/ Yellow Rock Rd	Yellow Rock Rd	U
Lee/ Fiver Rd	Fiver Road	U
Lee/ Andra	Andra School	1936
Lee/ Zoe	Zoe School	1936
Lee/ Beattyville	Lee Co WPA Warehouse	1938
Lee/ Beattyville	Beattyville High School Addition	1938
Leslie/ Bear Branch Rd	Bear Branch Rd Bridge	1940
Leslie/ Hyden	Leslie Co WPA Warehouse	U

County/Location	*Name of Resource*	*Date of Construction*
Leslie/ Hyden	Hyden High School	1935
Leslie/ Leslie County	County Road Work	U
Letcher/ Fish Pond	Fish Pond School	1936
Letcher/ King's Creek	King's Creek School	1936
Letcher/ Whitesburg	Letcher Co Courthouse Addition	1935
Letcher/ U	Middle Colby School	1935
Letcher/ Whitco	Whitco School	1935
Letcher/ Tolliver Town	Tolliver Town School	1938
Letcher/ McRoberts	McRoberts School	U
Letcher/ Fleming-Neon	Fleming School Addition	1937
Letcher/ Whitesburg	Whitesburg Bridge	1941
Letcher/ Little Cowan	Little Cowan School	1936
Letcher/ Pine Creek	Pine Creek School	1936
Letcher/ Doty Creek	Doty School	1936
Letcher/ Blair Branch	Blair Branch School	1936
Letcher/ Mayking	Mayking School	1936
Letcher/ Upper Cowan	Upper Cowan School	1936
Letcher/ Whitesburg	Whitesburg School Addition	1942
Letcher/ Blackey Rd/Hwy 588	Blackey Rd	U
Letcher/ Whitesburg	Whitesburg Roads	U
Letcher/ Pine Mtn.	Letcher Co Quarry	U
Letcher/ Fleming	Letcher Co Country Club	1936
Letcher/ Jenkins	Jenkins High School	1935
Letcher/	Ison Rd	U
Letcher/ Kona Rd	Kona Rd	U
Letcher/ Millstone	Millstone School	1936
Letcher/ Whitesburg	Stone Bridge Whitesburg	1939
Letcher/ Pine Mtn. Rd	Pine Mountain Rd	U
Letcher/ Ulvah/ Hwy 7	Ulvah Bridge	U
Letcher/ Roxana Rd	Roxana Rd Bridge	U
Letcher/ Jeremiah Rd	Jeremiah Rd Bridge	U
Letcher/ Whitesburg	Letcher Co WPA Warehouse	1937
Lewis/ U	Lewis Co Drainage Str/Bridge	1940
Lewis/ Concord Rd	Concord Rd	U
Lewis/ Vanceburg	Lewis Co WPA Warehouse	1940
Lewis/ U	Lewis Co Drainage Structure	1940
Lewis/ Vanceburg	Lewis County Courthouse	1938
Magoffin/ U	Retaining Wall/Drainage Structure	U
Magoffin/ Bulgar Mountain Rd	Bulgar Mountain Rd	U
Magoffin/ Mine Fork Rd	Mine Fork Rd	U
Magoffin/ 3U	Magoffin Co WPA Warehouse	1937
Magoffin/ Trace Branch Rd	Trace Branch Bridge	U
Magoffin/ Gypsy	Gypsy School	1936

County/Location	*Name of Resource*	*Date of Construction*
Magoffin/ Oakley Creek	Oakley Creek Bridge	U
Magoffin/ Croft Creek	Croft Creek School	1936
Magoffin/ Ivyton	Ivyton School	1938
Magoffin/ Swampton	Swampton School	1936
Martin/ Inez	Martin Co Courthouse	1938
Martin/ Inez	Inez High School/Gym	1936
Martin/ Tomahawk	Tomahawk School	1938
Martin/ Warfield	Warfield School/Gym	1941
Martin/ Inez	Martin Co WPA Warehouse/Garage	U
McCreary/ Clear Creek	Clear Creek School	U
McCreary/ Nevelsville	Nevelsville School	U
McCreary/ Marshes Siding Rd	Marshes Siding Rd	U
McCreary/ Mill Creek Rd	Mill Creek Rd	U
McCreary/ Pine Knot	Pine Knot Gym	1941
McCreary/ Parker's Lake	Parker's Lake School	1941
McCreary/ Mount Pleasant Rd	Mount Pleasant Rd	U
McCreary/ Smithtown	Smithtown School	1938
McCreary/ East Stearns Rd	East Stearns Rd	U
McCreary/ Saylersville Rd	Saylersville Rd	U
McCreary/ Silerville Rd	Silerville Rd	U
McCreary/ Mount Holly Rd	Mount Holly Rd	U
McCreary/ Beech Grove	Beech Grove School	1935
McCreary/ Whitley City	WPA Office/Whitley City	U
McCreary/ Gilreath	Gilreath School	U
McCreary/ Pine Knot	Pine Knot School	1939
McCreary/ Hays Creek Rd	Hays Creek Rd	U
McCreary/ Strunk	Strunk School	U
McCreary/ Revelo	Revelo School	1938
McCreary/ Holly Hill	Pleasant Run County School	1938
McCreary/ Nevelsville Rd	Nevelsville Road Bridge	1941
McCreary/ U	Limestone/Sandstone Quarries	1941
McCreary/ Pine Knot	Pine Knot Sidewalks/Streets	U
McCreary/ Stearns	Stearns St Retaining Wall	U
McCreary/ Stearns	Stearns Clubhouse/Pool	1935
McCreary/ Alum Creek Vicinity	Foster School	1935
McCreary/ Whitley City	Whitley City School	1937
Morgan/ West Liberty	Morgan Co Jail	1937
Morgan/ West Liberty	West Liberty HS Stadium	1935
Morgan/ West Liberty	West Liberty High School	U
Morgan/ U	Morgan Co WPA Quarry	U
Morgan/ U	Box Culvert	U
Morgan/ U	County Roads	U
Morgan/ West Liberty	West Liberty Waterworks	1939

County/Location	*Name of Resource*	*Date of Construction*
Morgan/ Lenox	Lenox School	U
Morgan/ Redwine	Redwine School	U
Morgan/ Woodsbend	Woodsbend School	U
Morgan/ Cannel City	Cannel City School/Gym	1936
Morgan/ West Liberty	Morgan Co Courthouse	U
Morgan/ Crockett	Crockett School	1936
Morgan/ Wrigley	Wrigley School	1936
Morgan/ West Liberty	Morgan Co WPA Whse/Office	1937
Owsley/ Booneville	Cow Creek Bridge	U
Perry/ Hazard	Hazard Swinging Bridge	1935
Perry/ Little Leatherwood Creek	Little Leatherwood Creek Dam	U
Perry/ U	Bridge	U
Perry/ Vicco	Vicco Gym	1938
Perry/ Combs	Combs School	U
Perry/ U	Bowlington Rd	U
Perry/ U	Dice-Rowdy Rd	U
Perry/ U	Leatherwood Rd	U
Perry/ U	Chavis Rd	U
Perry/ U	WPA Bridge/Perry Co	1940
Perry/ Hazard	Hazard Water Main	U
Perry/ Hazard	Broadway(Hazard)	U
Perry/ Ary	Ary School	1935
Perry/ Hazard	Hazard Negro School	1935
Perry/ Hazard	High St. Retaining Wall	U
Perry/ Hazard	Perry Co WPA Warehouse/Office	1937
Pike/ U	Dorton Rd	U
Pike/ Pikeville	Pikeville Suspension Bridge	1940
Pike/ U	Beaver Creek Rd	U
Pike/ U	Pike Co Retaining Wall	U
Pike/ U	Grapevine Road	U
Pike/ U	Sukey Creek Bridge	1939
Pike/ U	Box Culverts	U
Pike/ U	Pike Co Dynamite Magazine	U
Pike/ U	Varney Rd	U
Pike/ U	Big Sandy River Rd	U
Pike/ Pikeville	Pikeville Streets	U
Pike/ Pikeville	Pike Co Jail	1938
Pike/ U	Robinson Creek Bridge	U
Pike/ U	Athletic Field in Pike Co	1938
Pike/ Pikeville	Pikeville Negro School	1935
Pike/ Phelps	Phelps Gym	1936
Pike/ Pikeville	Pike Co WPA Warehouse	1938
Pike/ Dorton	Dorton Gym	1938

County/Location	*Name of Resource*	*Date of Construction*
Pike/U	Pike Co Drainage Structure	1941
Pike/ Belfry	Belfry School	1937
Pike/ Pikeville	Pikeville Incinerator	1938
Pike/ Dorton	Dorton School	U
Pike/U	Breeding Pool/State Fish Hatchery	1936
Pike/ Shelbania	Shelbania School	1935
Pike/U	Caretaker's House/Fish Hatchery	1936
Whitley/U	Mud Creek Quarry	U
Whitley/U	Clear Fork Rd	U
Whitley/U	Gatliff Rd	U
Whitley/U	Jelico Rd Culvert	U
Whitley/ Cumbeland Falls SP	Dupont Lodge	1940
Whitley/U	Whitley Co Dynamite Magazine	U
Whitley/ Rockhold	Rockhold School	1940
Whitley/ Corbin	Corbin St. and Curb	U
Whitley/ Savoy	Savoy School	U
Whitley/ Williamsburg	Williamsburg Armory	1941
Whitley/ Woodbine	Woodbine School/Gym	1936
Whitley/U	Jack's Fork Bridge	U
Whitley/ Williamsburg	Whitley Co WPA Warehouse	1938
Whitley/ Corbin	Corbin High School Gym	1938
Whitley/ Corbin	Corbin Stadium Grand Stand	1940
Whitley/ Pleasant View	Pleasant View School	1938
Whitley/ Williamsburg	Williamsburg Co Jail	1936
Whitley/ Williamsburg	Williamsburg Gym	1936
Whitley/ Corbin	Corbin Sewers	1940
Whitley/U	Unnamed Whitley Co School	U
Wolfe/U	Wolfe Co Dynamite Magazine	U
Wolfe/U	Big Andy Rd	U
Wolfe/U	Lacey Creek Road	U
Wolfe/ Campton	Campton High School	1938
Wolfe/U	Lee City Rd	U
Wolfe/U	Holly Rd	U
Wolfe/ Hazel Green	Hazel Green School	1935
Wolfe/ Campton	Campton Pedestrian Bridge	U

Source: Goodman-Paxton Collection, University of Kentucky.