

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form**

This form is for use in documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Type all entries.

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

New Deal Era Buildings in Western Kentucky

B. Associated Historic Contexts

New Deal in Western Kentucky, 1933-1943

C. Geographical Data

Ballard, Butler, Caldwell, Calloway, Carlisle, Christian, Crittenden, Daviess, Fulton, Graves, Hancock, Henderson, Hickman, Hopkins, Livingston, Logan, Lyon, Marshall, McCracken, McLean, Muhlenberg, Ohio, Todd, Trigg, Union, Warren, and Webster Counties, Kentucky.

☐ See continuation sheet

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Planning and Evaluation.

Signature of certifying official David L. Morgan
State Historic Preservation Officer, Kentucky Heritage Council
State or Federal agency and bureau

Date

I, hereby, certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper of the National Register

Date

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Discuss each historic context listed in Section B.

F. Associated Property Types

I. Name of Property Type _____

II. Description

III. Significance

IV. Registration Requirements

☒ See continuation sheet

☐ See continuation sheet for additional property types

G. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.

☒ See continuation sheet

H. Major Bibliographical References

☒ See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional documentation:

- ☒ State historic preservation office
☐ Other State agency
☐ Federal agency

- ☐ Local government
☐ University
☐ Other

Specify repository: _____

I. Form Prepared By

name/title Joseph E. Brent, Historic Preservation Specialist
organization Kentucky Heritage Council date 5/14/91
street & number 677 Comanche Trail telephone 502-564-7005
city or town Frankfort, KY state Kentucky zip code 40601

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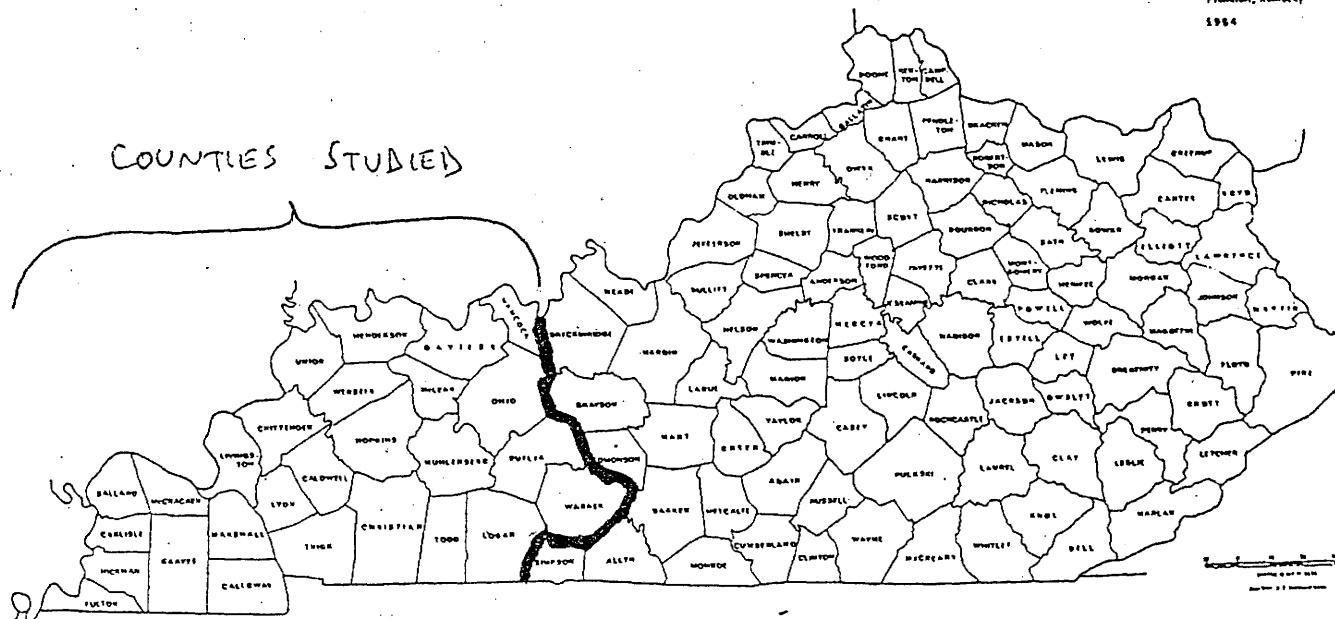
New Deal Era Buildings in Western Kentucky

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I. Form Prepared By

name/title Joseph E. Brent, Historic Preservation Specialistorganization Kentucky Heritage Councilstreet & number 677 Comanche Trailcity or town Frankfort, KYdate 5/14/91telephone 502-564-7005state Kentuckyzip code 40601

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INTRODUCTION

"The significance of a historic property can be judged and explained only when it is evaluated within its historic context. Historic contexts are those patterns, themes, or trends in history by which a specific occurrence, property, or site is understood and its meaning (and ultimately its significance) within prehistory or history is made clear. Historians, architectural historians, folklorists, archaeologists, and anthropologists use different words to describe this phenomena such as trend, pattern, theme, or cultural affiliation, but ultimately the concept is the same."¹

This document began as an idea at the Kentucky Heritage Council in the summer of 1990. No parameters were established, there was only the need to do "something on the WPA." This author's background is history, and so this context was approached from that perspective. Consequently, months of research in archival repositories preceded any field work. Once the history of the New Deal was understood then field work was done to see if the written record jibbed with the physical remains. I have since learned things are generally done the other way around.

This historic context is based on a study of New Deal era work relief projects in the twenty-six Kentucky counties west of a line formed by Breckinridge, Grayson, Edmonson, Allen, and Simpson counties. These twenty-six counties [Ballard, Butler, Caldwell, Calloway, Carlisle, Christian, Crittenden, Daviess, Fulton, Graves, Hancock, Henderson, Hickman, Hopkins, Livingston, Logan, Lyon, Marshall, McCracken, McLean, Muhlenberg, Ohio, Todd, Trigg, Union, Warren, and Webster] comprised District One of the Works Progress Administration. This district, headquartered at Madisonville, changed its boundaries six times between 1935 and 1941. As a result several counties on the eastern fringe of the group (see map) were located in different districts.

It is the purpose of this study to develop an historic context for those buildings, structures, and properties constructed by any one of several agencies of the Federal government between 1933 and 1943. It was during this period that President Franklin D. Roosevelt developed a domestic policy that he called the New Deal. At the time it was considered a radical program; the Federal government attempted to pull the United States out of a depression by creating jobs and assisting individuals with the direct use of government funds. Of the many agencies that were created, seven (Civilian Conservation Corps, Civil Works Administration, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Works Progress Administration, National Youth Administration, Public Works Administration and Tennessee Valley Authority) were involved in massive capital improvement projects that have left remains on the Kentucky landscape. With this historic context the Kentucky Heritage Council has established a matrix for the evaluation of those properties built by one of the agencies list above. Of course, this context is only a guide; buildings, structures or properties created by the New Deal agencies may well be significant under other contexts and criteria.

¹National Park Service, National Register Bulletin 15 (Washington, 1991) p.

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HISTORIC CONTEXT

On October 29, 1929, the market for stocks and bonds collapsed. The subsequent economic chaos helped initiate the Great Depression. This unprecedented financial disaster brought massive unemployment and created social problems on a scale previously unknown in American history.² Hundreds of businesses failed, adding thousands to the unemployment rolls. While the United States had been through other depressions or panics, the magnitude of this particular disaster proved to be too much for the state and local relief systems. The complete breakdown of local assistance programs forced the federal government to intervene in relief efforts on a scale unknown in peacetime.

Finally, three years after the onset of the Great Depression, the Hoover administration began limited federal intervention with passage of the Emergency Relief and Construction Act on July 21, 1932. This act made \$300,000,000 dollars available to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), which in turn made money available for loans to the state and local governments through a comparable state agency. Kentucky's new governor, Ruby Laffoon, immediately asked for \$15 million in loans for the state. He was just as quickly rebuffed. A reduced request of \$1.1 million dollars brought funding to the financially strapped state.³

The effort of the RFC came too little and too late. Hoover had wrestled with the Depression for most of his term in office, but he refused to act decisively and bring the full weight of the federal government to bear in combating the unparalleled economic disaster that gripped the nation. Democratic presidential candidate Franklin Roosevelt promised to bring about dramatic and immediate help from the government. This promise led to his election and ushered in the New Deal.

The new President wasted little time in keeping his word. Between March 9 and June 16, 1933, the famous "100 days," his administration inaugurated several programs that would become cornerstones of the New Deal. Out of this flurry of legislation came the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). By 1935 the remaining agencies that concern this context were in place, the Public Works Administration (PWA), Civil Works Administration (CWA), Works Progress Administration (WPA), and the National Youth Administration (NYA).⁴

Of the seven agencies listed above, three (FERA, CWA, and WPA) had the same

²George T. Blakey, Hard Times and New Deal in Kentucky, 1929-1939 (Lexington, 1986), 9-24.

³National Archives, Central Correspondence Files of the Works Projects Administration and its Predecessors 1933-1944 (Washington DC, 1946) hereafter cited as NAWPA, p. 47; see also Blakey, Hard Times, pp. 19-24 Blakey gives a detailed explanation of the RFC in Kentucky.

⁴Arthur M. Schlesinger, The Age of Roosevelt: The Coming of the New Deal Volume 2 (Boston, 1959) pp. 1-23 and 282-285 and Blakey, Hard Times pp. 45-77.

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director, Harry Hopkins. Hopkins, a career social worker, was perfectly suited for the job and to the New Deal approach to relief. He believed that relief was a right of the people and not something that the government should be coerced into providing. Hopkins also believed that work relief was preferable to direct hand-outs. As FERA director Hopkins initiated the first large scale work relief effort in the winter of 1933 by establishing the Civil Works Administration. CWA was a short lived agency, terminated in the spring of 1934. Hopkins kept the work relief aspect of the New Deal alive by creating a work division of FERA to finish old CWA projects and even begin some new ones. Work relief efforts of FERA continued as the Works Progress Administration, which was created by presidential proclamation in the summer of 1935. The WPA was designed strictly as work relief organization based on the CWA and FERA models. It is important to understand that CWA, the work division of FERA, and WPA were actually a continuum, which basically perpetuated the same sort of projects that were as a rule run by the same people.⁵

Of the remaining four agencies to be addressed in this historic context, only the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps could actually be considered work relief in the same sense as WPA and its predecessors. The NYA was actually an offshoot of the WPA and was designed to take care of students, recent graduates, and school drop-outs between the ages of 16 and 25. NYA provided work to aid them and their families, and to help them continue their education. The latter was an early form of work-study. The CCC also helped young people, but only 18 to 25 year old single men (native Americans and veterans were also employed, but this was not the thrust of the agency). The CCC's work was confined to the forests or park lands and was organized along quasi-military lines.⁶

The Tennessee Valley Authority and the Public Works Administration were very specialized agencies. Both built numerous structures in Kentucky and employed many people, but neither agency's labor pool was derived primarily from the relief rolls. Putting people to work was not their primary concern. TVA's mission was to develop better navigation on the Tennessee River, to create cheap hydro-electric power and to manufacture inexpensive fertilizer. PWA's objectives were guided by the vision of its director, Harold Ickes who saw public works in the light of old world empires that left impressive construction behind as a reminder of their grandeur. Ickes wanted to create lasting monuments that would stand as symbols of America's greatness for generations to come. Certainly a great deal of earth moving was necessary to accomplish these goals, but the people employed were skilled craftsmen or specialized construction workers. While jobs were created, structures built and rivers tamed, by these two programs, the ways and

⁵Doris Carothers, Chronology of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration - May 12, 1933, to December 31, 1935 (Washington, 1937) pp. 27, 49, 79; NAWPA pp. 48-54; WPA-KY pp. 2,3,47; Blakey, Hard Times pp. 58-59.

⁶Leuchtenberg, New Deal, pp. 70, 129; Works Progress Administration, Appendix A to Handbook of Procedures for State Works Progress Administration, December 15, 1937 pp. 1-2 ("Executive Order: Establishment of the National Youth Administration Within the Works Progress Administration") and John C. Paige, The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History (Washington, 1985 pp. 10-13.

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the means of doing it differed vastly from those utilized by the WPA.⁷

Administration

Although the federal government provided funding mechanisms for the work relief agencies, it was up to local officials were responsible for selecting projects and for applying for the money. Which local administrators were involved in the determination process depended upon what type of construction a community thought it needed. In Kentucky, the local board of education generally shouldered responsibility for new schools or repair of school property. Public buildings, courthouses, garages, utilities, road repair, sewers, bridges, etc., would be launched by the county fiscal court. As a rule these two public organizations served as sponsors for the local community. They assessed community needs and made applications requesting funding from the state office of the appropriate federal agency.

Proposals first had to be approved locally, then by the state office, and finally forwarded to Washington. Part of the role of the local organization or sponsor was to come up with a small portion of the funding. The federal government would accept cash, in-kind contributions and in some cases would make loans or even buy the sponsor's bonds in order to help make up the local part of the equation. Often on large ventures such as hospitals, committees of leading citizens would be formed in order to solicit contributions needed to make up the sponsor's part of the construction price. Regardless of what the project might be a common thread bound them: they had to be publicly owned, the initiative had to originate locally, and the funding came from Washington.⁸

The Civilian Conservation Corps

Franklin Roosevelt had fought for conservation most of his life. The notion of the CCC reflected his Jeffersonian beliefs that to live and work among nature benefited not only the body but the soul. By taking jobless and hopeless youth out of urban areas and placing them in the environment of the forest to work, they would be rewarded both financially and spiritually. Besides the benefits to the unemployed, the Civilian Conservation Corps replenished a brutally squandered natural resource -- the forests.⁹

Less than a year after the creation of the CCC a newspaper editor in Madisonville, Kentucky offered this praise:

"... the Civilian Conservation Corps stands by itself
Long after the Corps has been disbanded and the situation it
was designed to meet has disappeared, the work which it has

⁷Sprio Kostof, America by Design (New York, 1988) pp. 313-320; Leuchtenberg, New Deal pp. 133-134 and Blakey, Hard Times p. 73.

⁸WPA, Appendix A pp. 1-2 and Madisonville Messenger April 6, 8 and 11, 1936

⁹John A. Salmond, The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study (Durham, 1967), pp. 3-25; Paige, CCC, pp. 7-18; see also Jim Jones unpublished report "Tennessee's First State Parks Study Unit No. 2" pp. 2-3; WPA-KY, p. 3.

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accomplished in conserving and planting trees, the building of fire breaks and roads, and in the protection against erosion will continue to bear fruit."¹⁰

Officially the "3-C" was a cooperative federal agency. The program utilized the facilities of four government departments coordinated by the CCC director. The Department of Labor administered the selection of the junior enrollees (veterans were selected by the Veterans Administration); The War Department (now Department of Defence) was in charge of camp organization and administration; the Department of Agriculture and the Interior were responsible for providing technical supervision for the field projects.¹¹

The CCC was set up with each state providing a given number of men; within each state, the counties also had a quota. Enrollees were single men 18 to 25 years of age. They were organized into work camps commanded by army officers. The young men enlisted to work for six months at \$30 per month, \$25 of which was sent home to their families. In addition to the five dollars, they were clothed, fed, and even offered educational opportunities. The men could reenlist for up to a total of two years. The enlistees had to pass a physical examination and two weeks of training designed to prepare them physically for the rigorous outdoor labor. The original goal of the CCC was to have 250,000 young men working within three months of the establishment of the agency. By the time of the termination of the agency in 1942 over 2 million men had been employed and 711 state parks had been established (see appendix I for list of Kentucky camps).¹²

The CCC performed more than 150 tasks which were divided into ten categories:

1. Structural improvements
2. Transportation Improvements
3. Soil erosion control
4. Flood control, irrigation, and drainage
5. Forest culture
6. Forest protection
7. Landscape and recreation
8. Range improvements
9. Wildlife activities
10. Other and miscellaneous activities¹³

Implementing these tasks generally required the enrollees to work on the

". . . construction and maintenance of fire breaks, clearing of

¹⁰Madisonville Messenger, December 6, 1933.

¹¹Civilian Conservation Corps, Forest Improvements by the CCC (Washington, 1939), p. 1.

¹²Paige, CCC, 1-18 and 126-132.

¹³Civilian Conservation Corps, Forest Improvement by the CCC (U. S. Government Printing Office: Washington DC, 1939), p. 1.

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campgrounds and trails, construction of fire and related structures, road and trail building, forest fire suppression, survey work, plant eradication, erosion control, bridge building, flood control, tree disease control, insect control, campground construction, and landscaping."¹⁴

The architectural remains of the CCC can be best seen today in campground construction. The cabins and other park structures that were built were done in such a way that they would "... be closely and logically related to the park plan to insure its workability and harmony."¹⁵

The most readily recognizable remains of the Civilian Conservation Corps are the park facilities. Yet the parks constitute a very small percentage of the work undertaken by the CCC. Much of their efforts left a subtler, yet unmistakable mark upon the nations woodlands. The "3-C" planted a billion trees, built dams of earth, stone, and wood for recreation, flood and erosion control. Other related structures such as levees, diversion channels and reservoirs were also part of the CCC forestry program. To aid in the protection and improvement of the forests, tool sheds were constructed in remote areas so that foresters/fire fighters could preform their duties without the additional burden of carrying in tools. The CCC improved access, communication and safety in our forests by building 71,000 miles of truck trails plus 18,000 miles of foot paths; they installed 49,000 miles of telephone line and constructed 1,900 lookout towers in the forests across the nation.¹⁶ A thorough investigation of work done by the CCC must include the work of this nature.

As noted above, the most visible of the physical remains left by the Civilian Conservation Corps are the parks themselves. In Kentucky, John James Audubon State Park is listed and Mammoth Cave National Park has been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. The CCC activity at these sites served as one basis for each's significance. In the study area, both the Pennyryle Forest State Park and Columbus-Belmont State Park were constructed by or utilized CCC labor in their early development.

It is important to understand that the "3-C" did more than build parks. The marks that the program left upon the Kentucky landscape may be subtle but should nonetheless be noted as part of any complete survey of its work. For instance the final report of Camp Hall, a soil conservation camp in Webster County, describes the efforts of the enrollees in that area over four years 1933-1937:

¹⁴ Ibid, 18.

¹⁵ Albert H. Good, Parks and Recreation Structures, (Washington D.C., 1938), p. 6.

¹⁶ Civilian Conservation Corps, Recreational Developments by the CCC in the National and State Forests (U. S. Government Printing Office: Washington DC, 1936), p. 7; CCC, Forest Improvement, p. 10; and Civilian Conservation Corps, The Work of the CCC in Water Conservation (U. S Government Printing Office: Washington DC, 1936), p. 19.

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"Contour tillage, the plowing or cultivation of slopes on the contour, 5,679 acres; strip cropping or the practice of planting bands or strips of certain close-growing or close-rooted crops on the contour, with cultivated or row crops alternating with strips, 248 acres; contour furrows, which are furrows plowed along a contour made in pastures for the purpose of preventing run-off and soil loss and to conserve soil moisture, 427 acres; terraces which are long low embankments or ridges of earth constructed across slopes to control run-off and minimize soil erosion 3,365 acres; winter cover crops, which are grown for the purpose of soil protection between periods of regular crop production 2,954 acres; permanent hay, in which hay crops occupy the land for a period of four years or more, 1563 acres; permanent pastures, which is grazing land occupied by perennial pasture plants or by self-seeding annuals, usually both, and which remains unplowed for several years, 4,516 acres; protected woods, in which woods are protected from fire and livestock grazing, 1,738 acres. Over 1,000,000 trees were planted for reforestation in gullied and eroded areas totalling 582 acres. New fence construction to protect pastures, meadows and woods totalling 4,000 rods, in which farmers furnished the posts and wire for construction."¹⁷

While this is less visible than the parks, it is definitely representative of the one type of program undertaken by the CCC during the New Deal era. This represents soil conservation, the "3-C" also did flood control and reforestation projects which would also produce many features as subtle as those described above.

Albert H. Good's Park and Recreation Structures (1938), offers a detailed description of the type of structures and sites that the CCC would have built in a park setting. This work contains line drawings, floor plans and photographs of an example of each item listed. Though this work was designed to cover only those structures built for the park service, the CCC also constructed many of the same buildings or features in conjunction with their forestry and soil conservation work. Below is a list of the features outlined by Good:

A) Administration and Basic Services Resources:

1. Entranceways and checking stations
2. Barriers, walls and fences
3. Signs
4. Administration buildings
5. Superintendent's and staff quarters
6. Equipment and maintenance buildings
7. Drinking fountains and water supply facilities
8. Comfort stations and privies
9. Incinerators
10. Fire lookout structures
11. trail steps and trails
12. Crossings and culverts
13. Bridges

B) Recreational and Cultural Resources

¹⁷ Providence Enterprise, December 24, 1937.

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1. Picnic tables
2. Picnic fireplaces
3. Refuse receptacles and pits
4. Picnic shelters and kitchens
5. Concession and refectories
6. Trailside seats, shelters, and overlooks
7. Dams and pools, beaches and lakes
8. Boathouses and dependencies
9. Miscellaneous sports structures
10. Markers, shrines, and museums
11. Historical Preservations and reconstructions
12. Outdoor theaters and campfire circles
13. Vacation cabins

C) Overnight and Organized Camp Resources

1. Tent and trailer campsites
2. Cabins
3. Lodges, inns, and hotels
4. Community buildings
5. Washhouses and laundries
6. Camp stove and fireplaces
7. Furniture and furnishing
8. Camp administration facilities
9. Camp recreational and cultural facilities
10. Camp cooking and dining facilities
11. Camp sleeping facilities

In a recent field survey the location of two CCC camps were recorded. One was a camp that some information was known, the other was completely unknown. The location and recording of these camps provided some idea of what could be expected when surveying for these feature, that is, the variability in the features that remain. All that was left of one camp was some rock flower beds and a chimney, the other had what appeared to be four barracks building. In talking with local officials and residents they readily knew of the camps and their locations, though these people were not born at the time that the camp was being used.

The work done by the CCC in Kentucky was very important, many young men from the state found employment with this agency. The changes that they wrought in the state are unmistakable: forests were planted, parks established and soil erosion controlled. While most of the standing structures built to house those enrolled in the CCC many have been destroyed, the location of the barracks buildings at Camp Morgan in Morganfield, Kentucky, suggests that perhaps all the physical remains from the camps have not been destroyed and that is indeed encouraging news.

Tennessee Valley Authority

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days." In his message to Congress Franklin Roosevelt described TVA as "a corporation clothed with the power of government but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of private enterprise." The architect of the New Deal continued outlining the mission of the agency as he envisioned it, "... it enters the wide fields of flood control, soil erosion, afforestation, elimination from agricultural use of marginal lands, and distribution and diversification of industry."¹⁸

Besides the functions outlined by the president, TVA hoped to improve navigation on the Tennessee River system and to produce cheap fertilizer. In fact, University of Kentucky extension agents experimented with TVA fertilizer and reported that farmers using it had an increase in crop yield. This information prompted agriculturalists to back construction of a TVA dam in the Bluegrass State. They reasoned that if the fertilizer were available locally, there would be a statewide increase in the crop yield. In spite of opposition from coal interests, Congress approved money for dam construction in 1938. The dam was built on the Tennessee River in Marshall County south of Paducah. The construction began in 1938 and would not be finished for seven years.¹⁹

Kentucky Dam was the last and largest of the TVA dams when completed on September 14, 1944. It had cost \$119,200,000.00. The finished structure was 206 feet high, 8,422 feet long and consisted of 7 million yards of concrete, earth, and rock. The dam supports both a highway and a railroad. The lake it created, Kentucky Lake, is 184 miles long. In addition to the dam and lake the Tennessee Valley Authority also built non-power related projects. These include three highway and two railroad bridges. Two of the highway bridges are located at the lower end of the lock and the other runs across the intake and spillway. The railroad bridges replaced flooded Illinois Central facilities. One is located across the lower lock structure and the second is at the intake and spillway. Due to the flooding of thousands of acres of land, TVA personnel also constructed roads, culverts, and other necessary transportation networks to replace those they submerged.²⁰

Besides the dam and transportation facilities, TVA built housing and related structures for its employees, therein creating or modifying whole towns. TVA wanted to house the construction workers near the site and to make them and their families as comfortable as possible. In Kentucky, they renovated 46 houses in the town of Gilbertsville.

"In addition, TVA constructed a camp and a village composed of separate areas for white and Negro employees. Employee housing facilities included 11 permanent and 72 temporary single houses, 6 temporary duplex house, and 8 men's dormitories with a total capacity of 480. Related service facilities included permanent administration, personnel, and community buildings, a semipermanent auditorium, and 2 temporary cafeterias, a hospital, a nurses' dormitory, a visitors building, Negro school and recreation buildings, warehouses and

¹⁸ Arthur E. Morgan, The Making of the TVA (Buffalo, 1974) p. 2.

¹⁹ Blakey, New Deal pp. 132-40.

²⁰ Spiro Kostof, America by Design (New York, 1988) pp. 313-20 and John H. Kyle, The Building of TVA: An Illustrated History (Baton Rouge, 1958) pp. 67, 109-18.

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During the 1930s and 1940s soil conservation, reforestation, and related forestry activities at TVA sites were often done by members of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Between 1933 and 1942, 38 CCC camps were established on TVA land. The enrollees planted 129 million trees, built 530,000 check dams on over 90,000 acres of land, and assisted on 10,000 erosion control projects. TVA even developed two forest tree nurseries that would eventually produce 50 million seedlings per year to help in the ongoing war against erosion.²²

The Civil Works Administration

A reluctant Franklin Roosevelt had a work relief program thrust upon him in the winter of 1933/34 by Harry Hopkins the Director of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Hopkins created the Civil Works Administration (CWA) on November 9, 1933, just nine days after his idea had been approved by the president. CWA was designed to take some of the stress off of a hard hit population, and perhaps to help a sluggish economy by putting some money into circulation. While CWA was not specifically designed to be temporary, FDR made sure that it was. The president feared that people would become addicted to the government payrolls, but most importantly he did not want to create a permanent class of relievers.

Consequently, CWA was a short lived agency, expiring in March 1934, but the idea of work relief it embodied was immensely popular. Jobs and money had been scarce for months and people with little hope for either suddenly had a pay check. The timing of the creation of the agency (roughly at the beginning of the 1933 holiday season) helped lift the spirits of the general population. When CWA was terminated in April 1934, FERA established a work division to carry on many of the projects begun by Hopkins' temporary agency. The administration would not be committed wholeheartedly to work relief until the inauguration of the Works Progress Administration in May of 1935. However, by November of 1934 FDR privately said that he hoped to end the government's role in direct relief and substitute work relief in its place. Fortunately, the foundation for the WPA had been laid by the Civil Works Administration.²³

In general the CWA was successful; it mobilized as many people over the course of one winter as the armed forces had during World War I (4 million people). This program was funded totally by federal sources. The money came directly from Washington and, unlike FERA, it eliminated the states as middle men. In fact CWA laborers were on the federal payroll. Many of the projects could be considered "make work"; after all the idea was to put millions people to work as quickly as possible. But despite the charges of "leaf raking," the short lived agency built or improved 500,000 miles of roads, as well as 40,000 schools, 3,500

²¹TVA, The Kentucky Project, p. 263.

²²Tennessee Valley Authority, The First Fifty Years: Changed Land, Changed Lives (Knoxville, 1983) p. 125.

²³Leuchtenberg, New Deal, PP. 121-126; see also Leupold, "The Kentucky WPA", pp.159-161; and Charles, Minister of Relief, p. 48.

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playgrounds/sports fields and some 1,000 airports. By February of 1934 there were 73,000 CWA jobs in Kentucky.²⁴

Every county in the study area had some sort of CWA activity (see appendix II). Most of these were in the form of road projects or other non-capital improvement enterprises, such as sewer construction. Repair or improvements to standing structures were also common. Due to the abbreviated nature of the program, many projects were not finished. Yet the public and their locally elected officials were happy with the precedent set by the Civil Works Administration. Work relief was not direct handouts and proud people were able to help their families without going on the dole. The editor of the Mayfield Messenger in Graves County lamented the passing of the CWA and heaped praise upon its accomplishments.

"The CWA has come to an end. This emergency measure served splendidly its purpose in that it provided employment for thousands of jobless, helped them get through the winter without starvation. The type of public improvement that was made by the CWA labor in this county was well chosen. The projects were all needed improvements. The work was well directed and men engaged disclosed an anxiety to give an honest days labor."²⁵

When the CWA expired on March 31, 1934 most of the unfinished projects were taken over by Federal Emergency Relief Administration. FERA's works division completed many of the CWA projects and even began some others on its own.²⁶

Federal Emergency Relief Administration

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) was created on May 12, 1933 when Congress passed the Federal Emergency Relief Act which was supposed to help in "... relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment ...". Roosevelt chose Harry Hopkins to run the new relief bureau. Hopkins had been in charge of the relief operations in New York when FDR was governor of that state. Once placed in charge of FERA, Hopkins wasted little time, he spent \$5 million dollars in the first two hours of his tenure. As director of FERA he made it clear that he believed relief was a right of the people and not some charitable act that the government was now compelled to perform. From the start, Hopkins and FERA's policy was that work relief was better than direct relief; but the agency did not begin large scale work relief until after the demise of the Civil Works Administration in the early spring of 1934.²⁷

²⁴Leuchtenberg, New Deal pp. 120-121; Blakey, New Deal, pp. 55-58 and Providence Enterprise, February 20, 1934.

²⁵Mayfield Messenger April 6, 1934

²⁶Greenville Leader July 7, 1935 and Blakey New Deal pp. 43-63.

²⁷Robert E. Sherwood, Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History (New York, 1948), pp. 44-48 and Carothers, FERA, p.1.

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In March of 1934 CWA was terminated and a work division of FERA was established. Once initiated, the administration of all unfinished CWA projects were transferred to FERA control. In addition to the unfinished CWA work, FERA started new projects.

FERA stipulated several conditions for project funding. Finished projects had to be publicly owned; projects had to have a local sponsor; they had to be of economic and social benefit to the public; the work on them had to be provided by day labor (not contract labor); and there had to be a sufficient pool of relief labor available to complete the project within three month's time. Part of the sponsor's charge was to "... pay for materials and equipment as well as to provide some due proportion of the labor costs."²⁸

Among the other responsibilities outlined by the FERA director was a provision that a portion of the funds be set aside to provide for transients. The FERA work division not only helped build the transient camps, but also supervised the transients who participated in work relief programs. FERA's first transient relief grant was made in September of 1933. By July of 1934 Kentucky had six transient bureaus and one camp. Camp Roosevelt, located in Paducah, was a facility for males. Unfortunately very little else has been discovered about the camp.²⁹

Of the work relief done by FERA, 77% was construction projects. By the time the work was shut down in the summer of 1935 (at this time WPA took over work relief) FERA had completed nearly a quarter of a million projects nationwide, costing some \$1.3 billion dollars. The agency had built 5,000 new public buildings (3 out of 10 or about 1500 were schools), it built or repaired 240,000 miles of roads, and constructed 7,000 bridges. Thousands of miles of storm and sewer pipe were laid, along with thousands of miles water pipe, plus some 400 pumping stations. In addition to the underground resources, hundreds of parks, swimming pools, and athletic fields were also built. FERA operated work projects in Kentucky from April 1, 1934 to June 27, 1935.³⁰

Unfortunately adequate documentation for the work done by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in Kentucky has not been located, and consequently no list of projects could be compiled for field inspection. However, FERA's legacy remains with us in the work done by CWA, and in the agency it begat: the Work Progress Administration.

Works Progress Administration

The Works Progress Administration was established by executive order on May 6, 1935, little more than a year after the termination of the CWA. Originally called the Works Progress Division, the WPA's role was originally designed as a very limited part of a three pronged national work relief effort. Harry L. Hopkins,

²⁸Federal Emergency Relief Administration, The Emergency Work Relief Program of the FERA - April 1, 1934 - July 1, 1935, pp. 3-8.

²⁹Carothers, FERA, p. 3; FERA, Emergency Work Relief Program, pp. 43-44; Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Directory of Transient Bureaus and Camps, July 1934.

³⁰Charles, Minister of Relief, pp. 67-68 and Blakey, New Deal, pp. 43-63.

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who had been director of CWA and FERA, was appointed to a similar position with the new agency. Hopkins immediately found a provision in the guidelines that gave him "... the authority to recommend and carry on small useful projects designed to assure a maximum of employment in all localities." Once he established autonomy Hopkins changed the agency's name to the Works Progress Administration and it became the dominant force in the work relief bureaucracy. WPA was the final product of an evolution of large scale work relief that began in 1933 with CWA, and was continued by the work division of FERA. The Civil Works Administration, though not designed as such, was basically a stop gap measure and the continuation of its efforts under FERA smoothed wrinkles. The efforts of FERA's work division helped establish the policies and the bureaucracy that would become the WPA. CWA, FERA, and WPA all developed under the tutelage of Harry Hopkins. Once Hopkins had been given the directorship of the WPA he simply took his old staff and put them in similar positions with the new agency. As he put it "I am going to use our people. I cannot hire any better and if they cannot do it, I cannot get any better to do it."³¹

The general idea behind the Works Progress Administration was to put as many people to work as possible. The enterprises the agency undertook were very labor intensive, due to the availability of manpower and conscious efforts to cut materials costs. This characteristic of WPA projects allowed it, also, to avoid competing with private sector construction, which sought to limit labor costs in favor of materials. But the new work relief agency was not only supposed to provide employment but according to the order establishing it, "All work undertaken should be useful -- not just for a day or a year, but useful in the sense that it affords permanent improvement in living conditions or that it creates future new wealth for the nation."³²

WPA activities were strictly controlled by Federal guidelines that defined the parameters within which the agency could operate. Numerous manuals were written outlining procedures and defining policy. The sort of projects WPA could fund included: highways, roads, streets, grade crossings, rural rehabilitation, water conservation, irrigation, rural electrification, housing, assistance for education, professional and clerical persons, loans, grants or both for projects of states, territories, possessions, including subdivisions and agencies thereof, municipalities, and the District of Columbia, and self-liquidating projects of public bodies thereof, and the Civilian Conservation Corps.³³

³¹John A. Salmond, A Southern Rebel: The Life and Times of Aubrey Willis Williams, 1890-1965, (Chapel Hill, 1983), p. 80; Blakey Hard Times pp. 58-59; WPA-KY, pp. 2-3; NAWPA, pp. 52-54; see also "Relief - The American Way Four Questions Discussed," Neville Miller, Kentucky City (June, 1936) pp. 6-7; Charles, Minister of Relief, pp. 129.

³²"Manual Outlining the Responsibilities of the United States Employment Service in the Registration and Referral of Workers on Works Projects Authorized Under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, 1935," pp. 2, KDLA WPA Collection Box 9.

³³U.S. Department of Labor, Manual Outlining the Responsibilities of the United States Employment Service in the Registration and Referral of Workers on Works Projects Authorized Under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, 1935, pp. 2-4.

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The state served as the basic unit in the WPA hierarchy (as it had in FERA), acting as a buffer between the local district offices and the Washington bureau. Hopkins often drew up state district lines before appointing a state director, thus averting potential local political squabbles. The district lines were drawn according to population, anticipated workload, accessibility to district offices, and costs of transporting the workers to project sites. Each endeavor undertaken in the name of the WPA had to have permanent value for the community, however, projects were not allowed to compete with private enterprise.³⁴

WPA workers like CWA and FERA, produced modern water and sewage systems in towns that had none, improved and built roads and bridges, and erected buildings, their most visible remains. It can be said that the efforts of the Works Progress Administration and its predecessors helped modernize Kentucky at a time when the state was financially unable to do so on its own. Many towns and cities obtained schools, sewers, adequate water systems and other amenities that might have taken years, if not decades, to appear without the influx of federal funding.

Even though the WPA had substantial funding it must be remembered that they had to be spread over forty-eight states and the territories. In order to assure the funds were used properly, the WPA developed specific rules and regulations regarding what the agency would fund and how the funding could be obtained. All construction projects had to be publicly owned and had to contribute to the overall public good. In order to be sure that a maximum amount of the funding went toward wage labor, WPA projects gave budgetary priority to wages over materials. This provision influenced the character and construction of the buildings. Consequently, public buildings, schools, municipal or other government structures were often constructed using locally quarried native stone. Workers also made bricks or concrete blocks as part of some projects. Razing old buildings and salvaging materials from them for use in the construction of a new building was a common practice of the Works Progress Administration. The workers doing all of these tasks were for the most part, unskilled men who were trained on the job.³⁵

During its existence the WPA was both popular and ridiculed. The acronym WPA officially meant Works Progress Administration (1935-1939) and the Works Projects Administration (1939-1943), but detractors suggested others: "We Piddle Around" or "We Poke Along." In contrast to these latter sentiments, WPA projects resulted in meaningful benefits. When a Daviess county engineer suggested the WPA as a funding source to build a hospital in Owensboro, county officials scoffed, believing the WPA's unskilled labor force was suited only for privy construction. The county engineer drove the reluctant civil servants to Madisonville where work was progressing on a hospital and a school. The Daviess County bureaucrats were impressed with what they saw in Madisonville. Their change of heart enabled Owensboro to obtain WPA funding for a seven story hospital. This particular

³⁴Charles, Minister of Relief, pp. 133-135.

³⁵NAWPA, p. 59; Charles, Minister of Relief, p. 141; see also Semi-Monthly Report Showing Activities and Accomplishments of the Works Progress Administration in Kentucky for the Period of September 1st to September 15, 1935, in Goodman-Paxton Papers, Box 4, University of Kentucky Special Collections.

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structure was built entirely with WPA labor, save the wiring and plumbing.³⁶

The success of the WPA is witnessed by the hundreds of buildings, bridges, parks, and other extant remnants of its massive construction efforts. Once the WPA got underway in Kentucky, it was successful and generally well received.³⁷

Neville Miller, Mayor of Louisville, echoed the sentiments of many local officials in his praise of the WPA:

"First of all the facts stands out, that the WPA and other affiliated Federal agencies have given work to the large bulk of the destitute unemployed. Secondly, in our opinion, the program has in general been administered effectively and fairly. Thirdly, the projects completed and now under way represent, in the main useful and needed work."³⁸

National Youth Administration

The National Youth Administration was created under the auspices of the WPA by executive order on June 26, 1935. The NYA was to provide work relief and vocational training for young people aged 16 to 25, who were no longer in school and whose families could no longer provide for them. In addition, the NYA provided part time jobs to enable young people to stay in school, thus keeping them out of the labor market at a time when it could least support them. The NYA was reorganized in 1939 and placed under the Federal Security Administration. In its peak year, 1939-40, the NYA was aiding some 750,000 youths. By 1942, the NYA was part of the War Manpower Commission and was training workers for the defence industries. As the war got under way the number of students in need decreased and the NYA was terminated.³⁹

Applications for NYA work relief projects were carried out in much the same way as the WPA. The state youth director approved project proposals according to the following criteria:

1. The number of young people to be employed.

³⁶Blakey, New Deal pp. 70 & 44; William E. Ellis, H. E. Everman and Richard D. Sears, Madison County: 200 Years in Retrospect (Richmond, Ky, 1905) p. 315; Shelia Eileen Brown Heflin, The Works Progress Administration in Daviess County, Kentucky 1935-1943, unpublished MA thesis Western Kentucky University, 1984, pp. 48-50; see also Paxton-Goodman Papers - WPA Monthly/Semi-monthly Reports, 1935-36, these included a section called "Reception of the Program by the Public and Workers", which notes a favorable change of attitudes of both the public and the workers as the projects get underway.

³⁷Robert J. Leupold, "The Kentucky WPA: Relief and Politics, May-November 1935, The Filson Club History Quarterly 49 (April 1975): 160-163.

³⁸Miller, "Relief" p. 7.

³⁹Katie Louchheim, The Making of the New Deal: The Insiders Speak (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1983) pp. 296; for an in depth discussion of the NYA see John A. Salmond, A Southern Rebel: The Life and Times of Aubrey Willis Williams, 1890-1965

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2. The experience to gained by those employed.
3. The duration of the project.
4. The benefits to be derived by youth and the community from the completed project.
5. The adequacy of community resources to cooperate in carrying out the project, and to maintain it if necessary, upon completion.⁴⁰

For a list of National Youth Administration projects see appendix IV. Unfortunately the catalog of NYA projects includes only those projects undertaken while it was under the aegis of the WPA. This leaves approximately two years of the program unaccounted for in the listing. We know for instance that the NYA operated defence shop in Mayfield that was the largest in the state and the building is still in use, but this was not included in the inventory we found.

Public Works Administration

On June 16, 1933 Franklin Delano Roosevelt issued an executive order implementing Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act. The order established the Public Works Administration " . . . to encourage national industrial recovery, to foster fair competition, and to provide for the construction of certain useful public works" PWA was allocated \$3.3 billion dollars to pursue construction of public structures. Unlike the later work relief agencies, PWA's labor force did not have to come from the relief rolls.⁴¹

These construction projects generated by the agency were funded in a number of ways. PWA could allot money to other federal agencies for construction projects; non-federal construction could be stimulated at the state level through a combination of loans and grants; and for a while it could even make loans to private building contractors.⁴²

Harold L. Ickes the Director of PWA was determined that his agency would do more than help alleviate unemployment. He wanted to create lasting monuments that would improve the overall fabric of the nation. This is exactly what PWA did. Between 1933 and 1939 the agency funded the construction of 70% of the new educational buildings, 65% of the new courthouses and city halls, 35% of the new hospitals and public health centers, and 10% of the roads and bridges in the nation (see appendix V for a list of PWA projects in Kentucky).⁴³

⁴⁰National Youth Administration, Handbook of Procedures of the National Youth Administration (U. S. Government Printing Office: Washington DC, 1938) pp. 2 and 7 KDLA WPA Collection Box 7

⁴¹Harold L. Ickes, Back to Work: The Story of PWA (Reprint Da Capo Press: New York, 1973, originally published Harold L. Ickes, 1935), p. 20.

⁴²Schlesinger, The Age of Roosevelt Volume 2, pp. 282-285.

⁴³Schlesinger, The Age of Roosevelt Volume 2, p. 288.

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In the scheme of work relief projects, PWA never took as many people off relief rolls as did the WPA. The Public Works Administration generally undertook the most expensive projects, and these endeavors required the use of skilled construction workers. By contrast WPA projects were labor intensive and spent as little as possible on materials. Consequently, employment on projects included only those workers directly involved with the project; very few support jobs were created. On the other hand, PWA projects were designed not only to hire people to work on the undertaking, but also to create a need for materials and the transportation of those materials to the work site. With an influx in employment for a PWA project, both the project and surrounding areas benefitted when the workers would buy those goods they needed to live. Thus, in theory, PWA stimulated economy on three levels.⁴⁴

In Kentucky the Public Works Administration funded over 600 projects, it hired thousands of workers and spent some \$49 million dollars. During its life span it built 276 new schools, 6 hospitals, 24 sewage treatment plants, over 80 waterworks, a fire station, and an electric generating plant. They were also responsible for slum clearance and the construction of low cost housing in Lexington and Louisville. As a result, many of the New Deal buildings in Kentucky that are erroneously associated with WPA are actually products of PWA.⁴⁵

The Public Works Administration had more in common with TVA, than it had with the WPA or the other work relief agencies. But, unlike TVA, the mission of PWA was not nearly as narrowly focused. In Kentucky, PWA built everything from waterworks to major bridges. A recent field survey located a waterworks and a post office heretofore unknown which were built with PWA funds. Again there are probably many more PWA structures than are on the list. Again no complete survey of New Deal structures would be complete without a comprehensive list of PWA work. How to do this without consulting the material held at the National Archives or an exhaustive field survey is unknown.

⁴⁴Jack F. Isakoff, "The Public Works Administration", Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences 1938 22(3) pp. 138-139.

⁴⁵Blakey, New Deal, pp. 73-74.

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PROPERTY TYPES

This context has developed five property types based on function: government buildings, educational buildings, recreational facilities, health care facilities, and CCC camps and related facilities. Since these were publicly owned structures that were built to fill a need in a given community, their function was significant enough to justify the building's construction. Therefore, function is used as a criteria for defining property types in this historic context.

I. Name: Government Buildings

II. Description:

The government buildings property type includes those structures that house either county, city or other local government activities or the machinery necessary for government activities (e.g. road maintenance buildings), and those which provide necessary services (e.g. public utilities). Examples of government buildings located in the study area include: Webster County Courthouse (Dixon), Ohio County Courthouse (Hartford), Greenville City Hall (Muhlenberg County); Old Smithland Waterworks (Livingston County), Uniontown Waterworks (Union County), Livermore Waterworks (McLean County); warehouse in Calhoun (McLean County), warehouse in Russellville (Logan County). Other examples could include fire stations, post offices, jails and jailers quarters.

Because this property type is based upon function, i.e. what the building was originally designed to house there is no set plan, style, or preferred building material for government buildings. The range is as diverse as the three story poured concrete Moderne courthouse in Dixon (Webster County) to the square one room brick waterworks in Smithland (Livingston County). There was also a Mission style courthouse built of sandstone in Hyden (Leslie County not in the survey area) and a brick Colonial Revival post office in Morganfield (Union County).

To say that government buildings ranged from outhouses to courthouses is very fair. Building materials used included: wood, brick, concrete blocks, poured concrete, native sandstone and limestone, and steel. Many of these materials were made, quarried, or salvaged as part of the overall project. The government buildings property types includes all buildings built for the local, county, state, or federal government by one of the New Deal agencies.

III. Statement of Significance:

The government buildings are significant under criterion A as physical representations of the New Deal. The work relief projects undertaken by the New Deal agencies in the 1930s and 1940s created unprecedented construction activity in the public sector. Due to the nature of the economic disaster that plagued the nation it is unlikely that the majority of the construction projects would have been undertaken, especially in the rural areas, without the influx of federal money. The New Deal changed American political thinking, yet its effect on architecture was more in the quantity than style. There really was no "New Deal style." Instead architects employed the styles of the day, and adapted them to the

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building and materials that they had to work with.

IV. Registration Requirements:

In order to qualify for listing the resources must have been constructed or occupied by one of seven (WPA, PWA, NYA, CWA, CCC, FERA, or TVA) New Deal agencies. The resource must be a recognized example of one of the four property types: government buildings, educational buildings, recreational facilities, and Civilian Conservation Corps camps and related facilities. Unless specifically noted an eligible New Deal resource must have integrity of materials, location, setting, and association.

For the property type government buildings the integrity of materials is paramount, because with most New Deal agencies the procurement of the materials was an integral part of the project. This sometimes included salvaging or actually making the materials. A majority of the original materials of nominated properties must remain intact and visible. Doors and windows are excluded from this requirement because they were almost always purchased from off-site. Room sized additions are acceptable if such additions are present on nearly all facilities, such as courthouses. If a majority of a class of government buildings, such as the New Deal era courthouses constructed by the WPA and PWA, have received few alterations, then a courthouse of this type with several room sized additions would be ineligible when compared to the similar others. Likewise, if the majority of waterworks have had room-sized additions, then that factor will not compromise an integrity of materials.

Since the property type is based on function, then integrity of materials and association requires that a person be able to discern what the original function of the building was, especially if it now serves a function other than that for which it was originally constructed.

Government buildings should also have an integrity of setting and location. Kentucky is a very rural state with many small towns dominating the landscape. Consequently when government buildings were constructed they generally were built in a location that had previously housed the seat of local government. For example, both the Webster County Courthouse in Dixon and the Ohio County Courthouse in Hartford were constructed on the site of older courthouses. The importance of setting and location for other government buildings is directly related to their function. For example, a McLean County warehouse in Calhoun was constructed behind the courthouse making it readily accessible to the county government. Waterworks in Livermore (McLean County), Smithland (Livingston County) and Lewisport (Hancock County) were all built adjacent to the local river in order that they would have source of water.

Integrity of association is absolutely essential. This association exists when a nominated building was constructed or used by one of the New Deal era agencies and if integrity of materials, setting, and location also exist.

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METHODOLOGY

The study area falls within the Western Kentucky and part of the Pennyryle cultural landscapes. The Kentucky Heritage Council (KHC) uses the concept of cultural landscapes to aid in its overall preservation planning. Cultural landscapes are areas that share history, geography and culture such that can be distinguished from other regions; they also contain characteristic cultural resources. KHC recognizes five distinct cultural landscapes the Pennyryle, Western Kentucky, the Bluegrass, Appalachia and the Ohio Valley Urban Centers.¹

The work relief projects were set up and operated on a fairly uniform basis nationwide, but were influenced by local politics and priorities. The counties chosen for this study should be fairly representative of other sections of the state, vis-a-vis, what was built and why, with the exception of the largest population centers.²

Comprehensive Literature Survey

To identify New Deal projects in the study area the microfilm copies of the Project Folders of the Civil Works Administration in Kentucky, November 1933-July 1934 and the Index to Reference Cards for Works Progress Administration in Kentucky, 1935-1943, located at the Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives (KDLA) were examined to create a preliminary list of New Deal projects undertaken in the twenty-six counties to be studied. This was followed up with letters of inquiry sent to libraries, historical societies, museums, and other local contacts in the study area to determine how much of the New Deal construction remained in a given county. Once identified, field inspection was undertaken to determine integrity standards.

The Kentucky Heritage Council's Historic Resources Data File was searched for public buildings built between 1925-1950 to determine what New Deal era properties had been recorded. Newspapers from five of the counties -- Fulton, Muhlenberg, Hopkins, Ohio and Webster -- were read for information regarding projects that may have been missing from the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and Civil Works Administration (CWA), indices or that were done by other agencies e.g. Public Works Administration (PWA), Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), National Youth Administration (NYA), Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) or the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). The Special Collections and Government Documents holdings of the University Kentucky Library were also consulted for any pertinent information. The responses to the correspondence, along with searches in the UK manuscripts and in the newspapers, revealed numerous projects not accounted for in the indices. (See Recommendation Section for guidance on future project investigations).

Secondary sources on the history of the New Deal were consulted as well. Those materials along with the information located in the primary documents helped develop a preliminary bibliography and list of New Deal resources for the study area. The historic context and the property types resulting from this study will point to New Deal resources with a high priority for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places.

¹Robert M. Polsgrove, "Cultural Landscapes of Kentucky," Kentucky Heritage Council Planning Document, 1982.

²Dennis L. Fielding, Inventory of the Records of the Work Projects Administration in Kentucky (Frankfort: Department for Libraries and Archives, 1985) pp. 63-70; hereafter cited as WPA-KY; see also Greenville Leader July 12, 1935.