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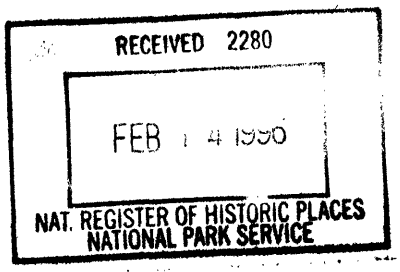
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form



This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

_X_ New Submission ___ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

The Historic & Architectural Resources of the New Deal in New Mexico, 1933-1942

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

CCC, CWA, PWA and WPA Construction and Landscape Projects in New Mexico, 1933-1942

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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 and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

[signature] SHPO 2/7/96

Signature and title of certifying official Date

New Mexico SHPO

State or Federal agency and bureau

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.

Edson M. Beall 3/15/96

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

E. The Great Depression that struck the nation's financial markets in October, 1929 had already taken hold in New Mexico. It had deflated livestock and natural resource prices, lowered property values, and created widespread economic depression that led to a growing number of unemployed who overwhelmed the state's meager relief programs. For a large, poor state less than two decades old the results were devastating. Although many of these dire conditions persisted until World War II, beginning in 1933, programs undertaken under the auspices of various New Deal agencies began to provide much-needed relief throughout the state. Not only providing work relief and grants and loans for projects, these agencies contributed to the reshaping of the state's public environment. Most evident among the myriad of federal programs were those that undertook construction, engineering and landscaping projects: the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Public Works Administration (PWA) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA). The projects they undertook resulted in the construction of a new generation of modern schools, often including auditoriums, gymnasiums, and athletic stadiums, as well as new public buildings such as armories, community centers, city halls, and courthouses. They also resulted in significant improvements to communities' infrastructures through the construction of water and sewage systems, roads and sidewalks, and city parks. Finally, they resulted in widespread efforts to improve the land through erosion, flood control, fish hatchery and reforestation projects, as well as the creation of a state park system. Though most New Deal programs ended with the onset of World War II, the projects these programs supported in New Mexico transformed the state's public architecture and landscape. The buildings, engineering projects and landscapes that remain signify the profound effect the New Deal had on the state.

Government and Public Works in New Mexico Prior to the New Deal

A survey of state government and its presence as evidenced in state buildings, institutions and social services throughout New Mexico in the fall of 1929 would have revealed conditions

remarkably similar to those found when New Mexico attained statehood seventeen years earlier. In the state capital, state-owned buildings were limited to the state capitol, constructed in 1896 in the Neo-Classical Style, that had received an additional wing during the 1920s; the Palace of the Governors, dating to the 17th century, housing the Historical Society of New Mexico; an armory; a penitentiary; and the Fine Arts Museum completed in 1917. On the campuses of the state's seven institutions of higher learning, the asylum, the miner's hospital, and the boys' and girls' schools and the schools for the deaf and blind, the pattern of capital improvements was equally minimal. A random classroom building, dormitory, laundry or gymnasium had been added, but many of the annual reports these institutions submitted to the governor noted how overcrowded conditions limited their effectiveness.

Likewise, the state's armories were considered inadequate. The National Defense Act of 1916 and the crisis of the Pancho Villa raid at Columbus that same year had resulted in the construction of an armory with Romanesque Style details at Deming in 1916 as well as the federal government's willingness to share the costs of maintaining National Guard units. Units in other towns, however, found themselves quartered in inadequate facilities or, in some cases, forced to rent buildings for meetings and drills. A few building projects had been undertaken by the state to meet the needs of a few newly created or growing agencies. The establishment of the New Mexico Home and Training School in Los Lunas in 1925 at the behest of the Federated Women's Clubs of the state, for example, had led to the construction of buildings on that new campus. Similarly, as the state began to see the potential for recreational tourism, it had constructed the first state fish hatchery at Lisboa Springs along the Pecos in 1921.

These dispersed construction projects undertaken by the state embraced a variety of architectural styles. The buildings at the New Mexico Military Institute (NMMI) in Roswell, where benefactors had supplemented state funding with generous donations, employed the Collegiate Gothic Style, locally referred

to as the "Scottish Castle Style." The architectural firm of Rapp and Rapp which had designed many of the NMMI buildings demonstrated its diversity in design on the campus of the New Mexico Normal University at Las Vegas, using funds donated by the Ilfelds, a wealthy mercantile family, to build the Adele Ilfeld Auditorium (1914-21) in the Romanesque Revival Style. At several other institutions including the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts at Las Cruces, the School of Mines at Socorro, the New Mexico State Teacher's College at Silver City, and the School for the Blind at Alamogordo architects used elements of the Spanish Baroque and Mission Revival Styles, first popularized during the late territorial period by the Santa Fe Railroad, to ornament dormitories, lecture halls, laboratories and administration buildings.

Along the upper Rio Grande, institutions such as the Spanish-American Normal School at El Rito, the School for the Deaf at Santa Fe and the University of New Mexico at Albuquerque increasingly turned to the Spanish-Pueblo Revival Style as the inspiration for their new buildings. Recalling the precedent established by William Tight, an earlier president of UNM who, in 1910, had advocated it as the official campus style, the UNM Board of Regents in 1927 had adopted the Spanish-Pueblo Revival Style as the official architectural style for the university. During the late 1920s, a number of buildings, including the president's home, Carlisle Gym, lecture buildings and a dorm embraced this increasingly popular regional style. Farther north, cultural leaders in Santa Fe, beginning with the Fine Arts Museum in 1917, had advocated the style as the means of reshaping Santa Fe as a tourist attraction based on its diverse cultural history and architectural uniqueness.

Despite these random public projects, the presence of the state as manifested through its public buildings was modest. This modesty can be attributed, in part, to the attitude of a laissez-faire state government embraced by many political leaders, a philosophy that had shaped New Mexico's constitution in 1912. This outlook predated statehood, tracing back to the territorial era during which the funding for most public works

such as forts, supplies at Indian agencies and limited work on military wagon roads came from the federal government. With the federal government controlling the appropriations given to the territory, local control over capital improvements was minimal and few saw it as within the purview of the territorial legislature. Only during the two decades preceding statehood when territorial leaders began linking the quest for statehood with the need to prove to the nation that the Territory of New Mexico was, in fact, as civilized, and up-to-date as were the states, did efforts emerge to develop colleges and charitable public institutions as physical proof that the territory was ready for statehood.

Even as New Mexico found itself sliding into an economic depression long before the stock market crash in the fall of 1929, its political leaders were reluctant to take the initiative in seeking ways to reverse the downward spiral. In July, 1932 when Congress passed the Emergency Relief and Construction Act establishing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), making $500 million available for direct relief and work relief through loans to government agencies and corporate and banking institutions. Governor Arthur Seligman requested only about $90,000 for the state, justifying the modest request as "so conservative that it would not seriously curtail the highway program," against which RFC loans were issued (Seligman Reports 1933:3).

By the spring of 1933 when the RFC ended, New Mexico had received $465,000 in loans. Since the main focus of these early federal relief efforts remained the distribution of commodities, the impact of the RFC on New Mexico's built environment remained modest. Several communities, however, did undertake street and sidewalk improvement projects. Others provided commodities for unemployed men who repaired schools, and New Mexico State College at Las Cruces set up a seed distribution program through its network of county agricultural agents. In Raton the American Legion used the RFC funds it received as a certified agency to install a track at the high school football stadium. It was within this context of a tentative, piecemeal approach to solving

refine the regulations that would affect the way in which federal relief flowed to each state, Tingley remained in Albuquerque. There he was able to obtain Civil Works Administration (CWA) projects for the city and to see how the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) began to take shape in New Mexico.

When he was finally elected in November, 1934, Tingley was prepared to take office and to assume control of a state bureaucracy that the New Deal's policies had already begun to reshape. The period prior to Tingley's becoming governor was a formative one, one marked by a transition in which the Old Guard's approach to state government was erased by the state's deepening crises and by new federal laws requiring state governments to become involved in combating the Depression if they were to receive federal funds. For New Mexico these first steps into the New Deal would bring with them the first round of federal funds for building projects that would result in increased road construction, the landscaping of several city and town parks, and the repair or construction of several schools and other public buildings.

In May, 1933, the first trickle of New Deal money reached New Mexico, a grant for $100,000 to aid self-help cooperatives for transients. Two months later, in a first step to use local institutions to administer federal relief, Governor Seligman appointed Margaret Reeves the state relief administrator with the Bureau of Public Welfare designated as the state's FERA agency. Under the FERA, grants were made directly to the states, and the states themselves were responsible for distributing the grant monies according to federal guidelines. At the same time another New Deal agency, the National Reemployment Service under the Department of Labor and Management was created to certify relief eligibility and to coordinate the placement of eligible unemployed workers on federal work projects. Under state director, Waite J. Keeney, the agency was also charged with distributing direct relief to those with disabilities, often referred to as "unemployables," and to those unable to find work. Over the remainder of 1933, over $500,000 came to New Mexico as its portion of the $500 million appropriated to the FERA for

the nation's greatest economic and social catastrophe that the New Deal appeared. Over the next ten years its impact on New Mexico would be profound, especially in the way it contributed to the reshaping of the state's public landscape and architecture.

The New Deal Arrives in New Mexico

During the Democratic Party's state nominating convention in September, 1932, Clyde Tingley, the ex-officio mayor of Albuquerque, considered making a bid to wrest a second nomination away from Seligman. With the effects of the Depression paralyzing the state, the time appeared right for the Bernalillo County Democratic organization to work with southern and eastern counties to take control of the faltering state government. In order to divert Tingley and his faction from dominating events at the convention, Seligman's allies suggested a ploy in which Tingley was chosen to head the delegation that was to greet Roosevelt's campaign train as it made its way north through New Mexico. Flattered with the position, Tingley left the convention and rode the train north to Lamy with Roosevelt only to learn that in his absence Seligman had again received his party's nomination. At the time it appeared that Tingley had been deprived of an excellent opportunity, for whomever the Democrats nominated seemed certain to win the election that fall.

In hindsight, however, it may well be that taking the train ride to Lamy that day did more to assure New Mexico's success in receiving New Deal programs than would have a successful Tingley candidacy in 1932. Not only did Tingley have an opportunity to spend time with Roosevelt, whom he had heard deliver his "Happy Warrior" speech for Al Smith when Tingley was a delegate to the Democratic convention in Houston in 1928, but it forced him to bide his time until New Deal programs had become more effective. Rather than entering office simultaneously with Roosevelt and spending much of his first term waiting impatiently as Roosevelt and his administrators took the necessary time to shape and then

grants-in-aid to all of the states.

This initial flurry of federal activity did more to shape bureaucratic infrastructure than it did to construct actual buildings and to initiate other public improvements. So overwhelming was this unprecedented flow of federal grants, not loans against future federal highway monies, that the new agencies found themselves scrambling to develop procedures to meet a host of new administrative requirements. Not only were county offices faced with certifying thousands of unemployed as eligible for the new relief roles, they were also faced with evaluating hundreds of project proposals submitted by local groups throughout the state. At the same time county administrators were also responsible for registering applicants for the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Begun during the late spring of 1933, the CCC allocated each state an initial quota (New Mexico's was 750) to be made up of young men between the ages of 18 and 25 and veterans. By the late summer of 1933, when the first six-month period of the CCC was underway, over 3,000 men were deployed in camps throughout New Mexico.

At the same time, the Roosevelt administration mounted another front on the nation's stagnating economy. Designed not so much to provide work for the unemployed as much as to stimulate the economy through a variety of large-scale capital improvement projects underwritten partially or fully with federal funding in the form of grants or low-cost loans, the Emergency Public Works Administration (PWA) was created with a $3.3 billion appropriation under Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). Under Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, the PWA was empowered to undertake projects in a number of ways. It could initiate its own projects or allocate funds to other federal agencies as it did in the cases of Conchas and Alamogordo Dams; and it could offer a combination of loans and grants to states and other government bodies, such as municipalities, to stimulate other non-federal construction projects such as highways and bridges, public buildings and airports. Initially these grants and loans were to involve a 45/55 federal-state match in which the federal government provided not only costs for

45% of the project but also provided low-interest loans to cover the portion of the costs borne by state or local authorities.

In New Mexico plans for securing PWA projects moved ahead slowly. By early summer Governor Seligman had appointed a State Public Works Board, as the law required. Choosing members with public experience and political prestige, Seligman selected Col. J.D. Atwood of Roswell; former territorial governor, Miguel A. Otero; Col. D. K. B. Sellers, an Albuquerque realtor and its former mayor; and State Engineer George M. Neel. At the outset, the board was faced with explaining the procedure for applying for PWA projects to local communities as well as soliciting proposals from them. As with the state's FERA administration, the Public Works Board also found itself hampered by a lack of a state bureaucracy that was able to process applications rapidly. State laws requiring that any bond issues be voted on in April of each year and preventing state institutions such as colleges from undertaking debts through the sale of debentures also limited the board's freedom to initiate programs. Since the state legislature was not scheduled to convene until January, 1934, the board found itself in the position of not being able to receive proposals from the state's colleges whose capital improvement programs were, in many cases, years behind schedule. As a result, by September when Jacob Baker, Roosevelt's Director of Work Relief and Special Projects, requested that Seligman supply a report describing projects underway in the state, Seligman was forced to reply that the state had "not as yet reached the point where any of these projects have been placed in operation" (Seligman PWA Correspondence 1933). It wasn't until the end of October that Ickes approved New Mexico's first PWA project, a grant of $24,500 for construction of the Lew Wallace School in Albuquerque.

On September 25, 1933, after meeting with the New Mexico Bankers Association, Governor Seligman suffered a heart attack and died. His passing marked the end of the Old Guard's style of governing the state. The parsimony that had marked his administration during the RFC period and his unwillingness to expand the role of government to attack unemployment had contributed to the slow start the New Deal experienced in New

Mexico. Assuming the governorship for the remainder of Seligman's term was Andrew Hockenhull, a conservative lawyer from Clovis. Like his predecessor, Hockenhull seemed unprepared for making executive decisions, but unlike Seligman, Hockenhull was swept along with the tide of new federal relief programs that began to reach the state by the fall of 1933. Over the next fifteen months, he presided over an expansion of state relief bureaucracies, the creation of additional agencies including the State Planning Board, and a legislative session that created a state park commission as well as imposed a state sales tax. Margaret Reeves continued to serve as the Director of the State Bureau of Child Welfare through which most of the federal relief monies were directed.

The Civil Works Administration in New Mexico

Even as Governor Hockenhull assumed office, Harry Hopkins, chief administrator of the FERA, realized that the federal government's efforts to stimulate the economy through the CCC, FERA and PWA were not resulting in a rapid turnaround of the economy. He further feared that as the winter of 1933-34 approached and the Depression extended into its fifth year the threat of unrest among the estimated fifteen million unemployed was perhaps even greater than in the previous four winters. Opposed to keeping the idle on direct relief through the distribution of commodities which he felt undermined a person's morale, Hopkins proposed to Roosevelt an emergency work relief program that would put four million people back to work temporarily until the other programs began to take effect.

The result of Hopkins' proposal was Roosevelt's proclamation on November 9, 1933 creating the Federal Civil Works Administration (CWA). Unlike the FERA, a state-run program, the CWA was a federally operated program in which federal offices were established in each state and locality. Although Hopkins failed to achieve his goal of having four million unemployed at work by December 15, he surpassed it by the following month. Through March 31, 1934, when the CWA was absorbed into the FERA,

unemployed workers across the country found jobs, mostly repairing and sometimes building roads, airports, public buildings and recreational facilities. Funds were also provided to return men and women to teaching jobs, to employ writers and artists in local arts projects, and to provide women with work in community sewing projects. During its four and a half month duration the CWA spent $800 million across the country to provide wage-paying jobs for the unemployed. Hopkins' directives required that these wages be set at the prevailing rate for the type of work done in each community but that it be a minimum of thirty cents per hour for a twenty-four hour week in urban areas and a fifteen hour week in rural areas.

As was the case in many states, the bureaucracy responsible for administering the CWA was drawn from that already created under the FERA. Once again, the State Bureau of Child Welfare was the state agency responsible for administering the new program in New Mexico. In November, CWA agents from each local field office were summoned to Santa Fe where they were briefed on CWA goals and application procedures. Then the state board spent two weeks reviewing and selecting projects proposed by local sponsors. New Mexico's initial quota for the CWA was 8,250 jobs, a figure based on its population and on its September, 1933 relief load. Plans called for the quota to be met through an equal number of referrals from the National Reemployment Service and local relief roles. In practice, however, the former provided the vast majority of worker referrals, especially those workers already employed under early FERA work programs. By December 15, 1933, the quota had been filled and all of the workers placed in jobs. A week later the state's quota was raised to 12,800 to include drought relief projects in progress largely in the eastern counties. This figure gradually declined through the winter as Hopkins' office in Washington adjusted each state's quota. By March 31, 1934, over $2.4 million were spent on CWA projects in the state (Hockenhull FERA Correspondence 1934:12). While on a per capita basis, this expenditure places New Mexico at the median of CWA monies appropriated to the various states, well below the much higher proportion of funds it received for CCC, WPA and public roads projects, it nevertheless served to extend

the influence of the expanding New Deal throughout the state.

About ten percent of the CWA force in New Mexico consisted of skilled workers, a group that included carpenters, masons and quarrymen, painters, plumbers, equipment operators, plasterers, and civil engineers. Projects were sponsored by local communities, school districts, or other public entities. The largest projects in New Mexico were those sponsored by the national parks and monuments and the Coast and Geodetic Supplemental Control Survey; road projects along the Texas border also employed large work forces. Typically work crews were supervised by project managers who worked with local CWA committees and were on state administrative payrolls rather than the CWA's federal work relief payroll. Additionally, engineers were appointed to oversee the projects within a one to three counties area. Some of these supervisory jobs were eliminated after federal evaluators suggested to Reeves' office that New Mexico was "going too strong with the engineering force" (Hockenhull FERA Correspondence 1934:2). Overseeing this hierarchy of local and regional engineers was Ray M. Howard, the state CWA Engineer. In general, workers were equipped with tools and equipment purchased locally under emergency purchase orders, materials that were then transferred to the FERA when the CWA was terminated.

Much criticism has been leveled at the CWA ranging from the uneven quality of the projects local agencies selected to the cumbersome administration of the agency in which quotas were altered almost weekly, causing much tedious bureaucratic work at state levels. At times, red tape also resulted in logistical quagmires in which workers waited for weeks for simple handtools (Pickens 1976:323). According to Reeves' state report, however, such delays were the exception in New Mexico's CWA, and local support was enthusiastic (Hockenhull FERA Correspondence 1934:9). Since the CWA was intended to be a stopgap measure and since it was taking place during winter months, few large projects were initiated. More often the emphasis was on upkeep, so that irrigation systems, courthouses and city halls, armories and schools were repaired while parks were refurbished. In the

eastern portion of the state, county commissions acted as sponsoring agencies for numerous road improvement projects in which farm to market roads were graded, surfaced with gravel and provided with better drainage structures. Additionally, the CWA funded several women's projects including sewing and mattress-making programs, book rebinding, and the plastering of adobe schools in Hispanic communities.

While research of archival sources within the state has produced no comprehensive listing of CWA projects, copies of the "New Mexico Relief Bulletin," (NMRB) printed on a weekly then twice monthly basis beginning in January, 1934 to publicize and explain relief efforts in the state offer accounts of projects undertaken by the CWA. Acknowledging the sometimes confusing array of federal relief programs and trying to explain each program's function, the first issue of the bulletin invited its readers to "watch the maneuvers of the alphabet army in New Mexico" (NMRB No.1:1). In a subsequent effort to explain relief regulations and to marshall popular support, the bulletin noted that the "alphabet army keeps marching. Let's all fall in line." Later, the bulletin requested that local sponsors submit photographs of locations "before and after taking CWA treatment" in an effort to publicize the accomplishments of the program.

These "CWA treatments," despite their seemingly modest aspirations, resulted in the first widespread steps the New Deal took to transform New Mexico's civic built environment and public landscape. School renovation projects occurred in school districts throughout the state. Typical of these projects were those that took place in Lincoln County where County School Superintendent Ola C. Jones cited window screening, cistern repairs, "kalsomining" walls, outhouse and fence construction, and the building of playground equipment as evidence that "the CWA has done a great deal for the schools" (NMRB No. 10:2). CWA projects also enabled the University of New Mexico to undertake several landscaping and small construction projects, the first of what would eventually amount to approximately $1.6 million in New Deal projects the university received (Biebel 1986:90). Small additions were made to the power plant and press building, and

another CWA project provided the university with its first swimming pool. During the CWA's tenure, eighty-six students received an average of $15 per month as CWA workers (Biebel 1986:48).

Other projects around the state suggest how varied CWA endeavors were. Within the federal sector the ruins at Aztec Ruins National Monument were stabilized, and trails and erosion control projects were carried out at El Morro National Monument where CWA workers lived in a camp located at the monument. Projects in northern New Mexico resulted in the digging of community wells, while other projects resulted in a concrete floor being poured in the Socorro Armory and the laying of cinder roads and landscaping of Gallup Cemetery. Flood control projects, later assumed by the CCC, were also begun at Ft. Sumner where the sharp bends in the Pecos River had scoured the riverbanks and begun to erode valuable irrigated farmland.

Perhaps the most significant evidence of CWA endeavors in New Mexico, however, were the landscaping projects undertaken in many communities. In some instances, projects focused on improving town squares or plazas. In Taos a project resulted in the paving of the often muddy road around the plaza. In La Luz a three ft. adobe wall was built to enclose the plaza, and desert plants including ocotillo and forty varieties of cactus and yucca were planted in beds surrounded by cobble stones, a landscape reviving the tradition of the Franciscan garden characteristic of the landscapes found at many of the order's eighteenth and nineteenth century missions. In Artesia the town square was landscaped with a diagonal concrete wall bordered by flower beds and lawns and punctuated by ornamental light columns. In other instances, projects focused on developing larger city parks. A swimming pool, artificial lagoons and the first pens for a zoo were completed by a sixty-three man crew at Hillcrest Park in Clovis while a crew in Raton completed a bridle path rising up Goat Hill to an overlook where a stone fireplace and picnic tables were constructed.

Some of the larger community park projects begun under the

CWA remained incomplete at the end of its brief tenure. In March, 1934, when the CWA was suspended and civil works projects were transferred to the Works Division of the New Mexico Emergency Relief Administration (NMERA), some of these projects were given a higher priority to enable crews to complete them. Two notable examples are the Roswell Park system and what became known as Franklin D. Roosevelt Park in Albuquerque. The former involved bank stabilization and landscaping along the North Spring River where crews applied rip-rap to a half mile of the river's channel, graded roads paralleling the river, planted trees, and constructed teahouses, tables and benches using local stone. Later, with WPA funding, this emerald strand winding its way across the city was completed and became known as Cahoon Park to honor a local benefactor.

The latter, initially known as Terrace Park, involved a seventeen acre parcel on Albuquerque's East Mesa, an area marked by the recent growth of several residential subdivisions. Mayor Clyde Tingley, who recognized the potential the New Deal held for projects to beautify Albuquerque, had attended the November meeting that Margaret Reeves held in Santa Fe for local sponsors of CWA projects and had committed Albuquerque to providing 1,200 jobs. Also proposing another CWA project to carve out a recreational beach along the new conservancy district's flood control channels, Tingley saw how recreational facilities might improve his city while also fulfilling his election promise to put people back to work.

In order to shape his vision of a city park on what Margaret Reeves termed "raw land...covered with brush," he convinced Joseph Hammond, developer of the Terrace Addition, to donate a block of the addition to be used as a park and then convinced John Milne, Albuquerque's school superintendent, to grant the city a long-term lease on additional acres, some of which had been used as a city dump, to shape the tract. Crews consisting of over two hundred men using mostly hand tools rounded the arroyos at the mesa's edge to create a gently contoured bowl that they then landscaped with masonry retaining walls, trees, shrubs and a rolling lawn. In order to transform the arid mesa land into

a greensward, they also completed a water sprinkling system and connected it to the city's water mains, permitting groundskeepers to irrigate the fourteen-acre tract in eighty minutes (NMRB No. 13:2). Subsequent WPA grants enabled workers to complete walkways, perimeter drives, a rock garden and restrooms. By February, Mayor Tingley had wired Roosevelt and requested permission to name the park Roosevelt Park "in tribute to your great leadership" (Biebel 1986:30).

In addition to providing Roswell and Albuquerque with parks that have served the cities for over half a century, Cahoon and Roosevelt Parks signaled the emphasis that many New Deal projects in New Mexico would place on public landscapes. While there was a tradition of public landscape in New Mexico derived first from the Spanish plaza and glorieta, or bower, and then from railroad-era town parks, it was only with the New Deal that landscape architecture became widespread. Some of these landscaping efforts reflect a national trend in which city parks built in the 1930s shifted from "genteel bucolic settings" to more utilitarian sites. "Building not bandstands and belvederes, but grandstands and athletic fields," became popular in many New Mexican towns, resulting in a number of New Deal-financed athletic facilities including recreation fields, swimming pools and bathhouses and tennis courts (Cutler 1985:9).

At the same time other projects sought to create parks marked by informal clusters of trees shading picnic areas. Such projects were particularly well suited for the state's towns and cities few of which had parks offering respite from the region's arid climate and hot summer sun. These parks, which landscape architect Baker Morrow terms the "frontier pastoral," represented an effort to provide the state's communities with a regional adaptation of century-old English Landscape gardens (Morrow 1988:72). Limited to plants with lower water requirements that would tolerate drying winds and intense summer heat, the designers of these parks relied on Siberian elms, Arizona ashes, southwestern evergreens and, often, small rose gardens or other intensively cared-for plots usually built around a modest water source to serve as their showpieces.

The design of Roosevelt Park is especially noteworthy, for it was done by Clarence Edward (Bud) Hollied. A World War I veteran who had developed tuberculosis as a result of gas poisoning, Hollied had left his job as superintendent of greenhouses at Cornell University and, like many other healthseekers, had come to New Mexico hoping to regain his health. Credited with introducing peat moss to New Mexico gardening, he had encouraged rose and vegetable gardens in the new subdivisions of Albuquerque's East Mesa. These efforts coincided with Tingley's efforts to beautify the city, an impulse that resulted in the distribution of thousands of Siberian elms to homeowners in an attempt to introduce a hardy shade tree with low water requirements. By late 1933 Tingley had engaged Hollied to supervise the Terrace Park project.

Transforming the Terrace addition site into a park in less than two years using virtually no heavy equipment and achieving a 95% survival rate with the trees and shrubs he planted, Hollied gained a reputation that enabled him to exert great influence on landscape architecture in New Mexico during the New Deal. A year later when he was elected governor, Clyde Tingley took Hollied with him to Santa Fe where he served as the state's WPA landscape architect and State Park Commissioner. There he was responsible for landscaping the capitol grounds in Santa Fe and numerous school grounds, planning the landscaping for the state's nascent state park system, including the landscaping of the Alameda along the Rio Santa Fe, and beginning the state's roadside park program (Fergusson:Box 13).

The initiation of these urban landscape projects, the wide scope of public building repairs and road building projects employing over 12,000 unemployed New Mexicans, and the administrative responsibilities the CWA placed on a growing local relief bureaucracy suggest that despite its brief tenure the CWA had a significant effect in drawing New Mexico into the New Deal. No longer was the Depression treated as a local crisis with solutions limited to already overtaxed local resources. The National Re-employment Service through which thousands of the state's unemployed found jobs that demanded work in exchange for

wages marked a step toward removing the stigma previously associated with losing a job and requiring free commodities that required no work in return. The Service and locally-conceived CWA projects, both financed with federal funds, were reminders to people that a new federal administration was working to play a larger role in all citizens' lives and that policies enacted in Washington could touch individuals across the country. The fact that the results of these projects were manifested in improved roads, schools, other public buildings, and in new public landscapes also signified that the meaning of the public realm was undergoing a considerable expansion.

The New Mexico State Planning Board and the Emergence of a Regional Architectural Style

By the summer of 1934, the Roosevelt administration's efforts to shift from meeting immediate relief emergencies to attempting to avoid such catastrophes through long range planning had begun to appear on the state level. Each state was asked to create a state planning board which, while working with the National Planning Board, would create a comprehensive state plan addressing such issues as natural and human resources, transportation, housing, zoning, long-range fiscal planning and even government reorganization. Until the state legislature could convene in January, 1935 and create a law providing for a state planning board, Governor Hockenhull appointed a board consisting of several prominent citizens including three college presidents and directors of several state agencies. Providing the planning expertise for the board was its federally-selected professional planner, S. R. DeBoer, who was also assigned to the planning board in Utah. The New Mexico Emergency Relief Administration (NMERA) supplied the board with office space and staff. By July, 1934 the board had convened and divided into working committees whose goals included assessing the state's water, mineral and art and cultural resources. From the assessments completed by the board would emerge studies on social education and planning, land use, unemployment relief, tourism development and erosion patterns, the latter which provided the guidelines for soil

conservation programs developed by the United State Resettlement Administration.

Despite this wide range of investigations, state support for the board was minimal. Many political leaders distrusted any government-sponsored economic planning, viewing it as coercive and a threat to free-enterprise. This skepticism combined with a general reluctance on the part of the state legislature to contribute to New Deal programs, resulted in modest contributions ($1,000 in 1935) to the New Mexico State Planning Board, prompting it to rely on the National Resources Board and WPA grants for support. The state's lack of support has prompted New Deal historian William Pickens to conclude that the board "would not play a determining role in New Mexico's economy and that government would do little to direct private enterprise" (Pickens 1976:334).

Nevertheless, the New Mexico State Planning Board did make a significant contribution to the built environment shaped by New Deal programs. This contribution appeared in the deliberations of the board concerning building projects the state hoped to undertake as federal monies became available for public capital improvement projects. While the decades preceding the Depression had seen little growth in state bureaucracy, the coming of federal aid programs had led to the creation of new state agencies and swollen the numbers of employees in those already in existence. During the same period in which Governor Hockenhull had created the State Planning Board in order to receive federal monies, for instance, the State Legislature had also passed an act creating a State Park Commission in order to enable New Mexico to be eligible for federal emergency monies designated for state park programs. Housing all of these new agencies in the few buildings the state owned in Santa Fe was impossible. The capitol building, built in 1900 to replace the previous capitol destroyed by fire in 1892, was hopelessly inadequate, even with a rear wing added 1907, and the NMERA sometimes housed its clerical staff in the capitol's Senate chambers while other new agencies rented office space.

These shortages of space were one of the first issues the planning board chose to address. In its meeting of October,17, 1934, the board discussed a report S. R. DeBoer had prepared on the "capitol building group," the complex of buildings that the state hoped would alleviate the problem of overcrowding. Already design plans were underway for the construction of a Supreme Court Building and for a building to house the NMERA, and long range plans included replacing the capitol. Of particular interest to the board was the architectural style these buildings would embrace. When G. D. Macy, the State Highway Engineer and chairman of the planning board noted that John Gaw Meem and Gordon Street, the architects designing the NMERA building, had expressed concern over the amount of light a building using "the pueblo type of architecture" would permit, James F. Zimmerman, president of the University of New Mexico and a strong advocate of the university's recommitting itself to using the style, responded that "lack of light wasn't noticeable" in the Spanish-Pueblo styled buildings on the UNM campus (Hockenhull, State Planning Board 10/1734:3). Zimmerman then noted the history of what he termed the "Indian Spanish type of architecture" which prompted Frank Vesley, chairman of the State Public Lands Board, to move that the planning board approve the "New Mexico Indian Spanish type of architecture" for the proposed capitol building group and invite the state's chapter of the American Institute of Architects to respond to the board's suggestion and arrange for a design competition.

A week later, S.R. DeBoer submitted a plan treating the proposed capitol building group to the governor. Most interesting in the report is the strong argument the planning board made for adopting a Spanish-Indian architecture, a "local type of architecture" which "has in it many of the thoughts in regard to simplicity of design, correct uses of wall space, masses and color, and of general fitness which so-called modernists try to embody in their designs" (Hockenhull, State Planning Board 10/22/34:1-8). Not only would this design be "fully harmonious with its surrounding" but it would finally remove buildings that were "foreign" and "jarring" in their design and "called attention to the anomaly of a new nation like

ours forever copying foreign types of buildings." Concluded DeBoer, "in the future development of New Mexico this unusual and local type of architecture is bound to play an important role."

DeBoer's perspective, of course, was based on precedents found in other public buildings. What is now referred to as the Spanish-Pueblo Revival Style had appeared in earlier commercial as well as state buildings including the Fine Arts Museum and buildings on some of its college campuses. Nevertheless this strong argument for using a local architectural style as a means of asserting the distinct history of the state through its public buildings is significant. It suggests the role of the State Planning Board in developing a building style on the eve of large-scale New Deal funding, especially through WPA and PWA projects, that affected public building in almost every community in New Mexico. Working closely with John Gaw Meem as well as the state's staff of FERA architects headed by Willard C. Kruger, the planning board, especially through influential members such as Zimmerman, emerged as the leading proponent of a widespread use of this regional style.

One of the legacies of the New Deal has been its efforts to help the people of a faltering country regain their confidence through federally-aided efforts to rediscover the strengths of American society. Many of those efforts aimed at celebrating popular values expressed in local and regional arts, crafts, literature and architecture. The efforts of the CCC in many of its projects at state and national parks to articulate what is now termed the Rustic Style were meant, in part, to recall America's frontier and pioneer roots as well as to reaffirm American society's connection with Nature on the vast North American continent. In the same fashion, the use of the Spanish-Pueblo and Territorial Revival Styles in many of the New Deal projects sponsored in New Mexico marked a conscious effort to celebrate the unique tri-cultural heritage of the region's people. Much of the credit for articulating the value of this regional architecture belongs to the New Mexico State Planning Board as it sought to define its role in the management of the state's resources.

Governor Clyde Tingley and New Mexico's New Deal

In the biographical manuscript of Clyde Tingley she was working on just before her death, Erna Fergusson mused that "Tingley and the New Deal might have been made for each other. Money to put men to work on projects of use to city and state and for beautification (sic)" (Fergusson Box 13#7:240). This comment coupled with another of her observations about roadwork as being the key to Tingley's rising political star because it brought together "two of his predilections--handling men and machinery, moving dirt" offers a brief but telling characterization of the political leader most closely associated with the New Deal in New Mexico. In the years since he had first been elected to the Albuquerque City Council in 1922, drawing support from residents on the town's new east side and the city's Santa Fe Railroad workers, Tingley had built a political machine based on hard work, improving public services and beautifying the city through numerous park and recreational projects, and fierce political loyalty. Financially comfortable through the wealth of his wife, Carrie, whom he had followed from Ohio as a suitor in 1912 when she sought the dry climate of New Mexico in an effort to overcome tuberculosis, Tingley represented the rise of new political forces in New Mexico. Drawing their support from unionists, urban voters in the state's small but growing towns, and the small ranchers and farmers who had recently settled in the state's eastern and southern counties, these largely Democratic politicians rose to power during the early years of the Depression. The coming of the New Deal accelerated that rise.

While serving as ex-officio mayor of Albuquerque during the 1920s, Tingley had also served as a district maintenance supervisor for the State Highway Department and was acutely aware of how important federal aid was to improving the state's far-flung road system. As he campaigned for office in 1934, he offered a platform that promised to stimulate the state's faltering economy through automobile tourism. For Tingley, the state had the natural scenery and recreational opportunities that promised to make it a tourist destination. Lacking were the good

roads to bring the motorists. As he travelled about the state during the fall of 1934 advocating tourism as part of the state's economic panacea, Tingley also promised voters that he would improve the state's poor education system by continuing the recently enacted emergency sales tax to raise funds for education and that he would continue the programs already begun with FERA funds to develop a permanent and responsive state health and welfare bureaucracy. To achieve these goals of a state government more committed to serving its constituents Tingley reminded voters that "only by returning a solid Democratic majority can New Mexico get its share of federal funds for relief." This theme, which Fergusson termed a "vote right or starve" message, served to link the fate of the state with a strong state Democratic administration capable of being heard by Washington's New Dealers.

The office that Tingley assumed on January 1, 1935 was one in transition. The caretaker administration of Governor Hockenhull had begun to anticipate the increase of federal funds that were now flowing into the state, and during 1934, Hockenhull had taken steps to prepare the state to administer those funds. Following legislation creating a state income tax enacted in 1933 as a means of reducing the burdensome property tax, Hockenhull had convened a special session of the Legislature in April, 1934 aimed at creating new statutes to make the state's laws more responsive to New Deal initiatives and to enable the state to raise more revenues. During that eighteen-day session, legislators enacted thirty-five statutes including one establishing a state employment agency for providing work relief jobs and the Emergency School Tax Act meant to provide a more stable source of revenue for the state's school districts. With the sales tax, seen at the time as temporary, replacing the property tax as the chief source of revenue for education, Hockenhull foresaw a decline in the property tax and wrote to each of the state's Boards of County Commissioners asking them to take the opportunity presented by that anticipated drop to consider raising the county indigent levy to its legal ceiling of one-half mill (New Mexico FERA Field Report 8/17/34:1).

In part, Hockenhull's request of the county commissions was prompted by growing pressure from New Deal administrators for the state to shoulder more of its relief burden. The FERA field report filed during the summer of 1934 had noted that thus far the only financial burden the state had borne in its educational and unemployment relief programs was that of administrative staff costs. Shortly after Clyde Tingley assumed office this matter of accepting financial responsibility came to a head when Harry Hopkins wired the new governor notifying him that over the past twenty months the FERA had contributed over $4.6 million to New Mexico for unemployment relief while the state had contributed only $6,189 and local governments only $83,054 (Biebel 1986:36). Beginning in March, 1935, New Mexico would need to bear "its fair share of the cost of unemployment relief," a sum Hopkins set at $500,000.

Thus, as Clyde Tingley was settling into office he found himself faced with a need to improve New Mexico's participation in New Deal programs. Before he could undertake the building projects that he hoped would put New Mexicans back to work, he needed to find a way to get the state's own little New Deal under way. Even as he prepared to assume office he worked with his lawyers and leaders of the legislature to write bills giving New Mexico the statutory power to take advantage of the many New Deal programs becoming available to state agencies. Responding to longstanding concerns for reform within New Mexico, Tingley prepared bills that reorganized the state police, developed a workman's compensation program, gave greater power to the State Board of Finance, and created a department of public health. Responding to measures enacted at the federal level, Tingley submitted a bill creating the New Mexico Relief and Security Authority that would integrate many of the earlier federal relief programs as well as develop a state apparatus for the new national Social Security Act.

The control that Governor Tingley exerted over determining the agenda of the State Legislature in 1935, a control also evident in subsequent legislative sessions during both of Tingley's administrations and those of John Miles, was

unprecedented in the state's lawmaking history. Whereas leaders of the Old Guard had determined the legislative agenda with what Jack Holmes refers to as "but a nominal reference to the governor's office," Tingley directed the legislative agenda to the degree that when a bill was announced as an "administration measure" the phrase was "sufficient to bring a unanimous, or nearly unanimous, roll call in every case" (Holmes 1967:205). As a result, New Mexico's statutes were updated and synchronized to correspond with federal measures meant to develop social agencies and programs that a decade earlier would have been inconceivable. These measures closed the links in a political chain binding New Mexico to Washington and the New Deal and served to expand not only the number of state agencies in New Mexico but also the scope of older ones. One consequence of this expansion was an enormous increase in public capital improvements, both those undertaken by municipalities and other public bodies and those undertaken by the state itself.

The PWA in New Mexico

Many of the capitol improvements undertaken in New Mexico grew out of Tingley's efforts to facilitate the dispersal of PWA monies to local governments, institutions and non-profit public benefit corporations such as public irrigation associations. In December, 1934, President Roosevelt had written to the governor-elect, urging him to enact legislation that would make it easier for such groups to issue bonds that might be repaid through future revenues (Tingley PWA Correspondence 1935). In many states such groups were unable to issue these so-called "self-liquidating bonds," and federal attorneys working under Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes had drafted model legislation which they offered to states as a means of expediting the submission of local project proposals. Upon receiving these model bills, Tingley had J. O. Seth, an attorney and one of his advisors, adapt them for the 1935 legislative session. This initiative opened the way for towns, institutions, and other public groups to sell bonds to the federal, and in some instances, state government as a way of obtaining low interest loans. Most

important, these public bodies were now able to back their bonds, or "self-liquidate" them with anticipated revenues from the very projects they were constructing. The state universities, for instance, used the anticipated revenues from the room and board fees paid by students to obtain loans for the construction of student dormitories and other facilities while cities used anticipated revenues from the sale of water to back the loans on waterworks and sewage projects.

In all, ninety-six non-federal PWA projects carried out throughout the state. These non-federal projects were those in which the PWA contracted directly with a municipality, school district, or other public authority, making a grant, sometimes in combination with a low cost loan, for a project which the local sponsor would then undertake. By July, 1939 when the PWA was six years old and transferred to the Federal Works Agency along with the WPA, the Public Roads Administration and the United States Housing Authority, over $34.7 million had been spent for PWA projects in New Mexico. Of this total $22.9 million had gone to 198 federal projects, and $11.7 to ninety-six non-federal projects (Miles PWA Correspondence:1939).

During the four years of Clyde Tingley's administration, the bulk of PWA funding in New Mexico, totaling $10 million for non-federal projects, occurred. An analysis of the ninety-six non-federal projects undertaken shows that PWA grants covered $4 million of the projects' costs, 4% low cost loans provided by the PWA covered another 2.5 million, and that the recipients provided $3.5 million (see Appendix A). The most popular types of projects were schools (25) and waterworks (19). Ten county courthouses, several city halls, and hospitals were also undertaken as were libraries and other institutional buildings at the state's several colleges and university. The recipient receiving the largest amount of PWA funding was the University of New Mexico which received over $695 thousand for several projects including a central heating plant, engineering and state public health laboratories, a student union building, and a new library.

Because of the generally large scale of these PWA projects

and the elaborate review process, project proposals necessarily required much greater detailing than did the generally smaller, more labor-intensive WPA projects. A report on allocations made to New Mexico in August, 1938, for example, includes not only the cost of the project and the local "authorized correspondent," which was usually the mayor, chairman of the county commission, or president of the local board of education, but also the engineering or architectural firm supplying the drawings and specifications of the project (Tingley PWA Correspondence 1938). These records indicate that while communities within the Rio Grande corridor tended to award design and engineering contracts to local firms, communities along the state's periphery often engaged out-of-state engineers and architects. The El Paso architectural firm of Trost and Trost, the Amarillo firm of Townes and Funk and Wyatt C. Hedrick of Fort Worth were among those receiving contracts to design courthouses and schools in cities such as Hobbs, Carlsbad, Tucumcari and Gallup.

This eclectic choice of architects as well as the stylistic sensibilities of the communities planning these public projects resulted in a variety of styles applied to the schools, courthouses and other public buildings undertaken as PWA projects. As a general rule, interest in the Spanish-Pueblo Revival Style was strongest in the state's heartland along the Rio Grande corridor. Drawing from the nearby pueblos, precedents in Santa Fe and at the University of New Mexico as well as the enthusiasm the State Planning Board held for the style, architects designed courthouses in Dona Ana (1937), Mora (1939),Santa Fe (1939) and Socorro (1940) Counties embracing the Spanish-Pueblo Revival Style.

Also along the Rio Grande corridor architects increasingly began to follow the lead of Gordon Street, a former associate of John Gaw Meem, who had designed the Public Welfare Building (1935) and Supreme Court Building (1936-37) drawing together details from another earlier regional style that has since been called the Territorial Revival Style. Perhaps because of its evocation of the efforts of early Anglo builders to adapt local materials and design elements to their forts while at least

preserving a veneer of Classical Style elements they recalled from the eastern United States, this style seemed symbolically attractive in the 1930s. It embodied both indigenous elements such as earth-tone walls and flat roofs while at the same time contained symbols of governmental authority with its Classical symmetrically-deployed elements such as pedimented lintels and entries, porticos and brick ornamentation at window sills and cornices. Moreover, the new style lent itself readily to the larger scale public buildings now required as New Deal programs led local governments to expand their public services.

The Sierra County Courthouse (1938) was the only PWA courthouse project to embrace the style, but numerous schools and other public buildings, especially in the southern and eastern counties of the state, incorporated its elements. Louis Hesseldon, architect for the Albuquerque Public Schools, for example, blended elements of the Territorial Revival Style with entry elements suggestive of the Spanish Colonial Baroque or Regency Styles in the Lew Wallace School (1933) and the Coronado School (1935). Likewise, numerous WPA projects, most notably the Carrie Tingley Children's Hospital in Hot Springs (now Truth or Consequences), popularized the style so that by the 1940s the Territorial Revival Style was seen as the state's unofficial architectural style.

Away from the Rio Grande corridor, large PWA building projects employed a more eclectic range of styles. While the McKinley County Courthouse (1938) designed by Trost and Trost with its notable Spanish-Pueblo Revival details blending in with its battered central tower and the heavily remodeled (1938) Eddy County Courthouse (1891) suggest that interest in the Spanish-Pueblo Revival extended to all parts of the state, more often communities on the state's East Side favored non-regional styles. Common to many of the large public buildings there was a relatively plain symmetrical massing to which Art Deco Style ornamentation such as pilasters with geometrical moldings and concrete relief panels were applied usually at the buildings' large public entries. Sometimes referred to as "PWA Moderne," the style appears in the Colfax (1936), Curry (1936) and Quay

(1939) County Courthouses as well as in the larger PWA school projects in cities such as Clovis and Raton.

Since the courthouses represented the authority of local government, they were often centrally located in courthouse squares that were then landscaped under smaller WPA projects. Several of these courthouse squares today offer good examples not only of New Deal architectural tastes but also of New Deal landscapes. Appearing as small parks, or greens, in the midst of the town, they characteristically include Siberian elms, ashes, junipers or arborvitae informally grouped across a lawn surrounding the building. A wide sidewalk, often flanked by shrubs, led to the main public entry. As a result of additions to many of these courthouses, the rear portion of these commons has been turned over to new buildings and parking lots, but these New Deal landscapes generally remain intact around the remainder of most of the courthouses.

PWA school projects tended to be larger than those funded by the WPA, and, in general, they tended to be located in larger communities such as Hobbs, Carlsbad, Clovis, Raton, Silver City, and Albuquerque. Whereas many rural WPA schools were built using local materials and plans supplied by the state's WPA architect, each PWA school project involved a specific architect preparing specific design plans. By the mid-1930s, the most common design for large public schools was a symmetrical, modernistic building with lines of classroom flanking a central entry and additional entries at the end of each wing. Identical second stories were often included, and sometimes a large space serving as both a gym and auditorium extended perpendicularly behind the central entry. Along the east side of the state where building tastes were largely influenced by the cities of West Texas, many PWA schools used a buff brick, known as "Texas Tech Blend," as the predominant material. In some cases, such as with the PWA schools in Hobbs, architects did draw from an earlier popular style, the Spanish Colonial Revival, that was also used on some of the campuses of the state's southerly institutions. In other cases, such as with Raton's high school, architect W.C. Kruger, who had grown up in Raton, chose a Moderne Style modestly

articulated by textured brown brick and recessed entries framed by concrete piers.

In 1939, as the PWA was winding down and being shifted to the Federal Works Agency, the District 5 headquarters in Fort Worth issued a press release appraising the PWA's efforts in New Mexico. Noting that PWA grants had resulted in "the building of imposing modern high schools in metropolitan centers" and that a great number of "more modest structures" appeared "in the agricultural areas of the state," the report concluded that the PWA in New Mexico had "performed its primary purpose of creating jobs not only at projects but to an even greater extent in the industries of the state" and that it had added to the "health, enlightenment, the comfort and safety, and general well-being of New Mexicans for many years to come" (Miles PWA Correspondence 1939). While the rhetoric of the release typifies the language of reports meant to extol the accomplishments of the New Deal, the statement offers an accurate assessment of the degree to which the PWA contributed to the state's public building program. Not only did the PWA projects create much-needed jobs, they also offered many towns, cities and public institutions the only means to build modern schools, public buildings, libraries and laboratories during the 1930s. Most of the courthouses continue to serve their counties, and several are listed on the National Register as part of a nomination treating the state's historic courthouses. Most of the PWA schools also continue to serve their communities, and, in recent years, some schools that had been closed have been refurbished and reopened. Likewise, many of the buildings constructed on the campuses of the state's institutions stand as some of their most notable structures.

The WPA in New Mexico

While the large federal and non-federal PWA projects brought dams, waterworks, and public buildings to many areas of New Mexico, they by no means blanketed the state. Far more extensive and reaching the lives of New Mexicans scattered across the state's rural hamlets and small towns were its WPA projects. In

contrast to the 295 federal and non-federal projects comprising the PWA's efforts in New Mexico, almost four thousand projects were undertaken by the WPA throughout the state. These projects fit into two general categories--service projects and engineering and construction projects--and were approximately even in number.

The former included projects ranging from educational and arts projects to records and research projects to welfare projects such as sewing, gardening and canning, and commodity distribution programs. They appeared as adult education programs, the New Mexico Federal Writers Project, Neighborhood Youth Administration (NYA) recreational programs, numerous crafts projects, school lunch programs and home visits by housekeeping aides. Not involving any direct construction projects, some of these projects, such as the art projects, did result in mural paintings in public buildings throughout the state, a legacy celebrated in a pamphlet printed by the New Mexico Secretary of State in 1992. Others, such as the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) begun under the CWA, continued under the WPA and consisted of making photographs, measurements and standard architectural drawings of buildings of historic importance for transmission to the Library of Congress, a program that anticipated the National Preservation Act of 1966 in its commitment to preserving the nation's architectural heritage. The successes and shortcomings of many of these projects, especially those pertaining to the Hispanic villages of northern New Mexico are treated in two perceptive critiques of New Deal programs at the village level (Sanchez 1940; Forest 1989).

For classification purposes, the WPA broke the engineering and construction group into five general project categories that included municipal and engineering, airport and airway, public building, highway and road, and conservation projects (WPA 1947). These categories offer a helpful means for developing a classification of property types as perceived by the architects of the New Deal themselves. The $64.3 million spent by the WPA and local sponsors for construction projects in New Mexico incorporated all of these categories. As a group, these projects brought about the most widespread and significant change in

public capital improvements that the state has ever witnessed.

The initiation of these projects that so affected the state's public built environment grew out of the efforts of the Roosevelt administration to increase its efforts to combat the nation's continuing unemployment problem by improving its New Deal programs. A half century after their inception, distinctions between the PWA and the WPA, not to mention a host of other New Deal programs referred to by their initials, often become blurred, appearing as so many letters in the confusing alphabet army that represented the expanded role President Roosevelt brought to the federal government. As a rule of thumb, WPA projects emphasized an intensive use of usually unskilled and semi-skilled labor drawn from work relief lists and cost less than $25,000. In contrast, PWA projects were more capital intensive, required a higher percentage of skilled workers, many who were not work relief referrals, and cost more than $25,000.

Both the non-federal projects of the PWA and most WPA programs required local sponsors responsible for initiating formal proposals, supplying engineering specifications and architectural plans, and seeing a project to its conclusion. In the case of the WPA, sponsors lacking resources could turn to the state WPA administration for technical support, as was often the case with building projects in New Mexico. While PWA projects were funded with a combination of federal grants and low cost federal government loans, WPA projects were funded with federal grants and with sponsors supplying resources such as land or materials. Unlike PWA projects which set a fixed percentage for a sponsor's contribution, no fixed percentage of a project's cost was required until 1940 when sponsors were required to supply 25% of a project's cost. Overall, the WPA provided 78% of all projects' cost and sponsors 22%. New Mexico's WPA figures are nearly similar with $48.9 million (76%) of its total WPA funding provided by the government and $15.4 million (24%) provided by local sponsors.

While both programs were federally run, the WPA relied on a more extensive local and state bureaucracy, including state and

local relief agencies for referrals, while the PWA remained highly centralized. Ickes and Roosevelt continued to review all PWA applications while WPA project proposals were reviewed at the state level, and if accepted, usually perfunctorily approved in Washington, with projects often grouped together on a statewide basis. Often large projects costing more than $25,000 were broken into segments so that they met the cost ceiling criterion for WPA projects, and then progressive segments were approved over several funding periods. Many WPA projects in New Mexico, such as ongoing school or road construction projects costing well in excess of $25,000, were conveniently broken into smaller projects and funded incrementally. Other projects, however, such as the Albuquerque Airport costing $704,982 were funded in excess of the publicly-perceived limit of $25,000.

As information about the new program began to reach the states, Governor Tingley saw the potential these light capital improvement projects held for New Mexico. As his first term passed the six month mark, economic conditions in the state had failed to improve. The drought afflicting the state was moving into its fourth summer, requiring almost half of the $2.4 million emergency relief appropriation the state was requesting for the month of June. Moreover, according to the report filed by Dudley Frank, Acting Administrator of the state's FERA, the "adverse conditions" of drought and poverty, particularly among the state's Hispanics, had made many New Mexicans "susceptible to propaganda which is wholly un-American" (Tingley FERA May-June 1935). Further contributing to the perception of the state's potential instability were over three thousand transients housed at eight family intake centers and work camps. The resources required by the New Mexico Transient Service to provide food, housing, and work projects were mostly for migrants who had been stranded looking for work in the state's cotton fields or seeking the dry climate to recover from tuberculosis. Requiring over 5% of the state's relief budget, the program was often criticized as doing nothing to meet the needs of New Mexicans.

For Tingley, the best way to meet these problems was to adopt "a program of work relief in preference to direct relief,"

a solution that coincided with Hopkins' newly conceived WPA. Indicative of his thinking is an article printed in "The Bulletin" published by the New Mexico Emergency Relief and Works Progress Administration Bulletin (NMERA) for July-August, 1935 just prior to the WPA replacing FERA programs. Anticipating the new WPA, Tingley used the article to alert local governments and other agencies of the initiative required of them to propose and sponsor work relief projects. He demanded loyalty and cooperation from district leaders, efficiency of workers, and a commitment to "build something in the state for the future generations and for the state and federal government" (NMERA July-August 1935:3). Identifying specific goals for New Mexico, Tingley pointed to the school system where rural buildings "have no ventilation, no seats, floors, doors or stoves in winter." He also referred to President Roosevelt's interest in recreational facilities where "bathing beaches, parks, planting of shrubs and many recreational projects can be instituted" citing the beach in Roswell as an example of how such a project could also become a tourist attraction. Finally, Tingley noted that he had no intention of interfering with the new WPA administration, that he intended "to continue to refer everything to him [the WPA administrator] by letter."

Tingley's message set the tone for the WPA in New Mexico. Projects funded in New Mexico by the WPA from the summer of 1935 to the end of the program in the summer of 1943 covered all of the construction categories designated by the WPA and included conservation, sanitation, water and sewer projects, and the construction of recreational facilities, parks, playgrounds, athletic fields, privies, airports, and public buildings such as community centers, fire houses, hospitals, and city halls. The majority of WPA construction projects undertaken in New Mexico, however, were roads and public schools which accounted for 28% and 26% respectively of total money spent on WPA projects (WPA Final Report 1947:105-146). Under the Tingley-appointed State Highway Commission, road building moved ahead rapidly, in part to fulfill Tingley's belief that roads were the key to opening the state as a recreational and tourist destination, in part because Tingley and other proponents of roads realized that a network of

secondary roads was essential for the recovery of ranching and agriculture in rural New Mexico. WPA monies were spent to construct culverts and bridges, grade separations, farm to market roads, and to complete the state's portion of the federal highway system. In 1937 the state's portion of US 66 was completed. That several million dollars of WPA funds were devoted to providing this transcontinental highway with a dust-free hard surface is significant. Metaphorically it suggests the linking of New Mexico to the New Deal's goal of creating state-federal cooperation in a range of public construction projects.

Equally significant as a measure of the effect of the WPA on New Mexico was its role in school construction throughout the state. With the over nine hundred school districts in the state relying on the property tax for their primary revenues until 1933, public schools in New Mexico, especially those in rural areas, were perhaps worse than Tingley described them. Even with the benefit of Roman Catholic religious orders and Protestant mission programs carrying much of the teaching load in many communities across the state, New Mexican schools reeled under the Depression, curtailing sessions and neglecting repairs in overcrowded unsafe buildings. As the scope of WPA programs appeared in June, 1935, Senator Dennis Chavez wrote to the governor urging him to consider advocating school construction and low cost irrigation projects as his priority for the new federal program. Both types of project, noted Chavez, were labor intensive and both would enable local sponsors to provide materials such as earth for dams and adobes and vigas as a way of completing projects "at a very reasonable cost," thus permitting many New Mexicans to "again become self-sufficient and independent of relief" (Chavez Papers Box 2#35:6/25/35).

This goal of improving the state's school system remained a subject on which the two leaders agreed even after they split on other issues. Within weeks Tingley informed Chavez that he would pursue a program of "building rural schools" and that he had written to all county school superintendents urging them to survey their school needs and to work with county WPA administrators to prepare project applications. Two years later,

Chavez reminded Tingley of their goal "to take the lead in the building of schools" so that "before the WPA is through....it shall have constructed a modern school house in every rural district in New Mexico" (Chavez Papers Box 2#34:5/11/37). Records suggest that Tingley made good on his promise to modernize the state's schools. Of its total WPA funds, the 26% that New Mexico spent on public buildings is the highest percentage among all states, and the 361 schools constructed with WPA funds is the seventh highest (WPA Final Report 1947:113,135).

Tingley's involvement with the school construction program, as well as with other WPA projects, was immediate and direct. Although the state's WPA administration was a separate entity, he understood the potential it held for the state and felt that it was his role as governor to aid his constituents in realizing its potential. His inquiry about each county's school needs that he sent to superintendents in July, 1935, reveals his direct approach. Opening by noting that "hundreds of rural schools are in deplorable condition," he announced that under the WPA he hoped to rebuild these schools "at a minimum cost to the community," noting that "in practically all communities where new buildings are needed, adobes for walls and vigas for roofing can easily be obtained." Asking the superintendents to survey their needs and to "lay before the Works Progress Administrator of your county the details of your school needs," Tingley closed, prophetically noting that "there will never be an opportunity like the present to correct the conditions now existing" in many of the state's school districts (Tingley WPA Correspondence 1935). His inquiry produced a series of lengthy replies to the governor.

In late July, Tingley travelled to Washington to promote New Mexico's case with WPA administrators. His telegram to his secretary, William McMains, shows that they encouraged him to submit proposals for, "a hundred to a hundred and fifty school houses as initial step to be followed by further projects of same nature" (Tingley WPA Correspondence 7/27/35). He then added that he hoped "to build a modern school building in every needy district" and that he was sending Willard Kruger back to New

Mexico to prepare plans and specifications for the schools which Tingley believed would be "of immense importance." Since so few, if any, of these poor districts could afford an architect, Tingley realized that the WPA's architectural staff, consisting of Kruger as Architectural Engineer, John Windsor as his assistant, and Frank Standhardt, Kenneth S. Clark and William Lumpkin as Architectural Draftsmen, would need to develop standardized plans that might be employed throughout the state. Although no specific drawings appear in the governor's papers nor in Kruger's papers housed in the John Gaw Meem Collection at the University of New Mexico, letters sent to school districts show that Kruger and his staff had "typical plans filed in the local [WPA] office for rural schools from one to eight rooms, and a typical gymnasium plan" (Tingley WPA Correspondence 1935).

These school plans were consistent with the standards used across the nation during the 1930s. Commenting on the schools, Tingley noted that they were not "just buildings that are being put up to house the children" but that they met the State Board of Education standards and fire regulations pertaining to size, cloakrooms, number of fire exits, ventilation and heating units and seating with seat's paralleling windows that were "at least one sixth the floor area of the buildings" (NMERA 10/18/35:8). Additional projects were often undertaken to supply other amenities to enrich education. Landscaping projects led to playgrounds enclosed by walls and the beautification of grounds with shrubs and trees, sidewalks and terraces. In several communities such as Springer, Roswell, Raton and Clayton, enclosed football stadia with grandstands were also constructed. Often school construction projects also included a gymnasium with a stage at one end permitting it to serve also as an auditorium and community meeting hall. Sometimes these facilities were included in the school project, included as an integral part of the school design; in other instances, they were constructed as separate projects, even standing independently from the school building.

Because of the emphasis on finding ways for poor communities to make some contribution to the WPA grant, the designs that

Kruger and his team provided were intended to supply modern facilities while making use of the resources districts did possess. As a result, many schools employed modest elements of the Spanish-Pueblo Revival Style. Adobe bricks and locally obtained stone were often used for battered walls; vigas, often described as "cut in nearby mountains" were used as roof beams. In larger schools, such as the Roosevelt School in Bernalillo, these same local materials were combined with an excavated concrete basement, resulting in an eight room facility consisting of a single line of four classrooms connected by a long interior hallway on each floor. In larger cities, such as Raton, hollow tile block and steel or reinforced concrete framing often replaced local materials, and buildings more often incorporated modest decorative elements suggestive of the Moderne Style.

In perhaps the most remarkable concentration of WPA-funded school buildings, Kruger's team designed an entire four-block junior and senior high school complex for the town of Clayton. Located in Union County, the area had been hard hit by the dust storms that ravaged the High Southern Plains. When the town's innovative school superintendent, Raymond Huff, saw the potential the WPA held for putting local people back to work, he began preparing applications for a series of school projects. Eventually they included a cafeteria, two-story high school, agricultural and manual arts buildings, a gymnasium/auditorium that also housed a home economic classroom, tennis courts, a football stadium with grandstand and field house, and a junior high school housed in a remodeled three-story building that had formerly served as the town's high school. Not only did these projects provide work at one time or another for 6,000 of the county's 10,000 citizens, Huff also used WPA funds to put people to work in an art project and in other service projects making furniture, light fixtures, ceramic ware, as well as a model kitchen for housekeeping instruction in the home economics facility.

As he went about the state, encouraging communities to envision projects that improve their communities, Clyde Tingley was doing what he most enjoyed as a political leader, finding

constituents who were willing to undertake public works that would lead to capital improvements in their local communities. Using the power and prestige of his office to initiate projects that would be financed largely with federal monies offered him an opportunity to show New Mexicans that he would make good on his campaign promise to bring federal aid to the state. To remind people that he was a leader who had brought the New Deal into their everyday lives, Tingley urged project sponsors to take pictures of local schools before and after a WPA project, copies which he then displayed in the State Capitol. He also kept photographs of pre-WPA schools with him when he made many of his twenty-three trips to Washington. There, he "insisted on seeing the top guy," with whom he shared those pictures as a way of illustrating New Mexico's dire need for aid (Fergusson Box 13#13).

It was this down-to-earth personal politics that may help to explain why Clyde Tingley was so successful in using the New Deal to reshape New Mexico's public environment. While there is little written evidence to indicate Tingley's philosophical embrace of the economic and social theories underpinning the New Deal, his brand of populist politics made him an ideal practitioner of the New Deal. To Rexford Tugwell, one of Roosevelt's "brain trusters," Tingley was "willing to see Federal Projects managed as we desired and he was full of good ideas for their use"; to Henry Wallace, Roosevelt's Secretary of Agriculture and then Vice-President during his third term, Tingley was "hard-driving in the action to get the most for his state out of the Federal Government" (Fergusson Box 13#3). Perhaps these qualities, or perhaps his gregarious and unpolished ways prompted President Roosevelt to make time for Tingley and his salesmanship of New Mexico.

Unquestionably, one concern that both men shared was their desire to help the handicapped, especially crippled children. With polio still a widespread and feared disease, the need for states to help its victims through children's hospitals was great. For Roosevelt the desire was personal, so much so that in the years following his being stricken with paralysis at

Campobello, Maine in 1921 he had determined to forsake politics in hopes of rehabilitating himself in the therapeutic waters at Warm Springs, Georgia where he had invested much money and interest in developing a hospital. For Tingley the desire was one he acquired from his wife, Carrie, who spent much of her public and private life working to improve public facilities for handicapped children.

The correspondence between Tingley and Roosevelt shows that beyond the boosterism of New Mexico and the pledges of fealty that Tingley offered as he headed the state's Roosevelt-Garner Clubs and, later, travelled to Young Democrat conventions around the country to extol the WPA, this common interest in hospitals for those suffering from paralysis was genuine and sustained. In Roosevelt's words, it was "a great cause in which we are both interested, the welfare of handicapped children," a concern that he also noted as "a matter very close to my heart" (Roosevelt-Tingley Correspondence 12/28/48; 5/25/38). In 1936, this common concern began to manifest itself on the low alluvial hills overlooking the Rio Grande at Hot Springs. There WPA crews began work on what became known as Carrie Tingley Children's Hospital, a complex designed to provide the most up-to-date treatment available for paralyzed children. So interested was Roosevelt in the New Mexico proposal that he met with Tingley on the matter, urging Tingley to dispatch Willard Kruger to Georgia to meet with Henry J. Tombs, architect of the Warm Springs facility. Over the course of the project, Tombs visited Hot Springs several times, sharing his experiences with Kruger's team.

For Tingley, the hospital was an ideal WPA project. The completed project offered a tangible benefit for the state, and the size of the project created jobs for crews of over two hundred workers. As governor he was able to use his office to persuade John McManus, Warden of the State Penitentiary, to erect five kilns to manufacture bricks at Hot Springs and to convince the Santa Fe Railroad to cut freight costs for the materials and equipment it shipped to its depot at Hatch. Although Kruger had been "drawing plans for schools, college buildings, auditoriums and city halls all over the state, a highly specialized hospital

was out of his experience and a challenging opportunity," and over the course of the project he consulted not only with Tombs, but also with Johns Hopkins Hospital as well as with children's hospitals in Denver and Los Angeles (Fergusson Box 13#14:14). According to Kruger, Tingley was so involved in the construction process that he often funded his trips as well as Kruger's consulting trips using his own resources.

The hospital was dedicated in May, 1937 with much fanfare. Its final cost was $827,000, of which the WPA provided $553,000 and New Mexico $273,000, much of it as trucks, land, bricks and other materials. Although Roosevelt was unable to attend, he did send Tingley a congratulatory telegram in which he hoped the hospital would "grow and prosper and restore to health and happiness all the little patients who find refuge under the friendly roof [of the new hospital]" (Roosevelt-Tingley Correspondence 5/28/37). The complex that the "little patients" found was a state-of-the-art hospital, resolving many of the circulation problems that had appeared at the incrementally constructed Warm Springs Hospital. Three wings with sleeping quarters, a dining room, therapy rooms, a pool and terraces were all on a single floor with only nurses quarters occupying a second story. The complex employed what was then termed the Spanish Colonial Style, the Territorial Revival Style that was becoming Kruger's trademark in the many public buildings he and his staff were designing for the WPA. Surrounding the complex were spacious lawns. Evergreens, poplars, and shrubs lined a long U-shaped driveway as well as flanked the complex, and informal groves were located randomly about the lawns, giving the grounds the appearance of an oasis set amidst the creosote and cactus of the Upper Chihuahuan Desert.

Such efforts to create small green landscapes in the state's arid climate remain a hallmark of the New Deal in New Mexico. WPA projects enabled Tingley to expand what he had done in Albuquerque under the CWA throughout the state. He encouraged local sponsors to develop parks and recreational facilities, as well as to landscape existing public spaces. Much of this work was supervised by C.C. "Bud" Hollied, now the WPA's landscape

architect as well as Tingley's state park commissioner. Some early WPA landscaping projects sought to complete work begun under the CWA, such as revamping Taos Plaza and completing the landscaping in Albuquerque's Rio Grande Park where workers planted cottonwoods amidst lawns paralleling the Conservancy Beach. The former CWA project in Roswell's Cahoon Park was extended to form an emerald-like strand with Siberian Elms and picnic benches lining the North Spring River. The park was enclosed with a native rock wall punctuated by large decorative gates, and a swimming pool with bathhouses, a concession stand and a bungalow cottage for a groundskeeper were added.

As the WPA progressed other landscaping projects began. In some instances, such as with the stone wall (now removed) and bandstand built in Albuquerque's Old Town Plaza or with the previously discussed courthouse squares, projects sought to enhance traditional public places with sidewalks, benches, walls and other amenities that encouraged their use as places for public congregation. In other instances, parks received more informal landscaping that included groves of shade trees, dispersed picnic benches, and, often, the use of water in sunken gardens, lagoons, and bathing ponds. At Santa Rosa, for example, a wetland east of the community was converted into a lake with bathing facilities including a bath house, stone canals for flood control and rock retaining walls. Siberian elms were planted informally to surround the lake and to provided terraced shaded picnic areas. Not only did the water serve as a centerpiece for the park, offering opportunities for swimming and fishing, but it served to unify the park, imparting the impression of an oasis in an arid land.

This emphasis on "frontier pastoral" settings also marks Main Street at the New Mexico State Fairgrounds in Albuquerque. Envisioned as an attraction to encourage fall tourism in the city, construction of a new fairgrounds was first proposed as a PWA project. After frustrating delays, leaders of the Chamber of Commerce decided to sponsor it as a series of WPA projects. By late 1936, crews that sometimes numbered almost four hundred workers were assembled on the mesa east of the city making adobes

for barns, stables, and exhibition buildings constructed in the Spanish-Pueblo Revival Style along a half mile promenade that soon became known as Main Street. Farther to the east, workers built a mile-long race track as well. By 1937 the grounds were ready for the New Mexico's first statewide fair. Since the New Deal, the facilities at the fair have expanded and include Tingley Colosseum built in the early 1950s. The central core of the fairgrounds, however, in conjunction with the landscaping of Main Street and the west and south entry gates, constitutes one of the state's best collections of remaining WPA structures.

Tingley also sought to sponsor WPA projects that enhanced the state's recreational opportunities beyond the borders of the state's towns and cities. Most often projects at the parks comprising the state's newly created park system were carried out by the CCC, but in some instances, as with the stone bathhouse and pool at Bottomless Lakes State Park near Roswell, WPA projects were also used. WPA projects also greatly expanded the state's fish hatchery program. A hatchery building and a lake at Parkview (now Los Ojos) were completed in 1939. An entire complex including a hatchery building, employees' cottages, and maintenance shop were completed at Glenwood, and other hatchery facilities were improved. In all instances, WPA workers made use of local materials, especially cut native stone and river cobbles to fashion buildings in the Rustic Style favored in national park and national forest facilities at the time. All of the buildings at the Glenwood complex, for example, employ cobble walls. The residences are modest bungalows with pitched roofs and are set amidst cottonwood and shrubs along the floodplain of Whitewater Baldy Creek, conveying a rustic setting.

Midway through his second term, Tingley persuaded the legislature to put the constitutional question of his seeking an unprecedented third term to a statewide vote. The voters rejected Tingley's bid, and John Miles, State Chairman of the Democratic Party, succeeded him as governor in 1939. Much more a party professional than a populist, Miles carried on the New Deal programs in the state through their final years. Like Tingley, Miles exercised great control over the State Legislature so that

the New Deal building programs moved ahead even as later WPA programs began to shift to airports and other projects anticipatory of the military buildup prior to the nation's entry into World War II. Unlike Tingley, Miles lacked the charisma and fervor of a populist, administering the New Deal as another part of a bureaucracy already greatly expanded under Tingley. It was during Miles' tenure that many major PWA projects, such as Conchas Dam and several courthouses were completed.

As he prepared to leave office, Tingley's feelings were mixed. The voters' rejection of his bid for a third term had stung him, especially the realization that Miles, Senator Chavez and Congressman John Dempsey had also rejected his bid, perhaps in agreement that Tingley's grasp had overextended that of a good Democratic Party loyalist and threatened their own political niches. On the other hand, Tingley realized that in working for the New Deal in New Mexico he had built a record of public works unparalleled in the state's history. At the same time, his administration had completely changed the pattern of state politics from that of a highly factionalized process representing the special interests of the state to a process coordinating the executive and legislative branches in order to achieve a program that complemented many of the federal policies set by the New Deal. These changes had, to a great degree, enabled the New Deal to succeed at state and local levels and, in the process, transformed state government forever. While some of the service projects of programs such as the WPA would be forgotten, the construction projects could not. They would remain in the cities, towns, and rural areas of the state as reminders of the New Deal's legacy in New Mexico.

To remind New Mexicans of the accomplishments of his administration, Tingley prepared a pamphlet entitled "Here's the Record of Clyde Tingley" (Fergusson Box 13#7). Issued after the campaign in which John Miles was elected to succeed him, the pamphlet featured a large circle, much like the state's symbol of the Zia sun, with a picture of Tingley's face in the center. Radiating away from his face were pie-like wedges listing each of the state's then thirty-one counties. Below each county's name

were the statistics for each of the previous gubernatorial races in the county, showing the record majority of 57.4% that Tingley had compiled in his second race in 1936, a margin considerably higher than Miles had achieved in 1938. Closer to Tingley's face was a list indicating the miles of highway improvements, grade separations, schools, and other public buildings completed under Tingley. This record is impressive--2,916 miles of road improvements, 277 new schools, and numerous highway district offices, institutional buildings and hospitals. Not cited were the dams, public water and sewer systems and other community buildings completed under his administration. While the listing reflects Tingley's record, to a great degree it also reflects his understanding of how he was able to put the New Deal to work in New Mexico.

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) in New Mexico

Even before he became president, Franklin Roosevelt had made strong commitments to conservation. At his estate at Hyde Park he had supervised the planting of thousands of trees in an effort to restore the forests that had once lined the Hudson River, and as governor he had assigned 10,000 unemployed New Yorkers to work on reforestation. With the banking crisis behind him, President Roosevelt had secured funding from Congress for a conservation corps which he established with Executive Order 6108 on April 15, 1933. Popularly known as the CCC, a title it did not formally possess until July 1, 1939 when it became a part of the Federal Security Agency, the "tree army," as many called it, became one of the New Deal's most popular programs. Although Roosevelt failed in his goal to make it a permanent part of the government, it provided jobs and training for over 2.5 million young men. Serving terms that generally extended from six months to a year, each man, ranging in age from eighteen to twenty-five as well as older World War I veterans who comprised 10% of the enrollees, received $30 per month, of which $25 was sent to the enrollee's family. Over the nine year history of the CCC, these men planted over two billion trees and performed countless other jobs aimed at restoring and, often, developing the nation's resources. Much

of their work took place on federal and state-owned lands, which accounts for the high percentage of CCC projects being located in the West.

Typical of many New Deal programs aimed at stimulating employment and finding solutions to problems for which traditional practices held no solutions, the CCC was marked by an innovative, pragmatic inter-departmental cooperation. Headed by Robert Fechner, a union leader whom Roosevelt selected to mollify organized labor's concerns that the CCC threatened to undercut their wages, the CCC depended on the Departments of Labor, War, Agriculture and Interior in order to carry out its mission. The Labor Department directed the policy, rules, and procedures for the selection of enrollees. The War Department trained the men for two weeks at military bases and then established camps to house and feed them as well as to provide educational and recreational opportunities. The Departments of Agriculture and Interior planned most of the work projects and provided the necessary technical supervision. Agencies within these departments supervising CCC projects included the Forest Service, the Soil Conservation Service and the Bureaus of Plant Industry and Plant Quarantine within the former. Within the latter they included the Grazing Service, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Office of Indian Affairs and the National Park Service, often working with state park commissions.

With 33% of its land under federal ownership New Mexico drew a high number of CCC projects. In fact, the $101 per capita expenditures of the CCC in New Mexico tie it with Arizona for fourth among all states (Arrington 1969:315). An incomplete compilation of CCC camps located in New Mexico shows that at least 102 camps operated during at least one of the eighteen periods of six month occupations denoting the cycle of summer and winter camps used by the CCC. In addition, the Indian CCC, operating under the Office of Indian Affairs, had several camps located on reservations throughout the state. Because of its great number of camps, it was impossible for New Mexico, with its small population which determined its enrollment quotas, to provide enough enrollees for every camp located in the state.

With the state's quotas reaching a high of approximately 3,000 and with more than fifteen camps with about two hundred men comprising a company in a camp often operating during a given period, the state's CCC camps drew enrollees from many other states. Likewise, New Mexican enrollees were sometimes assigned to companies working in other states. By 1941, the state's aggregate enrollment totaled 26,740, some of whom had re-enrolled but were only counted once.

At various times, the agencies providing projects for the CCC camps in New Mexico were the Bureau of Reclamation, the Fish and Wildlife, Forest, Grazing, National Park, Indian and Soil Conservation Services, as well as the New Mexico State Park Commission. Since most of these agencies were federal and the work carried out was on federal lands, this historic context offers no discussion of those projects. These camps did, however, have a profound influence on the state's economy, for the establishment of each camp required non-CCC construction crews, and each camp's need for food supplies was a boon for local stores. Staffed by army personnel, a camp physician, project foremen, technical experts, sometimes referred to a "experienced local men," and, on occasions, teachers or artists provided by WPA service programs, as well as a 200-man company, each camp required numerous goods and services from nearby towns.

Camp buildings were not unlike the barracks used by the army. As with the army of the 1930s, some CCC summer camps used large tents set on wooden platforms. More often camp buildings consisted of one-story wood frame buildings with rectangular plans and pitched or hipped roofs which were often set on low, exposed piers. Many employed board and batten or horizontal plank construction. Most had wood casement windows, although some had continuous screening around the upper walls that could be enclosed with canvas flaps. Often the buildings were moved to meet the needs of side, or "fly," camps in which a portion of a company was assigned to a project requiring a second camp. In other instances, especially in Forest Service camps, a more rustic split log construction was used, especially for mess halls and recreational buildings. Yearbook photographs of CCC companies

depicting camp life show that many companies also landscaped their camps, using rocks to line walkways, set off shrubs and other vegetation, and to frame company signs. Pictures also show levelled grounds used for inspections, athletic, and open houses, an annual event designed to foster relations with local communities. Because of their impermanence and because the government treated the camp buildings as surplus and sold them as the CCC wound down, few camp structures remain at the sites of the original camps. Some surplus buildings in the vicinity of former camps serve as reminders of the CCC's presence.

Many of the state's public landscapes, however, do recall the work of the CCC. Most noteworthy of these efforts are projects carried out at the first sites comprising the state's nascent state park system. Like some other western states, prior to the New Deal New Mexico had never appropriated money to create a state park system. Only with the impetus provided by Congress' approval of the Emergency Conservation Work Act of 1933 did New México have a sufficient incentive to develop parks using emergency federal funds. In response, Governor Seligman had appointed a State Park Commission consisting of State Highway Engineer Glenn D. Macey, Federal District Judge Colin Neblett, and Director of the Laboratory of Anthropology and former Superintendent of Mesa Verde National Park, Jesse L. Nusbaum. With the establishment of this new state bureaucracy, New Mexico became eligible to receive federal conservation funds as well as CCC projects supervised by the National Park Service at state park sites. Through the donation of lands to the state four parks were established by 1934. Bottomless Lakes, Santa Fe River and Eastern New Mexico State Parks were donated by boosters in Roswell, Santa Fe, and Clovis and Portales respectively; and La Joya State Park was situated on land belonging to the State Game and Fish Department. During the later 1930s, the state also developed state parks at Metropolitan Park near Tucumcari and at Conchas Dam where the Bureau of Reclamation made federal lands available for a state park, much as it would later at Elephant Butte Dam.

The CCC was active at each of these parks, building

residences for park staff, lodging for parks users, swimming facilities and bathhouses, as well as improving roads, constructing trails and landscaping grounds. Santa Fe River Park consisted of both sides of the Santa Fe River within the city of Santa Fe as well as Hyde Park in the Little Tesuque Canyon. In the urban tract CCC crews completed flood control dams and provided the river bank with a masonry lining. Above the stone walls, crews landscaped the grounds and constructed picnic benches and recreational areas. Combined with other nearby projects including the Don Gaspar Street Bridge (1934) and the Supreme Court Building (1937), the city's riparian belt was transformed to become the Alameda much as it appears today. In Hyde Park the emphasis lay on retaining the area's natural setting. CCC crews built bridges with rustic timber railings and built camp shelters and an addition to a former ski shop using the Rustic Style with steeply pitched shingle roofs, log walls and large exterior battered masonry fireplaces.

At La Joya CCC crews built dikes to permit greater control of Rio Grande waters as they flowed through the marshes of the bird preserve. Above the impoundments they constructed a two-story stone lodge with a pitched roof and a porch extending along the entire east side to permit lodgers to gaze out on the ponds below. At Bottomless Lakes the CCC erected a masonry bathhouse, concession stand and tower and improved the roads connecting the several lakes. Least successful of the efforts to develop these early parks were those at Eastern New Mexico Park at Blackwater Draw where native shrubs and trees were planted but plans to develop an artificial lake failed when the soil proved to be too porous to hold water.

When Clyde Tingley became governor, the state moved aggressively to obtain CCC projects that would benefit the state in addition to those in the state parks. He lobbied to obtain a CCC administrative center in the state, an effort which resulted in the designation of the Albuquerque District within the CCC's Eight Corps Area in July, 1935. Efforts were also made to prod the Soil Conservation Service (SCS) to extend its definition of the Gila Basin to include drainages in the Silver City area, even

though it lay east of the Continental Divide. When the SCS expanded the area, a CCC project was undertaken to provide a masonry lining for the "Big Ditch" that coursed through the city's commercial district. At the same time, a state park was added at Tucumcari where CCC crews excavated an outdoor swimming pool, constructed a bathhouse and groundskeeper's residence in the Spanish-Pueblo Revival Style and landscaped over one hundred acres with stone terraces, shrubs, cottonwoods and Siberian elms. Similar to the aforementioned WPA park projects, Metropolitan Park is a good example of the naturalistic frontier pastoral landscaping that the New Deal brought to many New Mexican communities. While the stone terraced arroyos at Metropolitan Park were only intermittently filled with water, the swimming pool filled by ground water supplied by nearby pumps became the central attraction of the park. The area between the bathhouse and the pool was landscaped with a lawn, walks, a grove of Siberian elms that shaded spectators' benches and a playground.

Perhaps the most extensive construction work undertaken by the CCC was at Elephant Butte Reservoir. Unlike most CCC camps which sprang up in previously unoccupied areas, the Elephant Butte camp was located in the quarters formerly used by the work crews that had built the dam in the 1910s. There CCC crews worked for several years widening roads and stabilizing the shoreline for launching boats. Although under the Bureau of Reclamation, the construction of the recreational facilities was under the supervision of the National Park Service. As work progressed, the steep hillsides above the lake were terraced, landscaped with native plants and lined with trails. At the shoreline crews constructed a bathhouse, maintenance shops, cabins and a concession stand using the Spanish-Pueblo Revival Style. Eventually placed under the administration of the state park system in 1965, the terraced hillsides, even after years of neglect, and the buildings offer a remarkably extensive example of what the labor intensive projects of the CCC accomplished.

F. Associated Property Types

Property Type Description:

The New Deal property type in New Mexico is necessarily a broad one and may include buildings, sites, structures, objects, districts, or any combination of these resources. All of the properties within this type share a common associative attribute in that they were created under the auspices of one of the various New Deal agencies, including the CWA, PWA, WPA and CCC, that funded or carried out construction, engineering and landscape projects in the state between 1933 and 1943. As discussed in the historic context, the physical attributes of the New Deal property type vary depending on the purpose of the particular property. While structures, such as water towers, dams and grade separations reflect the standard engineering and construction practices of the era, the buildings, sites and contributing properties within the districts reflect the types of buildings and landscapes associated with New Deal projects in New Mexico. That is, they reflect the labor-intensive workmanship characteristic of programs designed to create jobs for the unemployed, and many embody the popular interest in the state to construct public buildings inspired by traditional regional architectural styles.

While the location, scale, size and plans of the buildings varied depending on their intended function, as discussed in the historic context many of them shared the same physical attributes. These common attributes reflect the reliance of local authorities in many small towns on plans provided by the state's WPA architect and his staff who offered standardized plans to numerous communities for schools, auditoriums, gymnasiums and other public buildings. In some cases architects from the state's WPA staff provided plans for CCC and PWA projects as well. As a result, many New Deal buildings exhibit similar patterns of workmanship involving hand labor, the use of local materials and similar construction methods, and ornamentation drawn from regional architectural styles, particularly the Spanish-Pueblo Revival and Territorial Revival Styles. Even those buildings

built in other styles, such as the Art Deco or Moderne, reflect many of those same standardized plans, construction methods, and workmanship.

Sites and historic districts also possess physical attributes that readily identify them with the New Deal. Sites such as parks, recreational areas, and other designed landscapes reflect an emerging landscape architectural style designed for the state's arid southwestern climate. Referred to as the "frontier pastoral," it was characterized by occasional terracing and masonry walls and informal groves of trees, bushes, shrubs and lawns often oriented toward a centerpiece using water such as a small lake or pond. Historical districts encompass areas with a concentration of contributing buildings, structures or sites constructed through New Deal programs and united through a common function as a planned complex.

In the half century that has elapsed since the New Deal ended, many of the properties constructed under New Deal programs in New Mexico have deteriorated. Others have been razed, and still others have been substantially altered. Nevertheless, many of these properties remain, retaining a high degree of integrity, especially in the smaller cities and towns of the state where they continue to serve the communities for whom they were constructed. This multiple property nomination form seeks to recognize the role the New Deal played during the state's time of economic need and the efforts of communities throughout the state to preserve the properties which so many of the state's citizens labored to construct.

Property Type Significance:

The buildings, sites, structures, objects and districts built under New Deal programs in New Mexico are important as a property type for their direct association with an unprecedented federal initiative to stimulate the nation's depressed economy through an aggressive public works program. In their effort to promote the welfare of American society through public works

projects from 1933 to 1943, these programs significantly affected the social history of the nation for decades to come. In New Mexico the results of these programs were especially profound. Projects designed to promote the well-being of the unemployed in rural and urban locations resulted in a significant expansion of public buildings, structures and sites. In addition to the significance these properties hold under the category of social history, most bear significance in another category reflective of the property's original function. Schools, for example, are significant as reminders of the educational progress New Mexico's school systems were able to make under New Deal programs; parks are significant under the category of entertainment/recreation for the contribution they made in offering greater public access to open spaces and outdoor activities; and armories are significant under the category of military as reminders of the New Deal's efforts to promote the preparedness of the state's National Guard units. Most of the buildings, sites, structures, objects, and districts are also significant under the category of architecture or landscape architecture as examples of the methods of construction, plans, materials, workmanship, and stylistic details used in New Deal engineering, construction and conservation projects.

Property Type Registration Requirements:

To be eligible under Criterion A a property must have been created under the auspices of one of the New Deal programs that carried out engineering, construction and conservation projects in New Mexico. In addition to possessing this association to New Deal programs under the significance category of social history, most properties will probably qualify under another significance category pertinent to the property's historic purpose such as, but not limited to, recreation, education, or politics/ government. To be eligible under Criterion C a property must exhibit a high degree of integrity based upon the considerations of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling. Properties with additions that do not detract from the integrity of the original building, especially its principal

facade, are considered eligible if they possess an otherwise high degree of integrity. A property whose role has changed will be evaluated on the basis of the degree to which the property continues to recall its historic purpose. Criteria B will also be appropriate for properties identifieded with a person significantly associated with a property, and Criterion D will also be appropriate for properties that are signficant for archeology.

G. Geographical Data

State of New Mexico

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The multiple property listing for the historic and architectural resources of the New Deal in New Mexico is based on archival research and an architectural survey carried out under the auspices of the New Mexico Historic Preservation Division (HPD) by David Kammer. The scope of the project embraced archival research undertaken at several research facilities in New Mexico and an inventory of selected New Deal properties. The intent of this research and fieldwork was to determine the impact of the New Deal on New Mexico's built environment and to determine the extent to which the engineering, construction and conservation projects carried out by New Deal agencies remain as a part of the state's public architecture and landscape. The results of the archival research were treated in a report "The Historic and Architectural Resources of the New Deal in New Mexico" (1994), a copy of which is included with this submission.

The archival portion of the research included examining the various governors' and senators' papers pertaining to the New Deal era, the reports of New Deal-related agencies operating within New Mexico, locally available portions of various record groups from the National Archives pertaining to the New Deal in New Mexico, as well as miscellaneous manuscript collections relating to the New Deal. In addition, portions of the regional overviews previously prepared for HPD and the few secondary sources treating the New Deal in New Mexico were reviewed. This research revealed that New Mexico, along with the other states in the Rocky Mountain West, was one of the major beneficiaries of New Deal programs, especially those involving building and conservation projects. The state ranks fifth among all states behind only Nevada, Montana, Wyoming and Arizona in the per capita expenditure of New Deal monies from 1933-1939 (Arrington 1969:315). Moreover, New Deal programs administered separately under the Indian Service raise the total of New Deal projects within New Mexico even higher.

An important finding that emerged from the research was the role the WPA-funded State Planning Board played in advancing the

state's interest in regional architectural styles for its public buildings. During the 1930s while projects were being funded and in the 1940s when administrators were preparing liquidation reports for the WPA, much discussion focused on the need for regionally-inspired public buildings. Most frequently cited were building projects reflecting what the New Mexico Historic Building Inventory Manual (NMHBI) refers to as the Spanish-Pueblo and Territorial Revival Styles, both of which appear in many of the buildings constructed under New Deal projects in New Mexico. While some buildings constructed with funding from New Deal programs employed other architectural styles as well, especially elements of the Art Deco and Moderne Styles, many New Deal construction programs emphasized these regional styles--styles that have predominated in state and local governments' capital improvement projects around New Mexico since the 1930s. The emphasis that the planners and architects of the various New Deal agencies placed on these regional styles suggests that one of the legacies of the New Deal was imbuing those styles with the quasi-official status they enjoy in New Mexico today.

As a part of the research for this project and in order to determine the distribution of New Deal projects throughout the state for inventory purposes, the research team also developed a data base of WPA projects based on the microfilm list of WPA project cards compiled by the National Archives. Added to this data base, contained in the appendices of the accompanying report, is the list of the ninety-seven non-federal Public Works Administration (PWA) projects undertaken in the state and a comprehensive, if not complete, list of all CCC camps located within the state and a general description of projects undertaken by each camp. These three listings provide a record of the vast majority of New Deal construction projects undertaken by those agencies most involved in building and landscaping programs in New Mexico.

The inventory phase followed the archival research. Carrying out this phase of the project were architectural historian Chris Wilson, landscape architect Baker Morrow and David Kammer. To determine the selection of fifty properties stipulated for

inventory by the contract, the survey team in consultation with HPD relied on the data base to test its effectiveness for planning future surveys of other New Deal properties. Because of logistical limitations, the properties drawn from the data base were largely limited to the northeastern quadrant of the state. The survey team conducted the inventory using the New Mexico Historic Building Inventory (HBI) form for buildings and structures and the Registry of Historic Landscapes Site Survey Form developed by Baker Morrow for sites. In addition, team members reviewed the HBI forms of other New Deal-related properties surveyed under previous HPD projects. These earlier efforts had resulted in several New Deal properties being listed on the National Register of Historic Places including the Old Albuquerque Airport, the Parkview fish hatchery, portions of Route 66 constructed under WPA programs, and several county courthouses and buildings on the campuses of the state's various universities. While these properties were discussed as New Deal projects, this submission represents the state's first effort to focus primarily on the accomplishments of the New Deal in shaping New Mexico's public architecture and landscape.

As the project team and HPD staff analyzed the research data, including the WPA data base and the lists of non-federal PWA projects and CCC camps and their projects, the diversity of New Deal endeavors became apparent. Yet despite this diversity it was also apparent that whether these New Deal projects affected state institutions, schools, local governments, the national guard, roads, public utilities, or urban or rural public landscapes each one of these projects contributed to the overall effect the New Deal had on unifying the state through a multitude of public works projects. Thus the decision was arrived at to develop a single historic context treating the range of New Deal construction, engineering and conservation programs within the state from 1933 when the CWA and CCC first began to 1943 when the WPA was liquidated. It was further determined to treat the diverse range of individual properties as a single property type, using the individual nomination forms to discuss the particular aspects of a property's location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling. This rationale was, in part, supported

by the synthesis of projects offered in the "Final Report of the WPA" which distinguished between "service" projects and a separate group consisting of engineering, construction and conservation projects, a grouping which encompasses all of the individual nominations this submission may embrace(WPA 1946:50).

Finally, the project team and HPD staff addressed the matter of property integrity. Many New Deal properties, especially the small rural schools, have succumbed to neglect following the state's consolidation of school districts and are deteriorating or have been razed. In many communities, however, schools, gymnasiums and auditoriums, libraries, armories, community centers, water towers, recreational facilities, parks and other public properties constructed through the New Deal have been preserved. To maintain these properties' usefulness, local authorities have had, by necessity, to make some alterations. Portions of some parks have been refurbished while others have been neglected. Additions have been made to buildings, often to the rear in order to preserve their original facades. Such alterations have been scrutinized as to how they affect the integrity of the property. In general, the project team and HPD staff decided that if the property retained sufficient physical attributes so that it conveys the feeling of a New Deal property it would meet eligibility requirements. Also important in making this decision was the attitude of the local community. Many communities now view their New Deal properties with a good deal of pride, pointing to them as reminders of how the community was able to survive the hard times of the Depression. HPD is interested in recognizing those efforts and working with local leaders on projects aimed at preserving those properties.

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