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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 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

Federal Relief Construction in North Dakota, 1931-1943

B. Associated Historic Contexts

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

Federal Relief Programs in North Dakota, 1931-1943

C. Form Prepared by

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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 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.
(_____ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature and title of certifying official | Date

State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

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

Signature of the Keeper | Date of Action

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Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

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E. Narrative Statement of Historic Context

The Statement of Historic Context for this Multiple Property Documentation Form provides an overview of the Great Depression and the federal relief programs developed to address the economic crisis that began in 1929 and continued through the 1930s and early 1940s. The narrative suggests a context for understanding and evaluating the physical resources that were constructed in North Dakota as a result of these federal programs. Federal relief programs, including both direct relief (cash payments and grants to farmers) and works projects, are often lumped together under the title "New Deal" programs. In a rural, agriculturally dependent state like North Dakota, direct relief programs provided necessary short-term relief from destitution for many individual families. Virtually all the work relief construction programs that are subject of this narrative were initiated and implemented by the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The underlying concept for this historic context is based on historical trends and patterns. From an historical perspective, the tangible legacy of the New Deal era can be observed in the constructed works projects nationwide, and more specific to the narrative of this thematic context, throughout the state of North Dakota. It was the works projects that restored worker confidence, put food on the table, ameliorated the myriad consequences of economic collapse, and produced much of the infrastructure we continue to use today. The work relief construction projects are identifiable as symbols of the Depression era and embodiments of the variety of federal interventions under which they were constructed. The context narrative of this MPDF is focused specifically on programs that offered relief income payments in exchange for work to complete constructed projects that served the public good (broadly defined).

The works projects are distinctive in terms of their architectural style, materials, and manner of construction. They also addressed historic events and circumstances that had social, political, economic, and environmental dimensions. The professions of architecture, engineering, landscape architecture, planning, and construction were largely transformed by the manner in which they implemented work relief projects through design and construction. Much of the architectural, engineering, and construction legacy of the Depression era continues to be utilized as a set of valuable public assets more than 70-years after the relief programs ended.

Politically, federal, state, and local agencies explained, promoted, and effectively justified the work relief achievements as a necessary role of government. Governmental politics and public policy responses to the economic depression of the 1930s have received extensive retrospective analysis from a range of academic perspectives. The Multiple Property Documentation context narrative for North Dakota's federal work relief construction is timely in the opportunity it affords to examine thoughtfully designed buildings, landscapes, and engineered structures from the critical perspective of architectural history. The MPDF analysis is also important for understanding lessons of government, political will, and economics in the manner by which a

nation comprehended and responded to worldwide economic collapse. In the second decade of the 21st century, it seems likely that informative correlations can be drawn with respect to the multi-faceted role of federal government, benefits of public investment in constructed infrastructure, and the affirmative social value associated with productive work as a fundamental human need.

Background:

Over hundreds of years, a few Native American population groups had developed workable strategies for living sustainably in the area that is, today, North Dakota. With penetration of two transcontinental railways in the latter half of the 19th century, other cultural groups were attracted to establish a presence on the remote northern Plains. In academic terms, historical evidence abounds in describing the difficulty these latecomers had, and the adjustments they necessarily made. In the eyes of immigrants from most European origins, the North Dakota settlement landscape was fairly regarded as austere and challenging.

Cultural adjustment and physical suffering were abundant for all groups that came to Dakota. Severity of this geographic setting was apparent almost immediately upon arrival. No nationality or ethnic group could claim exclusivity in terms of suffering, deprivation, or endurance. Immigrant experiences during the economic panics of the 1890s and the 1930s further coincided with adversities of climate that exceeded the fundamental "carrying capacity" of a remarkably harsh physical landscape. Detached, clinical observations of the kind summarized in this paragraph can't begin to capture the actual experience of human suffering under such adverse conditions.

Socially and culturally, North Dakotans are a curiously tenacious mix of relatively recent immigrants who brought many traditions with them and attempted to impose those prior experiences on an unfamiliar landscape. The relatively late date of settlement and statehood attracted hardworking immigrants somewhat accustomed to suffering and deprivation. Ethnicities (still recognizably distinct) included Native American Indians, Germans from Russia, Scandinavians of Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic descent, Scots-Irish and Yankees relocating from the eastern U.S. and from Canada. Smaller enclaves formed for people of eastern European and Mideastern cultures, making up a fascinating cultural landscape described by Father William Sherman as a "Prairie Mosaic".[1]

In terms of natural character of the physical context and environmental circumstances, perhaps only the German-Russian immigrants from the Ukraine and Volga regions had ever experienced a physical setting that resembled the North Dakota landscape.[2] North Dakota is characterized by a

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[1] William C. Sherman, *Prairie Mosaic: An Ethnic Atlas of Rural North Dakota*. Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1983. Sherman, William C. and Playford V. Thorson, et al. (eds.), *Plains Folk; North Dakota's Ethnic History*. Fargo: The North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1988.

[2] Joseph S. Height, *Paradise on the Steppe*. (Bismarck: North Dakota Historical Society of Germans from Russia; 1972). Joseph S. Height, *Homesteaders on the Steppe; An Odyssey of Germans from Russia; 1804-1945*. (Bismarck: North Dakota Historical Society of Germans from Russia; 1975). Richard Sallet, *Russian German Settlements in the United States*. (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies; 1974).

semiarid, continental climate; annual mean temperature of 40-degrees (lowest in the lower 48 states); rainfall averaging just 17.16 inches per year, temperatures ranging from 60-degrees below zero (Fahrenheit) to 121-degrees above (both extremes were recorded during the Depression year of 1936). Periodic, prolonged drought conditions have been commonplace in the western 2/3 of the state for the past 600-years, with the most extreme drought years occurring from 1934 to 1937. From 1935 to 1940, some 86,000 persons fled the state for the proverbial "greener pastures."[3]

Discounting the long, sustainable experience of the region's indigenous people, climatically and geologically North Dakota's landscape can be argued to be severe and limiting in terms of its potential to support the kind of cultural infrastructure associated with growth and development. Together with other Great Plains states, annual precipitation is low and the growing season comparatively short, with greater extremes in North Dakota than any other state.[4] Traditionally (prior to the much touted present day energy economy), natural resources of the kind associated with buildings and communities were relatively scarce in their availability on the Great Plains. After a century of readjustment and cultural adaptation, North Dakotans have only recently begun to come to terms with the real carrying capacity of the landscape they occupy. The Great Depression era of the 1930s marked the real beginning of that "coming to terms".[5]

With the Dakota Territory opened up to homestead settlement in only 1861, and leading up to statehood in 1889, immigration was actively and aggressively promoted by railroad companies as a marketing strategy. In most instances, the railroad "boosters" speculatively established communities and the infrastructure of towns according to a preconceived model that essentially emulated the New England and Middle Western settlement experience. Superimposed settlement patterns initiated by the railroad companies inhibited the customary trend toward cultural homogenization found in other regions. Immigrant landholders committed themselves to agricultural enterprise; either farming or ranching.

By the beginning of the 20th century, single crop wheat monoculture (primarily new strains of hard red durum wheat) had essentially replaced diversified farming practices. In the last decades of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century there had been relatively little mixing of the cultural traditions and social practices of the various immigrant groups. Settlement patterns and rural education tended to maintain cultural and ethnic enclaves. State governance generally tended to favor the educational background of Scots-Irish-English New England Yankees, or better educated Scandinavian Americans. Germans and other ethnic groups placed less value on general public education, and continued to use their native language in schools and churches, which placed them at a disadvantage for roles in state government.

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[3] Elwyn B. Robinson. *History of North Dakota*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966: 1-16.

[4] Robinson, (1966): 8-16.

[5] Steve Martens and Ronald L.M. Ramsay, "Architecture", in *Encyclopedia of American Regional Cultures: The Great Plains Region*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004: 1-32.

National events leading up to the Great Depression:

Industrial economies worldwide were rapidly redeveloping in a growth mode following World War I, while agriculture economies lagged conspicuously behind, worldwide and particularly on the Great Plains of the United States. In more industrialized parts of the U.S. the "Roaring Twenties" was a time of liberalism, prosperity, material acquisition and cultural experimentation. Some historians have characterized the 1920s as a period of "cultural conformism, religious fundamentalism, materialistic self-centeredness, and business worship."[6] In the industrial centers the 1920s was largely a time when dreams could be fulfilled through the game of stock speculation and real estate. Most Americans had had their fill of self-sacrifice and hard work as its own reward. They were ready to pursue their material dreams.[7]

> In the mid-1920s, speculation found a home in the arena of real estate. Before long, investors discovered the stock exchange. In 1928 and 1929, driven by a kind of mass madness, the bull market resulted in numbers that were intoxicating. Millions played the game and soon much of the available capital was sucked into the market. In September 1929, the market began to stall. On Tuesday, October 29, the stock market lost $15 billion. The total loss for the month was $50 billion. Between Labor Day and the end of October, the leading industrial stocks in the United States lost 40 percent of their value. While the stock market crash signaled the beginning of the Great Depression, it did not 'cause' the depression. Overproduction, a widening gap between wages and productivity, and a slump in consumerism contributed to the economic crisis.[8]

North Dakota economically at the turn of the 20th Century:

The pioneers who settled North Dakota just prior to the 20th century, many of them immigrants with meager resources to begin with, anticipated a greater population density and a greater production of wealth than the state ever attained. "That naively hopeful pioneering vision created too many farms, too many towns, too many schools, too many counties and too much government, too much railroad mileage, too many banks, and too much debt."[9] Regional historian Elwyn Robinson characterized this central theme of North Dakota's history as "the Too-Much Mistake". The rural economy and way of life in North Dakota remained dependent upon agriculture. The 1920s saw the beginnings of a slow and painful readjustment to inescapable realities grounded in the land and climate of the state.

Robinson's classic interpretation of North Dakota history emphasizes six themes that dominate the North Dakota story: remoteness, dependence, economic disadvantage, agrarian radicalism, the "Too-Much Mistake" (trying to do too much, too fast, with far too little), and reluctant adaptation to environment.[10] Robinson endeavored to relate every event in the history of the state to one or more

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[6] See T.H. Watkins, *The Great Depression.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1993: 23.

[7] Michelle Dennis quoting Thomas Watkins' observations about the "prologue years" that led to the Great Depression, in the National Register MPDF "Federal Relief Construction in South Dakota, 1929-1941"; p.E1.

[8] Watkins, (1993): 54-5.

[9] Elwyn B. Robinson. *History of North Dakota.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, (1966): 155.

[10] Robinson, (1966): "Preface", 7.

of these themes. In North Dakota, the economic collapse that led to the Great Depression resulted from several political, social, and economic factors that had been set up in the 1910s and 1920s. But however challenging life in rural North Dakota was during the 1920s, things got much, much worse with the onset of the worldwide Great Depression of the 1930s decade.[11] As was the case with other Great Plains states, North Dakota's condition at the onset of the 1930s was economic, social, and environmental calamity.

The condition of farmers and ranchers in 1929

Like other agricultural areas, North Dakota began experiencing economic failure in the 1920s while the urbanized, industrialized segments of America enjoyed prosperity. With the introduction of new, equipment-intensive mechanical farming technology and the focus on wheat-only mono-agriculture, followed by a decade-long drought, farm prices fell and land values shrank. Though its presentation was a bit hyperbolic, Pare Lorentz's 1936 documentary film *The Plow That Broke the Plains* drew several correlations between technology of World War I and the introduction of destructive technology to agricultural practices on the Great Plains, reflecting a fundamental change in the rural American way of life.[12]

North Dakota in the 1920s was saddled with the state's old, familiar problems, such as colonial status and scant rainfall. The automobile culture, technological advancements in agricultural machinery, disillusionment over the prospects for agricultural success also began to present themselves.[13] The new century tempted rural people to rely upon technology; the automobile meant adaptation to the scarcity of population on the treeless plains—a somewhat different meaning than it had for the nation. North Dakota, like other agricultural areas, suffered from economic depression and social disillusionment in the 1920s while the urbanized, industrialized segments of America enjoyed prosperity. The stimulus of pioneering and community formation had vanished. Settlement of the semiarid state by people from humid regions had left a heritage of maladjustment, of institutions unsuited to the nature of the Great Plains setting.

Because they had anticipated a denser population and a greater production of wealth than the state ever attained, the pioneers created too many farms, too many towns, too many schools, churches, and colleges, too many counties and too much government, too much railroad mileage, too many banks, and too much debt. These were pervasive indications of the "Too-Much Mistake", which Robinson pointed to as a central theme of North Dakota's history. The 1920s saw the

[11] Robinson, (1966): 371-5.

[12] Pare Lorentz. *The Plow That Broke the Plains*; (documentary film); U.S. Resettlement Administration, 1936; and currently distributed in a variety of readily accessible formats, including digital on-line versions.

[13] Robinson, (1966): 372-4, 378-80.

beginnings of a slow and painful readjustment to inescapable realities grounded in climate, environment, and national economy.[14]

The Great Depression of the 1930s and the principle of government responsibility for the economy -- particularly federal intervention in local economic relief -- were of momentous consequence for North Dakota as they were for the United States and the world. North Dakotan's underwent a traumatic experience in the 1930s. Because drought added to the difficulties caused by the Depression, North Dakota suffered more than much of the rest of the nation.[15]

Moreover, in North Dakota drought and depression accentuated long-standing difficulties created by the state's status as a producer of raw materials, which had little or no control over the markets in which it bought and sold. Thousands lost their farms; more than one-third of the population lived on relief, many people left the state. Pervasive drought conditions lasting several years added to the trauma of North Dakota's experience in the 1930s. Depression era conditions in rural North Dakota are characterized in greater detail by Tweton and Rylance, and by Bakken. Progress toward adjustment to the semiarid country was painfully slow in the 1930s.[16]

Burdensome state taxes and declining farm values produced a postwar deflationary condition in which farm property statewide declined in value by one-third between 1920 and 1925 (a shattering loss of over half a billion dollars in real property values). The demand for farm credit had led to both a condition of dependency on outside economic markets, and unsound banking practices within the state. In proportion to its sparse population, North Dakota had more small, undercapitalized banks than any other state. Hyper-expansion of small banks (with three, minimally-capitalized banks per town in many communities and easy agricultural credit) was followed close on by widespread collapse of many of those local banks.

After the stock market crash of 1929, the economic system of the United States and much of the world began to break down as economic activity declined and mass unemployment appeared. This crisis threatened the very fabric of society.[17] Federal and state governments began to confront the perceived possibility of a Soviet Bolshevist type of social and political insurrection, and abandonment of the failed capitalist economic model (bearing in mind that the Russian revolutionary example was a scant 15 years old).[18]

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[14] Robinson, (1966): 371. Also, see D. Jerome Tweton and Daniel Rylance (1973) for detailed characterizations of the hardship in North Dakota.

[15] Robinson: 396-7, 419

[16] Robinson: 396-9. Also, see D. Jerome Tweton and Daniel F. Rylance. *The Years of Despair: North Dakota and the Depression*. Grand Forks: University of North Dakota Press, 1973:1-16 and Gordon Morris Bakken. *Surviving the North Dakota Depression*. Pasadena, CA: Wood & Jones, 1992: 6-79.

[17] Schlesinger, Jr. *The Coming of the New Deal, 1933-1935: The Age of Roosevelt*. Boston: Mariner Books, 2003: 275.

[18] Anthony J. Badger. *New Deal: the Depression Years, 1933-1940*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002: 38-41.

Background on North Dakota politically at the beginning of the 20th Century.

Federal response to the economic depression of the 1930s was impacted by some peculiar pre-existing conditions of state politics in North Dakota, requiring a bit of background context. Due in part to the large population of recent immigrants, North Dakota populists dominated state politics during the 1890s and early 1900s. New political movements continued to fight outside predatory interests and culminated in establishment of the influential Nonpartisan League (NPL) in 1915 by a former Socialist Party organizer, A. C. Townley. With support from Progressive Republicans, the NPL captured the state legislature in 1919 and proceeded to enact virtually its entire platform. This included the establishment of an industrial commission to manage state-owned enterprises and the creation of the Bank of North Dakota to handle public funds and provide low-cost rural credit. When the state legislature adjourned after the 1919 session, the *Grand Forks Herald* wrote: "The state is now the socialistic laboratory of the country." Placing the economic interests of common working-class families above, or at least on par with capital investors, fed an irrational fear of Bolshevism in North Dakota politics.[19]

Despite a decade-long drought, the 1920s was a decade of relative hopefulness for North Dakota farmers, and the NPL's popularity receded. But the populist undercurrent that fueled its meteoric growth resurged with the coming of the Great Depression and the Dust Bowl conditions of the 1930s. Newspapers and business groups portrayed the populist NPL as inept and disastrous for the state's future, which depended on external banking interests for financial support. The NPL's lack of governing experience led to bitter, decades-long infighting. Perceived corruption plagued state government and interfered with implementation of federal programs in North Dakota. Remnants of the NPL's influence continue today, including the State Bank of North Dakota and the North Dakota State Mill and Elevator. Perhaps the most radical of the populist reforms -- prohibition of corporate farming, or indeed even of corporate ownership of farmland -- was enacted in 1932 by statewide initiative and remains a cornerstone of the state's economic landscape.

Three viable political parties were active in North Dakota during the 1920s and 30s (Progressive Republican, Democratic, and independent Nonpartisan League). The NPL's William "Wild Bill" Langer was elected to the governorship in 1932 and 1936 (the two terms separated by his declaration of North Dakota's secession from the United States in 1934, and a jail term). Langer reacted to the farmers' plight by imposing a moratorium on mortgage foreclosure sales. Hoping to drive up commodity prices, Langer also issued an embargo on the shipment of grain and beef from North Dakota. A federal investigation, however, threatened to derail the political maverick's career. The sham trial that followed resulted in the governor's conviction and removal from office in 1934. Langer, whose conviction was overturned following a lengthy legal battle, was reelected governor in 1936 as an independent. Langer served in the U.S. Senate from 1940 until his death in 1959.

[19] T.H. Watkins, *The Great Depression: America in the 1930s.*1993: 278-296.

In 1934-35, North Dakota had four governors within seven months; instigated, in part, by the Roosevelt administration's lobbying to discredit the populist William Langer. Langer was removed from office in July 1934 by State Supreme Court ruling and was replaced by his Lieutenant Governor, Ole H. Olson. Thomas H. Moodie was elected to the governor's office late in 1934, but he, in turn was removed within less than a month of his inauguration, based on a constitutional challenge to his residency status after Moodie spent several months living in Minnesota. Moodie was replaced by Lieutenant Governor Walter Welford.

In the context of federal relief construction work programs, perhaps it is more than incidental that FDR appointed Thomas Moodie to implement Works Progress Administration (WPA) programs in the state, after Moodie was removed from the governor's office by the State Supreme Court on politically contentious constitutional grounds. (Moodie's many accomplishments on behalf of the Roosevelt administration and specifically on behalf of the WPA in North Dakota probably reflect a much greater impact on the state's history than if he had served a full term in the governor's office.) Historians' accounts suggest that the infighting between North Dakota's populist factions and the federal administration was fostered and stage-managed, to an extent, in the interest of the Roosevelt administration seeking to implement its work relief and comprehensive planning strategies in place of programs that had been initiated in the state under Langer's governorship. The incessant political infighting disadvantaged North Dakota in several tangible ways when it came to federal initiatives to fund and support social and economic reorganization.

Another of the stabilizing political "constants" through the darkest years of the Great Depression was the role of State Supreme Court Judge A. M. Christianson, who the Roosevelt administration turned to as a trusted administrator of several of the federal relief programs, in instances where the federal agencies refused to turn relief funding over to the governor's office.[20] In fact, Hopkins refused to turn appropriated funds over to the North Dakota gubernatorial office, but required that the federal payment be made directly to Christianson's committee.

> [Among the state's designated to receive FERA funds] North Dakota found itself in a unique position and in disfavor with the national administration which would not deliver federal funds to the Governor of North Dakota. However, it would and did deliver such FERA funds over to Justice A.M. Christianson to assist North Dakota people. Judge Christianson's reputation for integrity, ability and real concern for North Dakota people won him the highest respect from the national administration. He established a close personal relationship with President Roosevelt's highest confidant, Mr. Harry Hopkins. He had top priority direct to the White House with Mr. Hopkins whose telephone was always immediately open to Judge Christianson.[21]

[20] G. Leonard Dalsted, *History of the North Dakota Rural Rehabilitation Corporation*. Privately published manuscript by the author, in the library collections of North Dakota State University; (July, 1996): 1-2.

[21] Dalsted, (1996): 1-2

The North Dakota Advisory Board of Public Works (formally appointed by the governor and serving subsequently as the State Emergency Relief Committee)[22] was comprised of:

S.J. Doyle, Advisory Board President
Judge A.M. Christianson; (State Board of Control representative)
H.C. Knudsen; State Engineer and acting state PWA director
Thomas H. Moodie, Advisory Board Member (state director of WPA)
Henry Holt, member (assistant state director of WPA)
R.A. Kinzer, member (state representative of the CCC program)

At the insistence of FDR and New Deal program administrator Harry Hopkins, Judge Christianson headed each of the state's Advisory Planning Committees and Emergency Relief Agencies in implementing the New Deal work relief programs in North Dakota (primarily FERA, PWA, CWA, and WPA agencies described later in greater detail). The State Advisory Board was influential in recommending dispersal of funds and determining which applied-for projects in every county of the state actually proceeded. FDR offered a federal administrative position to Judge Christianson, which he declined. Christianson eventually served effectively as head of the North Dakota Rural Rehabilitation Corporation and administered the Burlington Homes Resettlement Project in Ward County.

Herbert Hoover and the transition from laissez-faire to a planned economy:

Summarizing the background conditions of North Dakota's unique circumstances in 1929, at the onset of nationwide economic collapse, the state can be characterized as severely distressed environmentally, economically, and politically.[23] Socioculturally, the recent immigrant background of North Dakota's distinct ethnic groups, their tolerance for suffering and willingness to engage in hard work, prepared the state's residents for the hardships ahead. In terms of the architectural infrastructure of community, the relatively "new" state of North Dakota was somewhat better prepared to implement work relief projects accorded to it by the New Deal programs. Following the nationwide economic collapse, the Hoover administration continued to place reliance on local initiative, charity, and the ability of the economy to somehow heal itself. Poverty continued to be treated as a moral deficiency, despite the efforts of destitute farmers to pull themselves up by the bootstraps. Progressive initiatives at the state level attempted to ameliorate the more visible conditions. In the end, massive federal expenditures for relief and farm programs saved North Dakota.

President Herbert Hoover responded in a manner that placed continued reliance on the familiar but inadequate social institutions. Hoover insisted that by "staying the course" the free market economy would right itself and that local charities would provide for the needy, the unemployed, and the increasingly destitute. Hoover has been characterized as an "ideologue", by comparison to

[22] The listed makeup of the state Emergency Relief Committee is necessarily compiled by the author from various sources, including letters of communication, official correspondence from the federal agencies, and secondary sources. Given the important role of this committee, it is surprising that its business records appear to not survive in the archival collections of state agencies.

[23] David E. Hamilton. *From New Day to New Deal: American Farm Policy from Hoover to Roosevelt, 1928-1933.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991: 125-9.

the pragmatism of Franklin D. Roosevelt.[24,25] In a series of landslide electoral victories, President Roosevelt took the responsibility for redirecting the economy of the nation more assertively and in a manner that was responsive to strong public opinion.

In the end, FDR's vision was more palatable to the public and more effectual in altering the landscape of destitution. Though scholars continue to debate the impact of FDR's New Deal on the national economy, the effects of intervention are evident in the constructed works of the federal relief programs. In making his summary assessment that FDR saved North Dakota, Robinson concludes, "This massive outpouring of federal funds by the Democratic administration in Washington was of the utmost importance to the state, contributing much to its survival and well-being."[26]

Election of FDR and New Deal programs initiated by the Roosevelt administration

Events in "the western states" played a significant part in the election of FDR to the presidency, and that early association, in turn, engendered a special relationship between Roosevelt and the Great Plains states, in particular. North Dakota and the western states played a special role in the 1932 presidential election of Franklin D. Roosevelt.[27] In the years that followed FDR reciprocated, recurrently touring the west, making pledges and promises, and challenging his New Deal policy-makers to develop strategies to fulfill them.[28] Roosevelt's special relationship to North Dakota may have been forged when, as Governor of New York, he was visited in Albany by progressive populist, Non-Partisan League figure from North Dakota, William Lemke in December of 1931. Lemke sought to secure commitments from FDR to support North Dakota's grassroots initiatives for economic development, particularly as they related to the state's agriculture. "Yes, I am for all that." On January 23, 1932 Roosevelt authorized the Democratic Central Committee of North Dakota to enter his name in their preferential party primary and thereby formally launched his candidacy for the presidency.[29]

Congressman Lemke earned a reputation as a progressive populist and supporter of the New Deal, championing the causes of family farmers and co-sponsoring legislation to protect farmers against foreclosures during the Great Depression. In 1934, together with U.S. Senator from North Dakota Lynn Frazier, Lemke co-sponsored the Frazier–Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act, to provide for government refinancing of farm mortgages. The Frazier–Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act was enacted on 28 June 1934 and restricted the ability of banks to repossess farms. The Act delayed foreclosure of a bankrupt farmers' property for five years, during which the bankrupt landholder made rental

[24] Adam Cohen. *Nothing to Fear: FDR's Inner Circle and the Hundred Days that Created Modern America.* New York: The Penguin Press, 2009: 30-2.

[25] Badger, 2002: 42-54.

[26] Robinson: 397, 409.

[27] Richard Lowitt , 1984: 1-4.

[28] Richard Lowitt , 1984: 4-11.

[29] Robinson: 402-3.

payments. The farmer could then buy back the property at its currently appraised value over six years at one percent interest, or remain in possession as a paying tenant.

The law was challenged by secured creditors, and by May 1935 the Supreme Court reviewed the law and ruled it unconstitutional because it deprived secured creditors of their property rights in violation of the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution to the Constitution. Congress responded by enacting the revised Frazier–Lemke Act, naming it the "Farm Mortgage Moratorium Act" in 1935. The terms were modified, limiting the moratorium to a three-year period. The revision also gave secured creditors the opportunity to force a public sale, although the farmer could redeem the sale by paying the same amount. After expiring in 1938, the act was renewed four times until 1949, when it expired.

In part because of Lemke's early political support for Roosevelt's presidential candidacy, FDR's administration always sustained a particularly caring and supportive relationship to North Dakota and the other "western states." When Franklin Roosevelt took office on March 4, 1933 the economy was at a standstill and it was apparent that existing relief programs were greatly insufficient, both in meeting the immediate need and in terms of restarting the economy. Though his personal vision guided the nation's economic recovery efforts, Roosevelt placed trust and reliance in a number of men and women in his administration who became known as the "New Dealers." In the span of a few short weeks, the "Hundred Days" (March 9 through June 16) of the "first" New Deal set in motion more administrative action and initiated more legislation than any similar period of history before or since.

FDR's "Brain Trust" and the New Deal programs

New Dealers whose government service dated back to the Woodrow Wilson administration may have been influenced by their past efforts to mobilize the economy for World War I. Ideas and experience from the government controls and spending of 1917-1918 were brought to bear on their strategies to stimulate the economy. In light of the evidence of destitution and a nation demoralized, Roosevelt could not share Hoover's viewpoint that individual charity and local government could alone feed, clothe, and house the needy. Furthermore, FDR was guided by belief that being out of work was not an indication of moral failure or ineptitude in planning for one's own sustenance. Believing that "work enobles" and would restore the confidence and optimism of the nation, one of FDR's earliest and most lasting goals was to provide federal relief (immediate direct relief and work relief) to as many people as possible, and as promptly as possible.

Faltering local economies and earlier problems administering work relief at the state level made it imperative for the Federal government to actively engage in a relief solution. FDR's New Deal advocated work relief to replace the "dole." Concepts of "direct relief" and "useful public work" tended to shift supervision of relief projects away from local, independent contractors and toward a state agency of the federal government as the "employer of last resort." Speaking of the purposes of the WPA, Roosevelt's "minister of relief" Harry Hopkins stated the new administration's most basic premise:

> Work relief costs more than direct relief, but the cost is justified. First, in the saving of morale. Second, in the preservation of human skills and talents. Third, in the material enrichment which the unemployed add to our national wealth through their labors.[30]

The emergency need for an aggressive program of federal relief in the Great Plains states was made evident near the beginning of FDR's first term as President. FDR solidified his commitment to the western strategy by dispatching Lorena Hickok to essentially be the eyes, ears and conscience of his administration on the ground. In 1933, Harry Hopkins assigned Hickok, "to go around the country and look this thing over. I don't want statistics from you. I don't want the social worker angle. I just want your own reaction as an ordinary citizen *[to the effectiveness of the FERA program in assisting destitute victims of the Great Depression on the northern Plains]*".[31]

Throughout 1933 and 1934 Lorena Hickok, a trained newspaperwoman, traveled the length and breadth of the Great Plains, reporting directly to Hopkins, FDR, and Eleanor Roosevelt. In North Dakota, she concluded, a majority of farmers and ranchers were irredeemably bankrupt. Conditions she reported in North Dakota were about as bad – probably worse – than in any state in the U.S. at that time. "Their houses had gone to ruins. No Repairs for years. Their furniture, dishes, cooking utensils – no replacement in years. No bed linen, and quilts and blankets had all gone. A year ago their clothing was rags. This year they hardly have rags."[32] Nowhere in her travels on the Great Plains did Hickok see, learn, or report anything that exceeded the misery she found in North Dakota, although conditions in South Dakota reportedly came close.[33]

There is abundant evidence of FDR's special commitment to North Dakota throughout his three terms in office; evinced by the range and scope of federal construction project undertaken in the state, the persistence of planning efforts to ameliorate a distressed landscape, and in terms of promotional documentation, publicity, and recurrent visits to the state by FDR and his senior advisors. Ultimately, the pervasive presence of work relief construction features on the present-day landscape confirms the significance of this context, both in terms of the patterns of historical events and in terms of the architectural creativity and uniqueness of construction strategies during the time of federal investment.

President Roosevelt's "brain trust" of inner circle advisors, together with the Great Plains Committee he appointed, initiated changes to the region's fundamental approach to agriculture that the experts regarded as necessary for a more sustainable life in the vast semiarid region.

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[30] Searle F. Charles. *Minister of Relief; Harry Hopkins and the Great Depression.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1963.

[31] Richard Lowitt, 1984: 8. Also, see Lorena Hickok's original reports from the field in Lowitt and Beasley (eds.), *One Third of a Nation: Lorena Hickok Reports on the Great Depression, 2000.*

[32] *sic.* Quoted here exactly as punctuation and capitalization appear in the original text of Hickok's reports.

[33] Richard Lowitt. *The New Deal and the West.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984:8-14.

> During the crisis, the principle of government responsibility for the economy placed the strength of the United States government, and to some degree the resources of the nation, behind efforts to improve the economic well-being of the people of North Dakota. Massive federal expenditures for relief and farm programs saved North Dakota. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Great Plains Committee pointed out the adjustments needed for a better life in that vast semiarid region, and his administration began to work toward such adjustments. Moreover, the Roosevelt Administration was committed to a grassroots liberal and progressive outlook that had long found a congenial climate in liberal, progressive North Dakota.[34]

The New Dealers began immediately to work toward such adjustments. FDR's administration took special interest in the Great Plains and in North Dakota. The various federal work relief programs also did a superior job in marketing their plans, gathering information and documenting the benefits for public information, and effectively answering questions and challenges that were made to the relief programs. Over the course of twelve years, the Roosevelt administration essentially redefined the public's perception of North Dakota and the role of federal government's responsibility for beginning to heal the environment and improving the economic well-being of the people of North Dakota. But the initiatives of the Roosevelt administration's New Deal brain trust, moving the independent agricultural region toward a more planned economy were accepted only with grudging reluctance, and at times not at all.

The first "Hundred Days" under FDR:

FDR's first order of business was to put the banking business back on sound footing. Beginning Monday morning, March 6, Roosevelt declared a four-day "bank holiday." On March 9, Congress passed the Emergency Banking Act of 1933 and by March 13, banks had to reopen.

By the end of June, Congress had passed a number of new legislative measures aimed at providing relief for the unemployed. The New Deal federal work relief programs are often referred to as an "alphabet soup" of acronyms.[35] The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), he Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), and the Public Works Administration (PWA) were among the first of these programs, already in place by the end of the first "Hundred Days."

Though the economic malaise continued for more than a decade, these boldly interventionist programs provided a turning point from which the Roosevelt's New Deal team was able to address the worst economic crisis in America's history. Additional programs followed, including the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the National Youth Administration (NYA). While many of the initial New Deal programs provided direct relief to people in dire economic need, the emerging programs fueled the economy with employment

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[34] Robinson:396-9.

[35] The conveniently understandable catch phrase "alphabet soup" has been summarily applied to analysis of these myriad federal agencies from the very beginning. See, for example, Adam Cohen, 2009: 274.

opportunities that resulted in construction of historically significant buildings, structures, sites, and objects statewide in North Dakota.

National Recovery Act:

The National Industrial Recovery Act and National Recovery Administration (NRA) were established in 1933 and ruled unconstitutional by Supreme Court in 1935. The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), officially known as the Act of June 16, 1933 (Ch. 90, 48 Stat. 195, formerly codified at 15 U.S.C. sec. 703), was a federal statute that authorized the President of the United States to regulate industry and permit cartels and monopolies in an attempt to stimulate economic recovery, and established a national public works program.[36] Between 1933 and 1936, the United States Congress in conjunction with President Franklin D. Roosevelt passed several economic programs with the goals of giving work (relief) to the unemployed, reform of business and financial practices, and recovery of the economy during the Great Depression. Roosevelt was keenly interested in farm issues and believed that true prosperity would not return until farming was prosperous.

A wide variety of New Deal programs were directed at farmers.[37] The first hundred days produced a federal program to raise farm incomes by raising the prices farmers received, which was achieved by reducing total farm output. The Agricultural Adjustment Act created the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) in May 1933. The act reflected the demands of leaders of major farm organizations, especially the Farm Bureau, and reflected debates among Roosevelt's farm advisers such as Secretaries of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace (before he resigned) and Rexford Tugwell.[38, 39]

Additional programs followed, including the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the Works Progress Administration (WPA), and the National Youth Administration (NYA). Various legislative acts were aimed at remediating the faltering economy and meeting the growing needs of the nation's unemployed by fine-tuning the most successful of the New Deal initiatives. In the documentation form for this historic context, the following programs are presented chronologically and discussed in terms of their impact on the North Dakota landscape:

I. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA); 1933-1934
II. The Civil Works Administration (CWA); 1933-1934
III. The Public Works Administration (PWA); mandated operations 1932-1939.
IV. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC); 1933-1943
V. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) and later Work Projects Administration; 1934-1939
VI. The Resettlement Administration (RA) and Federal Rehabilitation Corporation (FRC); 1936-1937
VII. The National Youth Administration (NYA); 1935-1938

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[36] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. *The Age of Roosevelt: The Coming of the New Deal*, 2003.

[37] Theodore Saloutos. *American Farmers and the New Deal*. Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1982: 12-14.

[38] Bernard Sternsher. *Rexford Tugwell and the New Deal*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1964.

[39] Basil Rauch. *The History of the New Deal*. New York: Creative Age Press, Inc., 1944: 124-6

VIII. Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA); 1933-1936; and Farm Security Administration (FSA)
IX. Prairie States Forestry Project, administered under both WPA and USFS

There was substantial expansion of the New Deal mission prior to FDR's 1936 re-election. After much wrangling, the 1936 U.S. Congress approved a total appropriation of $2,375,397,537 to fund a Deficiency Bill for relief work that included $308,000,000 for CCC, $300,000,000 in revolving PWA grant funds, a whopping $1,425,000,000 for WPA, 65,550,000 for emergency public buildings, $40,000,000 for buildings under the Post Office Department, $41,000,000 for the Tennessee Valley Authority, and $85,000,000 earmarked for the Resettlement Administration (RA).[40]

The contradiction between efficient use of public resources on technology, equipment and machinery versus the need to put the maximum number of workers on the work relief payroll, was a persistent sub-theme throughout the years these programs operated.[41] The contradiction was most evident on Public Works Administration (PWA) projects. PWA projects typically took much longer for approval and completion than CWA or WPA projects primarily because administrator Harold L. Ickes took concern over taxpayer waste so seriously.[42]

Competing visions of public works programs were intensely debated by the New Dealers, arguing the public benefits of investment in infrastructure, versus the recurrent allegation of "boondoggling", or meaningless "make work". Particularly after 1934, the continuing need for employment, whatever the scope of the project, was given priority consideration in approving projects. FDR effectively "short-circuited" delays he regarded as unacceptable, by personally signing the authorization for each and every WPA project.[43]

Architecture and construction as frameworks for understanding the Depression-era context:

Historical understanding of the context of North Dakota during the Depression era would be incomplete without considering the impact of federal work relief in terms of architecture and built infrastructure that remains highly visible and useful on the landscape today. The role of the architectural profession, adoption of new construction technologies and scientific methods, a national design ethic that valued scientific planning and design practices, and regional tendencies in the application of style and material choices all played significant roles in this context.[44]

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[40] Nick Taylor. *American-Made: The Enduring Legacy of the WPA*. New York: Bantam Dell, 2008: 185-9.

[41] T.H. Watkins. *The Great Depression: America in the 1930s*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1993: 341-8.

[42] Graham White, and John Maze. *Harold Ickes of the New Deal: His Private Life and Public Career*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985: 152-6.

[43] Lowitt: 15.

[44] Steve Martens and Ronald L.M. Ramsay. "Architecture", in *Encyclopedia of American Regional Cultures: The Great Plains Region*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004:17-20. Note that it was common practice before the 1950s for architects in North Dakota to practice as unincorporated individuals, rather than as a partnership or as a legally incorporated business. Thus, the names refer to the practice of an architect who may have employed drafters or other staff. The body of work reflects the professionalism of the credentialed individuals named here.

North Dakota architects lobbied the state legislature and in 1917 established one of the first professional licensing laws in the Great Plains region. In the two decades leading up to the Great Depression there were some 15 or 20 professional firms offering architectural services. They were generally based in the seven larger communities of the state, but architects worked extensively on public commissions in the surrounding rural parts of the state as well.

Most North Dakota architecture built during the first half of the 20th century was designed and supervised by local architects. By the late 1920s, the architectural profession had established itself in North Dakota based on the professional expertise of about 15 established firms; George Hancock, Walter Hancock, Joseph E. Roseatti, Ole E. Braseth, S. Marius Houkom, Joseph Shannon, the partnership of Boyd and Boyd, Gilbert R. Horton, Arthur Van Horn, Robert Ritterbush, Joseph Bell DeRemer, Theodore B. Wells, John W. Ross, William F. Kurke, Ira Rush, Edwin W. Molander, Paul Webster Jones.[45, 46, 47] A substantial amount of public building was accomplished by these North Dakota architects during the 1910s and 1920s.

Like other businessmen and professional people in the state, prominent North Dakota architects found it necessary to make adjustments in their approach to securing work during the 1930s and 40s, when building projects undertaken by private investors essentially dried up. Nonetheless, local architects played a very substantial role in the planning, design, and construction of public buildings during the Depression years. Academic training, professional experience, and design judgment of North Dakota's resident architects is reflected in the state's federal work relief projects. Both PWA and WPA programs awarded architectural commissions to local architects selected by local project sponsors. Thus, architects like Molander, DeRemer, Braseth and Houkom, Horton, Kurke, Wells, and the Ritterbush Brothers produced a substantial body of architectural work during the period of this MPDF context.[48]

C.W. Short and Rudolph Stanley-Brown authored an insightful 1939 retrospective summary on behalf of the PWA, outlining the working methods of the PWA architectural program.[49] Due attention is given to the emphasis placed on quality and design. Work relief for architects was supported by federal programs, just as was work for semi-skilled laborers. Though project sponsors were required to provide the architectural plans and specification, those services were often paid for with PWA and WPA grant funds. Leading-edge design judgment, durable quality of construction, and functionality were never ignored in the interest of speed or ease of construction.

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45 Steven P. Wagner, quoting Ronald L.M. Ramsay in "Designs Stand the Test of Time." *The Forum* newspaper publishing (December 12, 1999).

46 Steve C. Martens,1974 interview with Gilbert R. Horton, and corroborating material by Barbara Beving Long, "The Evolution of Gilbert R. Horton, Architects," "The Evolution of Van Horn & Ritterbush, et al.," manuscripts in the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1991.

47 Norene A. Roberts. *Fargo's Heritage*. Fargo: Fargo Heritage Society, 1983:97-8.

48 Another regional architect working in the Devils Lake area, was John Marshall, who partnered with Minnesota architect Nairne Fischer for the design of the exquisitely Art Deco styled Devils Lake High School.

49 C.W. Short and R. Stanley-Brown. *Public Buildings: Architecture Under the Public Works Administration, 1933-39*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939: Chapter 5: 6-22.

Most of the buildings constructed by CWA and PWA, and many of the structures funded by other federal agencies, were technologically advanced in their design and detailing. As with the WPA/CCC "Rustic" style, buildings in the Art Deco style provided substantial opportunity for handcraft and field labor, often involving site cast concrete. A recurrent, contentious aspect of the PWA under administrator Harold L. Ickes, was that Ickes personally tended to emphasize the long term soundness of public investment in infrastructure. The PWA also endeavored to pump resources back into the national economy by spending on produced materials and premanufactured construction assembles that could be obtained from idle production plants.

Operating much "closer to home", work relief construction programs of the CCC and WPA under Harry Hopkins always emphasized opportunities for immediate employment first, over and above justifying the public need for the constructed amenity. The WPA and CCC encouraged simplification of design and use of particular materials in the interest of using less-skilled workers, and using the on-site labor as a means of training teaching construction skills. A systematic program of job skills training was implemented at CCC camps, and WPA district field supervisors gave appropriate emphasis to teaching jobsite safety, through poster campaigns emphasizing "work safely", "protect your hands" and "always wear eye protection".[50] When possible, this picturesque style, and these two work relief programs, tended to treat materials as a "found resource". Priority was given to the amount of labor that could be utilized, rather than the value of materials.

In their later years, architects Houkom and Horton each recalled the changed circumstances of Depression-era architectural practice in interviews with architectural historians. "Along came the Depression, and (Houkom) said he had to develop new criteria; not to build cheaply (or to use the most technologically sophisticated materials), but to put the maximum number of people to work."[51] And quoting from an interview with Horton,

> In North Dakota the W.P.A. funded a number of large halls – auditoriums, combined gymnasiums with auditoriums, and community centers featuring a large hall. . . . W.P.A. projects were intended to provide work for as many men as possible. . . .(Together, (Horton and a local stone mason from Kulm) taught men to break rock by hand to the desired face. Horton later recalled, "Watching those boys learn to select the right rock for the place and building a wall was a real thrill for me . . . The walls; they're just as sound as the day they were put in place."[52]

Two main stylistic tendencies, the Art Deco and WPA-Rustic, characterize most Depression-era architecture in North Dakota. Many public buildings in North Dakota reflect the inclination toward Art Deco or simplified Art Moderne styles.[53, 54] Several North Dakota architects designing for the

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[50] An excellent series of these jobsite safety posters is reproduced in Christopher DeNoon. *Posters of the WPA.* Los Angeles: Wheatley Press, 1987.

[51] Wagner. *op cit.,* Ramsay interview with Houkom.

[52] Barbara Beving Long, "The Evolution of Gilbert R. Horton, Architects," manuscript Mss5469 in the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1991:11-12

[53] Steven R. Hoffbeck. "Art Deco Architecture in North Dakota", *North Dakota History*, v.62:n4 (Fall 1995); 16-27.

PWA tended toward streamlined architectural style as a modernizing, progressive, "scientific" approach to building improvement reflecting wise public investment in the nation's building stock.[55] Site-cast, reinforced concrete lent itself well to the material vocabulary and stylistic expression of Art Deco buildings. Because PWA projects were of a larger scale and were customarily approved for funding based upon completed architectural design drawings, architects were generally free to exercise their own best professional judgment about design and construction detailing, subject to review and approval by the loan funding agency (PWA).

PWA projects proceeded with confidence that the experienced builders who contracted with the federal agency to construct the work, would be fully capable of executing technologically advanced designs, such as at the Stark County Courthouse in Dickinson and the State Hospital Medical Ward Building in Jamestown. Designs were reviewed by district and state offices, which occasionally recommended simplification of architectural style to be better-suited to the skill set of the construction workers that would be building the project. Site-cast concrete, entailing substantial formwork and finishing, lent itself to the Art Deco/Art Moderne and to the need to provide maximum opportunities for semi-skilled labor.

A more picturesque architectural style, often termed "WPA-rustic", is also evident in many of the projects constructed by the CCCs, in particular, but also as WPA projects. Given the paucity of native building materials associated with North Dakota, use of gathered fieldstone and, in the western counties quarried sandstone, came to be associated with the Rustic style. Handcrafting of rough timbers and even rough "ironmongery" (or metalworking) were other labor-oriented material technologies well suited to the CCC camps or WPA labor force. These locally-processed materials show up prominently in the design vocabulary of Rustic relief construction, and the material palette is consistent with the design tenets of this picturesque and naturalistic vocabulary, particularly suited to parks work.

In addition to the state's established architects, regional specialists recommended by the WPA, CCC, and National Park Service (NPS) guided many landscape architectural work relief projects. Among those landscape architects who have been identified for their work in North Dakota were Weldon R. Gratton (in the Badlands) and Ray F. Wyrick (working in Grand Forks). Still others, like the design supervisors of Turtle River State Park, were trained under CCC or WPA regional offices that performed work throughout the Minnesota region. Construction supervisors at many of the CCC camps are identified in the camp records, but those records contain no verification of any stone craft specialty.

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[54] A remarkable series of hand-delineated studies for pavilion buildings proposed but not built at the Grand Forks Fairgrounds, reflects the level of skill of North Dakota architects like Theodore B. Wells in employing the Art Deco style. The drawings are included in the Wells-Denbrook papers collection at the University of North Dakota Library, Orin G. Libby Special Collections. See Steve C. Martens, "Grand Forks County Fairgrounds WPA Structures"; National Register of Historic Places individual property nomination for the U.S. Department of the Interior, (February 27, 2009).

[55] This rationale is more fully developed by Lisa B. Reitzes, "Moderately Modern: Interpreting the Architecture of the Public Works Administration." (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Delaware; 1989), and in an informative essay from 1939 publication by C.W. Short and R. Stanley-Brown. *Public Buildings: Architecture Under the Public Works Administration, 1933-39*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939: Chapter 5: 6-22.

Much of the work carried out by CCC and WPA crews at the International Peace Garden, as well as the work on behalf of State Historical Society at state parks and state historic sites, reflects the close collaboration and design preferences of Superintendent Russell Reid, who also served as Procurement Officer on behalf of the National Park Service. Far from being only an administrator, Reid's key role in guiding the design process is discussed in greater detail under the Civilian Conservation Corps section of this context narrative.

A substantial number of auditoriums and civic assembly buildings were designed for communities in the central part of North Dakota by Jamestown architect Gilbert R. Horton, using fieldstone as the primary exterior material.[56] Still other fieldstone projects were completed by itinerant, local stone workers, such as the Crystal Springs fountain in Kidder County, attributed to Art Geisler who executed the stonework on behalf of the state highway department as sponsoring agency for a number of roadside features "lumped together" under a blanket, statewide WPA appropriation. The Rustic style came to be associated with much of the WPA and CCC work partly because the local sponsor was usually responsible for all non-labor costs. Occasionally the WPA Rustic style also included modest expressions of the Craftsman style or the Prairie School.

Adoption of an architectural "style" tends to have a leveling effect, creating greater similarity in the presence of regional design tendencies. Both the WPA and the PWA specifically stated that it was not their practice to suggest or specify a style for a particular project.[57] Design expression – what we are referring to here as a classifiable architectural "style" – remained the responsibility and prerogative of the project sponsor. A third style is reflected in North Dakota work relief projects to a minor extent; that is, the American Colonial Revival, associated mostly with post offices and hospital facilities built by PWA for the Veterans Administration. Architectural preference for this style also influenced several projects designed by Edwin W. Molander, such as the Sunnyside and Alkabo schools and the Stanley City Hall.

Architectural design involved a degree of lobbying from the architectural profession. This was true in North Dakota as it was expressed nationally.[58] Architectural work on the corresponding federal projects benefited from increased emphasis on design quality as a fundamental public expectation that would advance the quality public buildings. Depression-era federal relief construction public work reflects significant changes in architectural priorities, particularly in the extent to which the trust and confidence of a federal sponsor, raised the standard of design and construction quality. Importantly, rather than eliminating quality design from the building projects, the work relief

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[56] An inventory of Depression-era work relief construction projects by Gilbert Horton, using the fieldstone material "vocabulary", is provided in Barbara Beving Long, "The Evolution of Gilbert R. Horton, Architects," manuscript Mss5469 in the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1991.

[57] Work done for the Supervising Architect on Post Offices, by contrast, was more artificially constrained in terms of style, and the same is true for architectural work produced by central offices, such as Fargo's VA Hospital Building No. 9.

[58] Lisa B. Reitzes, "Moderately Modern: Interpreting the Architecture of the Public Works Administration." (Ph.D dissertation, University of Delaware; 1989): 382-401.

programs insisted on it. Projects were geared toward long-term usefulness and provided an economic "flywheel effect", impelling civic improvement in many faltering small communities on the northern Great Plains. In the current era of disposability, the wisdom of the Depression era public investment has been demonstrated by the constructed works' continued utility.

The extent of applied fine art work in North Dakota work relief projects (commissioned paintings and sculpture) is minimal, especially compared with surrounding states. Elsewhere in the context statement, attention is given to the few instances where WPA Federal Art Projects are identified with post offices. There is also some noteworthy bas-relief sculptural work carried out as part of the architectural design on projects like the Stark County Courthouse.

In a detailed discussion about Depression-era architectural style and the notion of advancement in architectural design nationwide, Lisa Reitzes interprets the "Moderately Modern" architectural aesthetic of the PWA. In addition to symbolizing the civilization, culture, and ideals of our country, public buildings should serve as an architectural model for the context; "No matter what the economic conditions may be to which we must conform, nothing must be spared in making this building one by which the quality of its design sets a standard to which all buildings in the community must strive to attain."[59] That high standard of architectural quality accounts in large measure for the often better than expected design quality of federal relief construction work that survives in many small, rural communities in North Dakota to the present day.

[59] Lisa B. Reitzes, (1989); quoting R.W. Sexton: 146.

I. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)

The first significant departure from the concept of local responsibility for unemployment relief was the adoption of the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932 with made $300-million in federal funds available for advances to states and local governments. President Roosevelt signed the bill establishing the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) on May 12, 1933. The act provided that any funds received could be repaid with deductions from future federal Highway Aid appropriations beginning with the fiscal year of 1935, although the funds were ultimately considered an outright grant.

Applications for advanced funds were made to the Reconstruction Finance Agency, and a governor had to certify that his state could not meet its relief needs from its own resources.[60] This stipulation meant that North Dakota's maverick Governor Langer was not selected to implement FERA funds. North Dakota's state government, and particularly Langer's office, found itself in a unique and unenviable position of disfavor with the national administration that refused to deliver the FERA funds to the Governor. Rather they were assigned to a separate state agency for application through the state Emergency Relief Committee.

The program, funded for just two years, was envisioned as a short-term measure to meet the most immediate needs for emergency relief. FERA provided grants to State Emergency Relief Administrations (SERAs), which, in turn, distributed them to local agencies that gave out the money either as direct relief or work relief. Work relief projects, developed by local agencies and monitored by the SERAs, were required to follow rules and regulations developed by FERA administrators. FERA was given $250-million to allocate directly to states and another $250 million to allocate as "one-to-three" matching grants in which FERA provided one dollar for every three dollars provided by the states.[61]

> The Great Depression of 1929 found the United States unprepared to meet the widespread problem of relief. By 1930 almost 4 million people were unemployed nationally, and that number rose to almost 7 million by the end of that same year. The number of unemployed doubled once again by the early part of 1933. Yet public relief for the destitute was still generally administered under state poor laws designed to care for a small number of relief cases.[62]

Despite the expansion of local relief and the inauguration of State unemployment relief measures it was recognized by the middle of 1932 that neither state nor local governmental bodies could cope with the growing relief problem. In 1933, the mandate was expanded with creation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and authorizing grants to the States for relief purposes. This step was necessitated by the growing magnitude of the relief problem. As indicated by relief loads, the

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[60] U.S. Federal Works Agency. *Final Statistical Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration*. Washington, DC: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942: 1-2.

[61] Nancy Ellen Rose. *Put To Work: Relief Programs in the Great Depression*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1994: 29-30.

[62] Rolf T. Anderson, "Federal Relief Construction in Minnesota, 1933-1941". (*Multiple Property Documentation Form*), National Register of Historic Places for the U.S. Department of the Interior, (October 9, 1990 plus amendment): E27.

crisis involved emergency care in March 1933 for nearly 5 million families and single persons, or a total of 20.5 million persons including dependents. Subsequent Federal aid was provided under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and later under the Civil Works Administration and the Works Program (including PWA and WPA).[63]

Most early FERA work relief projects were essentially continuations of projects established under the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) work relief program that made grants to the states for local relief distribution. FERA work relief programs were interrupted in November 1933 when the Civil Works Administration (CWA) was established and the work relief component of FERA resources was transferred to that program. Eligibility for both forms of relief was based first on need, so FERA continued to provide direct relief cash payment. A key objective for FERA, CWA, and eventually WPA was to transition at the earliest possible time from direct relief, to the problems of providing productive and gratifying work relief as the main strategy for economic recovery.

FERA represented the federal government's first departure from Elizabethan "poor laws" that required destitute persons to take a Pauper's Oath. Eligibility for work relief, as for direct relief, was based on demonstrated need. Each family or individual that applied had to pass a "means test," which involved an investigation by the local relief department. With growing numbers of unemployed, former middle-class professionals, FERA policies were developed to entice non-manual workers to apply for white-collar jobs.

> [There was no reason] why these unemployed people should be asked to live as exiles in their own country, finding courage only in the hope that some day they may be admitted to the magic circle. Either a way must be found to admit them to participation in the economy of private enterprise or else they must be given definite and respectable status as recipients of insurance benefits or as public workers.
>
> In addition to want, the unemployed were confronting a still further destructive force, that of worklessness. They were accustomed to making a return for their livelihood. It was a habit they liked, and from which they chiefly drew self-respect. We can talk all we want to about some coming civilization in which work will be outmoded, and in which we shall all enjoy a state of being rather than one of action, but contemporary sentiment is still against "a man who gets something for nothing."[64]

From the outset FERA accepted, as a desirable objective, the extension of the work relief movement that was already underway in many communities and progressive states. In consequence, State emergency relief agencies and work programs, financed largely by FERA grants, were developed and coordinated under a unified single initiative. The various programs recognized the principles that work relief should be sufficiently diversified to afford jobs suited to all workers' previous experience, and that relief projects should be genuinely useful to the community. FERA's work relief programs were interrupted in November 1933 when the Civil Works Administration (CWA) was established on

[63] Bonnie Fox Schwartz. *The Civil Works Administration, 1933-1934*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984: 240-52.

[64] Paul A. Kurzman, quoting Harry Hopkins from *Spending to Save*, in *Harry Hopkins and the New Deal*. Fair Lawn, NJ: R.E. Burdick, Inc., 1974:101-2.

an emergency basis and FERA resources were moved to that program. As the CWA was dismantled, its work programs again became the responsibility of the FERA until creation of the WPA in 1935.[65]

FERA activity in North Dakota

Many FERA projects did not deal with construction. The FERA hired teachers (1,985 in 1934) to keep schools open; it gave part-time employment to needy college students; it ran camps for transients; it trained social workers; it mixed grasshopper bait; it organized recreational programs; it sponsored the arts and historical research. Building projects specifically associated with FERA and CWA probably have less "visibility" in their scale and evidence on the documentary record.

In April 1934, 148,000 persons, or more than a fifth of North Dakota's population, were receiving financial assistance from the federal government, either direct relief or some form of work relief. By the time the FERA was discontinued on December 15, 1935, the agency had built 114 dams, 3 municipal wells, 60 bridges, 2,300 miles of streets and highways, 986 sanitary privies, 70 public buildings, 14 swimming pools, 11 playgrounds, 88 tennis courts, 32 golf courses, 108 skating rinks, 40 baseball diamonds, 36 airports, and 23 parks.[66]

One North Dakota architectural project, in particular, bears the hallmark of the FERA/CWA work relief programs; that is, the Stark County Courthouse in Dickinson, for which a PWA construction grant was later approved. Begun in 1934, the building bears acknowledgement on the bronze dedication plaque in its lobby, "Federal Emergency Relief Administration of Public Works, Project No. 1043". It was started under the FERA, continued under CWA, and completed with PWA funds in June 1937. This elegant and relatively sophisticated building is acclaimed in the Short/Stanley Brown compendium of PWA projects.[67] The Stark County Courthouse displays some of the most extensive bas-relief stonework and architectural ornament of the various PWA projects in the state. It is a very pure example of the application of Art Deco motifs on a North Dakota public works project, representing the design maturity of Fargo architect William F. Kurke.[68] Total cost for construction of this important public work project was announced as $191,708.

By December 15, 1935, FERA had begun enrolling some 12,000 North Dakotans in 28 companies of the Civilian Conservation Corps. They planted trees, made parks, and earned $30 a month, $25 of which was sent home to their families. That critically important New Deal program is discussed separately in this context narrative.

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[65] Bonnie Fox Schwartz. *The Civil Works Administration, 1933-1934*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984: 240-52.

[66] Robinson: 406.

[67] C.W. Short and R. Stanley-Brown. *Public Buildings: Architecture Under the Public Works Administration, 1933-39*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939: 55.

[68] The Stark County Courthouse project was incorrectly attributed to Van Horn and Ritterbush in the Barbara Beving Long research manuscript "The Evolution of Van Horn & Ritterbush, et al.," manuscript Mss5470 in the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1991.

II. The Civil Works Administration (CWA)

The Civil Works Administration (CWA) was established because the existing New Deal measures such as the National Recovery Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and particularly the Public Works Administration, had failed to sustain the economic upswing with had appeared so promising in the summer of 1933. In particular, a new approach was needed that could be implemented during the upcoming winter months. Harry L. Hopkins, the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator, was placed in charge of the new CWA program. He estimated that about 400-million people could be given jobs nationwide, with the $400 million that had been allocated to the CWA by the Public Works Administration.[69]

By the end of 1932 North Dakota counties and private charity could no longer carry the relief burden. Hopkins' message to the North Dakota Emergency Relief Administration was typical:

> The State Emergency Relief Administration is hereby constituted the Civil Works Administration for the State of North Dakota with yourself as chairman. It will be the Federal Civil Works Administration. The present emergency relief committees in each county of your state are hereby constituted the Civil Works Administration for that county.[70]

In January 1933, North Dakota Governor Langer appointed a state Emergency Relief Committee with Supreme Court Judge A. M. Christianson as chairman. The 1933 state legislature appropriated no money for relief, but Christianson's committee, working feverishly in the crisis, borrowed $492,000 from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and organized county relief committees to distribute the funds. On June 1, 1933, the North Dakota Emergency Relief Committee began to receive its money from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA).

In order to explain the new program to hundreds of relief administrators throughout the country, Harry Hopkins invited governors, mayors, and relief administrators to a June 1933 conference in Washington.[71] At that time, Hopkins described how each state would be allotted federal money for approved projects and that the quotas would be based on population (75%) and relief load (25%). With vigorous encouragement from Hopkins' office, applications were promptly prepared and submitted by each state administration.

Other applications from local agencies (cities, villages, and even townships) were made with assistance and immediate approval from the state administration. In addition, any existing state work relief projects were automatically shifted to the CWA. On this basis, work relief

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[69] Searle F. Charles, *Minister of Relief; Harry Hopkins and the Great Depression.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1963 and Bonnie Fox Schwartz. *The Civil Works Administration, 1933-1934.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984: 187.

[70] Forest A. Walker. *The Civil Works Administration: An Experiment in Federal Work Relief; 1933-1934.* New York: Garland Publishing, 1979: 37.

[71] Adam Cohen. *Nothing to Fear: FDR's Inner Circle and the Hundred Days that Created Modern America.* New York: The Penguin Press, 2009: 271.

commitments that seemed to be lagging were more promptly authorized.[72] On the very first payday in November 1933, the CWA issued checks to 814,511 workers nationwide.[73]

CWA was organized around five divisions; Social Services, Finance, Rural Rehabilitation, Transient Relief, and other work that included home canning and sewing projects that provided critical income for women. Relief soon became the biggest business in the state. The committee furnished groceries on relief orders, started a statewide garden program, gave medical aid, and paid relief clients for mining their own lignite on local school lands. Sewing and canning projects provided food, clothing, and bedding to destitute families in North Dakota.

Operations of the CWA in the winter months of 1933-34 gave further impetus to a comprehensive and diversified work program that was suited to building skills and earning capabilities among workers. Expanded employment opportunities were also provided during this time period by the CCC and the Public Roads Administration. With these precedents, the WPA was inaugurated in 1936 and given responsibility for the coordinated operation of the entire Works Program (including, importantly, the compilation of records and statistical data about work relief accomplishments).

In many respects, the decision-making and implementation strategies of the CWA became models for effectiveness of the WPA program that followed. The requirement that funds for labor were to be expended immediately upon project approval attempted to cut through the lag time of administrative red tape sometimes associated with PWA work. The CWA accorded opportunities for unskilled and semi-skilled labor. The Civil Works Administration also funded the first art project sponsored by the federal government on a national scale. Known as the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP), the program was administered by the Treasury Department from December 1933 to June 1934 when the program was terminated. When the CWA was discontinued on March 15, 1934, its work projects were again taken over by the encompassing agency FERA, which employed about 21,000 workers at a minimum wage of thirty cents an hour and had a weekly payroll of some $250,000.[74]

The Civil Works Administration remained in existence a mere four and one half months. Yet over 4-million workers were employed. They received minimum wages rather than direct relief payments. Thus, the CWA represents the first attempt by the federal government to give work to the unemployed instead of simply aiding the states in the problem of relief. CWA served as an effective precedent for later and larger federally sponsored work programs that focused on the morally uplifting effects of receiving relief money in exchange for productive labor.

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[72] Nancy Ellen Rose. *Put To Work: Relief Programs in the Great Depression*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1994: 51-2, 58.

[73] Bonnie Fox Schwartz. *The Civil Works Administration, 1933-1934*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984: 46.

[74] Nancy Ellen Rose. *Put To Work: Relief Programs in the Great Depression*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1994: 64-5.

Activities of the Civil Works Administration (CWA) in North Dakota

After the Civil Works Administration (CWA), supervised by the Christianson committee in North Dakota, began an employment program on November 15, 1933, most of the needy performed useful work for wages. A large part of early relief was stock feed, in return for which farmers built and repaired farm-to-market roads. Comparable to activities funded by FERA, CWA workers constructed skating rinks, swimming pools, and tennis courts, bound and catalogued library books, rendered nursing service, and served school lunches. At the peak of its program the CWA employed about thirty-seven thousand persons in North Dakota.

Historian Elwyn Robinson demonstrated the extent to which work relief activities maintained the morale and the economy of a stricken people.[75] From February 1933, to the end of December 1935, relief in North Dakota cost over $36,000,000. The federal government furnished more than $32,000,000, the counties $3,500,000, and the state only $139,000 (all of it in December 1935). In March 1935, after the terrible drought of 1934, some 37% of the state's people were on relief, ranging from 72% in Divide County in the parched northwestern corner to none in Traill County in the Red River Valley, which received its first federal help in November 1935.[76] In 1936, the *Grand Forks Herald* reported federal expenditure of $936-million to taper off FERA projects nationally, and $834-million to further underwrite completion of old CWA, WPA, and PWA projects.[77] But in 1935 the WPA and PWA were just getting started in the business of providing federal work relief.

[75] Robinson: 407.

[76] Robinson: 407.

[77] *Grand Forks Herald* (June 14, 1936):1.

III. The Public Works Administration (PWA):

The Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, commonly known as the Public Works Administration, was established on June 16, 1933 by Executive Order 6174. The agency was created under the authority of Title II of that law, "Public Works and Construction Projects," of the National Industrial Recovery Act. On May 17, President Roosevelt described the purposes of this proposed public works program; "A careful survey convinces me that approximately $3,300,000,000 can be invested in useful and necessary public construction and at the same time put the largest possible number of people to work."[78] Harold L. Ickes, the Secretary of the Interior, was appointed administrator of the PWA and was charged with spending the $3.3-billion appropriated dollars in the shortest possible time, while avoiding the appearances of favoritism or wasteful spending.

Narrowly-defined, the Public Works Administration (PWA) was not a typical relief agency, since its purpose was to stimulate economic recovery by providing employment for workers in the building trades and in various industries supplying construction materials.[79] Rather, it was an economic stimulus program geared to increasing purchasing power of individuals and companies. As such, PWA sought to "prime the pump" of industry by placing substantial sums of money into circulation. The basic objective was to restore purchasing power to bolster a sagging national income. This program elicited immediate support from construction periodicals. The regional publication *The Improvement Bulletin* proclaimed, "A nationally launched construction program will supply employment to idle men and restore purchasing power, and will hasten the day of emergence from the depression cycle."[80]

The PWA provided financial assistance for public works through outright grants, loans, or a combination of the two.[81] For federal projects, the entire cost was paid from the appropriated funds. For projects initiated by states or other subdivisions, a grant for 30-percent of the cost of labor and materials could be made, combined with a loan for any portion of the balance. Non-public corporations were eligible for loans but not for grants.[82] The following types of projects were prioritized[83], in the belief that they would best-serve the public interest:

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[78] Jack F. Isakoff, *The Public Works Administration*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1938. [Also, reprinted in *Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, v23:n3}: 17.

[79] Jack F. Isakoff, 1938: 24-6.

[80] *Construction Bulletin*. Minneapolis, MN weekly; (May 19, 1933): 1-2.

[81] Isakoff, 1938: 27-8.

[82] Rolf T. Anderson, "Depression Era Architecture in Minnesota, 1933-1941," MPDF (1993): E2-3.

[83] Isakoff: 19.

(1) Construction, repair, and improvement of public highways and parkways, public buildings, and any (similar) publicly-owned facilities,

(2) Conservation and development of natural resources, including control, utilization, and purification of water, prevention of erosion, development of water power, transmission of electrical energy, flood control, and improvements to drainage, rivers and harbors,

(3) Construction, reconstruction, alteration, or repair of low-cost substandard housing including slum clearance and the purchase of subsistence homesteads,

(4) Financing of self-liquidating projects formerly assisted by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, together with construction of hospitals (financed in part from public funds), reservoirs, powerplants and dry docks,

(5) Constructing technical works for the military, including army housing projects and equipment,

(6) Financing railroad maintenance and equipment prioritized by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

As the PWA got underway in the summer of 1933, there was strong assertion by architects' interest groups that not enough of the allotted funds were actually being devoted to buildings. In the professional journal *Architectural Forum*, PWA administrator Harold Ickes acknowledged that because of the pressing need to create immediate employment, initial priority had been given to quick-starting projects (those that today are being described as "shovel-ready").[84]

Though the first funded PWA projects were waterworks and roads projects, Ickes asserted his conviction that PWA would ultimately serve as a means of restimulating the construction industries[85] by challenging project sponsors and their architects to show the initiative necessary in local submission of new building proposals. In its rather purposefully crafted publications, PWA articulated the following essential policies:

> The P.W.A. does not design any buildings or projects. It does not write the specifications or make and drawings. The character of the architecture, the materials to be used and the type of construction are left entirely to the private architects and engineers employed by the owners on Non-federal projects and those employed by the Federal agencies on Federal projects. The P.W.A. acts somewhat in the nature of a bank or a large building and loan association.
>
> When an owner makes an application for funds to the P.W.A., the application contains the proposed solution of the problem, the estimated cost, a preliminary plan and a brief description of the materials and construction to be used, together with data concerning the financial status of the owner and the legality of the proposed project. The P.W.A. does not undertake at any time to assume any responsibility for, or to make any changes in design or specifications unless it may be obvious that the plans are technically or economically unsound.[86]

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[84] Isakoff: 403.

[85] See, for example, the graphic titled "Public Works Generate Employment", in U.S. Public Works Administration. *America Builds: The Story of the PWA*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939: 5. The simplified graphic, reproduced in Additional Documentation section as Fig. 11, was followed by an extensive narrative justification of the purposes and objectives of investment in public works.

[86] "Policies of the W.P.A." in C.W. Short, and R. Stanley-Brown (1938); p.vi

The PWA continued to be the primary public works financing agency of the national government until the middle of 1935. At that time Congress enacted the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935. The 1935 statute provided the largest appropriation in the history of the U.S., making available to the President the sum of $4,880,000,000 for use through June 30, 1937. The Emergency Relief Appropriation Act specifically continued the life of the Public Works Administration until June 30, 1937 and authorized the President to permit the PWA to perform functions under both the Recovery Act and the new statute. The President also created several new agencies including the Works Progress Administration.

Because there was no clear understanding of the distinction between projects assigned to the PWA and those over which the WPA had jurisdiction, a joint statement was issued by the Public Works Administrator (Ickes), the Works Progress Administrator (Hopkins), and the executive director of the National Emergency Council, with the assent of the President.[87] Under this administrative interpretation, the PWA was to receive applications for construction projects where the aggregate cost exceeded $25,000. Typical projects included various types of buildings, but more generally bridges and engineering structures. All applications for loans, regardless of the cost or type of project, were required to also be submitted to the PWA. Essentially, projects sponsored by the PWA were generally more extensive and involved only new construction. Most PWA construction work was accomplished by established, experienced contracting companies rather than by assembled teams of individual laborers.[88]

The Works Progress Administration (WPA), on the other hand, was to consider applications involving only grants of federal money. It would undertake work of a non-construction nature designed to employ professional, clerical, and other white-collar workers[89] as well as smaller construction projects costing less than $25,000. Additionally, applications that were rejected by the PWA could be resubmitted to the WPA. Since the latter agency was chiefly concerned with providing work relief, the WPA might find applications eligible even though the PWA, with its more restrictive financing rules, had been forced to reject the application. Much scholarly analysis has been written about the competition for FDR's attention that ensued from the largely personal rivalry between Ickes and Hopkins.[90]

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[87] Graham White, and John Maze. *Harold Ickes of the New Deal: His Private Life and Public Career*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985: 114.

[88] Watkins, 1993: 144-5.

[89] In North Dakota, opportunities for historians, librarians, academic scholars, architects, and other technical professionals was an important category of relief work. Some of the most lasting and important creative and research activities undertaken by university faculty and the State Historical Society have a direct relationship to relief construction activities. Examples include casework cabinetry for historical society collections, field investigations by trained archaeologists, investigation of indigenous materials that might be useful for construction, and planning pf parks and historic sites for effective interpretation. White-collar relief work was ridiculed in some settings, but it clearly was timely and relevant to North Dakota's specific needs in the 1930s.

[90] White and Maze, 1985: see, for example, 114-5, 152-5.

Local project sponsors were actively and somewhat assertively encouraged to apply for PWA grants and loans. Before being sent forward for approval by the Region 4 regional office (in Omaha) and the federal agency, PWA projects were recommended for approval on their merits by a state Advisory Board of Public Works (appointed by the governor and serving as the State Emergency Relief Committee). As explained (or justified) by official, promotional publications, federal work relief projects emphasized improvement in the quality of design, planning, and building construction, in measurable scientific terms. As such, the architectural and engineering projects might easily be thought of as "demonstration projects" intended to establish a standard of quality for public buildings.

> Invention follows upon invention in the world today, technical improvement upon technical improvement. Science is reaching out and is touching all walks of life and its transformations occur with almost bewildering rapidity. Humanity is striving to adjust itself to the new methods of living and its faster tempo of life and to gear its economy to the infinitely increased speed of production. These changes have affected the building industry as well as the planning and designing of the architects and engineers. Scientific improvements have been made in the fields of equipment, processes and materials and some of the best of these have been used in the construction of public works.[91]

> It may be definitely stated that the standards and requirements set by the policies of the P.W.A. brought about a marked improvement in the quality and types of construction over those formerly employed by local public bodies without Federal aid. More intelligent planning, and supervision by the architects and engineers were the chief causes of this result.[92]

The PWA continued to be the primary public works funding agency until mid-1935. With Title II of the NIRA set to expire, Congress enacted the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 and appropriated over $4.8 billion. This act provided for the continuation of the PWA through June 30, 1937. A number of new agencies were also created under this 1935 act, including the Works Progress Administration (WPA), which became the primary program for public works (as described later in this context narrative).[93]

Both the PWA and WPA funded construction projects, but the programs differed substantially in other respects. The PWA received applications for construction projects (other than repair or maintenance) where the total cost of the project was estimated to be more than $25,000. The PWA continued to make both grants (forgiven debt) and loans (to be repaid) for larger projects meeting those two criteria. PWA also considered, but might not necessarily approve loan requests regardless of the cost or type of project. Projects that had been rejected for PWA funding, or for which earlier funding commitments had been cancelled, were frequently funded based on a resubmission to WPA.

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[91] Short and Stanley-Brown; *op cit*; p.vii.

[92] *ibid.*; p.ix.

[93] Jack S. Isakoff, op.cit.: 23.

The PWA continued until July 1, 1939 by the Public Works Extension Act of 1937. That statute appropriated $59 million for additional grant funded projects. The Public Works Administration Appropriations Act of 1938 extended the life of the PWA to June 30, 1941 and provided another $965-million to the agency. This final appropriation required that all applications be submitted by September 30, 1938, that construction had to begin by January 1, 1940, and that the project be substantially completed by June 30, 1940.[94]

The PWA financed more than 34,500 projects nationally at a cost of more than $6 billion, employing up to half a million workers at a time. The scope of the work was far-reaching. The large majority of completed projects provided improvements for municipal sewer and water systems, as well as roads and streets. Among the most common building projects were courthouses, city halls, municipal buildings and public schools (more than 6500 elementary and secondary schools nationwide).[95] Importantly, the PWA pioneered the policy of direct federal allotments to municipal governments, perhaps analogous to Community Development Block Grant programs of more recent times in allowing local entities to set their own priorities.

The PWA in North Dakota

A graphically illustrative cartoon map printed in the June 22, 1937 *Grand Forks Herald* enumerated the following projects, under the heading, "PWA Cites Results After Four Years of Activities in North Dakota:" [Fig. A] ***Projects*** *by County, City, Project (date of completion or dedication; architect if known):*

- Sargent, Milnor, Firehall (1935)
- Cass, Buffalo, School (1936)
- Cass, Wheatland, Rural School (1936)
- Cass, Davenport, Rural School (1936)
- Cass, Fargo, Disposal Plant (1936)
- Cass, Gardner, School Gymnasium (1936)
- Cass, Clifford, Public School
- Barnes, Valley City, Auditorium (1936; VanHorn & Ritterbush)
- Ransom, Lisbon, Sewage disposal plant (1937)
- Ransom, Lisbon, Ransom County Courthouse (1935-38, Ira Rush)
- Traill, Mayville, Public School
- Grand Forks, Grand Forks, Disposal Plant
- Grand Forks, UND, Winter Sports Building
- Grand Forks, Larimore, Public School (1936)
- Grand Forks, Manville, Public School (1936)
- Grand Forks, Niagara, Auditorium (1937)
- Nelson, Petersburg, Auditorium (1937)
- Steele, Hope, Auditorium (1939, Gilbert R. Horton)
- Griggs, Hannaford, School Auditorium (PWA and WPA; 1935, Gilbert R. Horton)
- Walsh, Grafton, State Hospital Dormitory 1936, E.W. Molander)
- Ramsey, Church's Ferry, Auditorium (1935-36)

[94] *ibid.*: 27-28.

[95] U.S. Public Works Administration. *America Builds: The Story of the PWA*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939.

- Ramsey, Devils Lake, Central High School (1937, Marshall and Fischer); ($159,545 grant portion of total $354,545 total project cost; reportedly the "largest PWA project undertaken in North Dakota")
- Ramsey, Penn, Auditorium (1936-37)
- Cavalier, Langdon, Paving and Street improvements
- Cavalier, Walhalla, Public School (1936)
- Cavalier, Wales, Public School (1935)
- Pembina, Pembina, City Hall
- Pembina, Cavalier, Public School (1935)
- Rolette, St. John, Public School (1936-36)
- Rolette, San Haven State Hospital, Dormitory/Infirmary (1937)
- Pierce, Rugby, Paving and Street improvements
- Pierce, Selz, Public School (1936)
- McHenry, County, Flood and Irrigation improvements
- Bottineau, Russell, School Gymnasium
- Bottineau, Willow City, Public School
- Bottineau, Newburg, Public School
- Renville, Mohall, Renville County Courthouse (1936-37, E.W. Molander)
- Renville, Norma, 2 Rural Schools (1936)
- Ward, Des Lacs, Public School (1937)
- Ward, Minot, Sunnyside Day School (1936, E.W. Molander)
- McLean, Garrison vicinity, Rural School (1936)
- McLean, Wilton vicinity, Rural School (1936)
- McLean, Underwood vicinity, Rural School (1936)
- Foster, Carrington, Disposal Plant
- Stutsman, Jamestown, State Mental Hospital Ward Building (1935-36, William F. Kurke); ($144,000 grant portion of total $320,000 total project cost)
- Stutsman, Jamestown, McElroy Park and related Auditorium (1934)
- Stutsman, Streeter, Public School (1935)
- Kidder, Steele, Sewer System
- Emmons, Linton, Emmons County Courthouse (1934, Bugenhagen, Hess, Deeter)
- McIntosh, Ashley, Public School (1937)
- LaMoure, Edgeley, Public School (1936)
- Burleigh, Bismarck, Central High School (1934)
- Morton, Glen Ullin, Auditorium (1938; VanHorn & Ritterbush)
- Morton, Mandan, War Memorial Auditorium (1937; VanHorn & Ritterbush)
- Morton, Hebron, Public School (1936)
- Stark, Richardton, Waterworks
- Stark, Dickinson, Stark County Courthouse (1936, William F. Kurke)
- Stark, Belfield, Public School (1936)
- Hettinger, Regent, Bridge (1935)
- Hettinger, Mott, Hettinger County Courthouse (1934, Ritterbush Bros., Wienberg)
- Hettinger, New England, War Memorial Auditorium Building (1937; VanHorn & Ritterbush)
- Bowman, Scranton, Deep Water Well
- Golden Valley, Beach, Water system improvements
- Dunn, Killdeer, Waterworks
- McKenzie, Arnegard, Public School (1935)
- McKenzie, Watford City, Waterworks
- Williams, Epping, Public School (1936)
- Williams, Epping, Sewer system
- Williams, Alamo, Rural School (1936)

- Mountrail, Palermo, Public School (1936)
- Divide, Northgate, Public School (1935-36)
- Divide, Alkabo, Public School (CWA and PWA; 1934, E.W. Molander)
- Divide, Noonan, Waterworks and underground utility system
- Divide, Crosby vicinity, Rural School

Sixteen additional PWA projects were approved for construction in 1937-39, as PWA was winding down:

- County location not identified, Glass Lake Rural School
- Burleigh, Bismarck, Waterworks and related underground utilities
- Barnes, Valley City, a bridge (but neither the park bridges, nor the historic Marsh Arch highway Bridge).
- Grand Forks, Grand Forks, Central High School Auditorium and Gymnasium
- Nelson, Lakota, Nelson County Courthouse (1937)
- Walsh, Grafton, Municipal Building (1938)
- Walsh, Edinburg, City Hall (1939)
- Cass, Fargo, Auditorium (presumably the NDSU Fieldhouse), and not the WPA Arena
- Cavalier, Langdon, Cavalier County Courthouse (1937)
- Walsh, Grafton, Sewage plant
- Sheridan, McCluskey, Sheridan County Courthouse
- Ward, Minot, Auditorium (1937)
- Ward, Minot, Tourist Camp (1937)
- Ward, Minot, Municipal Building
- Hettinger, Mott, Highway Bridge (but note that this was NOT the historic three-span Marsh Arch bridge)
- Pembina, Crystal, Public School
- Pembina, Neche, Public School (1937)

In addition to non-federal projects applied for by local sponsors through the State Emergency Planning Board, various federal agencies also administered programs separately funded through their federal departments. These included the Veterans Administration (improvement to the Fargo Veterans Hospital), the Department of the Interior (Indian Affairs and National Park Service projects), Agriculture Department (rural resettlement grants and conservation projects on wildlife refuges), and the Treasury Department (international border stations and post offices).

Direct-funded PWA Federal projects; U.S. Post Offices in North Dakota (MPS):

It is noteworthy that post office buildings were among the first projects undertaken by the PWA in the North Dakota. Since they were under the purview of a federal agency, they were comparable to "shovel ready" projects promoted under contemporary economic recovery measures of 2010. The following post offices were funded and constructed during the period 1931-1943, and are addressed in detail in a Multiple Property Documentation Submission for the context of "U.S. Post Offices in North Dakota, 1900-1940":[96]

- Walsh County, Grafton (1932)
- Pembina County, Pembina U.S. Post Office and Customs House (1932)
- Foster County, Carrington (1932-33)
- Dickey County, Oakes (1935)

[96] Norene A. Roberts. "U.S. Post Offices in North Dakota, 1900-1940", National Register of Historic Places *Multiple Property Submission Form.* (1989); public record copy on file with the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

- Cavalier County, Langdon (1937; post office includes Federal Arts Project mural)
- Adams County, Hettinger (1938)
- Eddy County, New Rockford (1939; post office includes Federal Arts Project mural)
- Ransom County, Lisbon (1939; Federal Arts Project sculpture was removed)
- Pierce County, Rugby (1940; post office includes Federal Arts Project mural)

The Public Buildings Commission established a four-class classification system known as "The McAdoo Classification" in 1915 for the purpose of standardizing post office buildings. Classifications were generally based on gross receipts. All the post offices constructed in North Dakota during the 1931-1943 period of this context were "Class C", with the exception of Oakes, which is the only "Class D" post office in the state. Post office designs were undertaken under the auspices of the Supervising Architect; James A. Wetmore (1915-1934) or Louis A. Simon (1935-1941), based on standardized designs for each classification.[97]

Whereas some post offices built elsewhere in the U.S. between 1932 and 1934 utilized services of a design architect, all the North Dakota post offices from this period were undertaken directly under the federal agency. Nationally, the PWA built 406 post offices between its active years of 1933-1939. This number represents almost one-eighth of the total of 3,174 PWA construction projects. Post offices are occasionally misidentified locally as "WPA projects", but in fact, no post office buildings were built with WPA money. (One postal facility in Tuttle was later relocated into a WPA municipal City Office Building.) The standardized designs executed under the authority of the Supervising Architect, proved durable and respectable, albeit architecturally uninspired.

The post office planning processes, functional organization, styles, and artwork are all addressed in greater detail under the "U.S. Post Offices in North Dakota, 1900-1940" (MPS cover). It was the practice of the Fine Arts Section during the New Deal to reserve one tenth of the cost of a building for a mural, in order to put unemployed artists and sculptors to work. Leo Beaulaurier accomplished the painted mural in the Langdon post office. Eduard Buk Ulreich completed the mural for the New Rockford post office. Kenneth Callahan is identified as the artist for the painted mural in the Rugby post office.[98]

Architectural style guides for the Depression-era post offices generally classify them as either "Colonial Revival" (Grafton, Carrington, Pembina examples) or "Starved Classicism" (Oakes, Langdon, Hettinger, New Rockford, Lisbon, and Rugby examples). The term "Colonial Revival" can be regarded as a subset of the broader Period Revival movement, invoking motifs from the American Colonial period. The lingering popularity of the Colonial Revival style well into the 1930s accounts for its representation in PWA-funded post offices in North Dakota. Colonial Revival architecture is

[97] Norene A. Roberts, MPS1989: E9-11.

[98] Marlene Park and Gerald Markowitz. *Democratic Vistas: Post Offices and Public Art in the New Deal*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984. One other Depression-era feature of artwork in a public building was brought to the author's attention through ongoing scholarship by Wes Anderson, historian at the Barnes County Historical Society, who has identified painter H.B. Bartron as a painter who is believed to have been involved with work at the New Rockford post office and also at the PWA Valley City Auditorium.

less well represented in other public buildings of the 1930s, but the style can be associated with some North Dakota relief construction buildings; particularly buildings at the Fargo Veterans Administration Hospital, but also at several city halls and municipal buildings, and even one or two schools.

By around 1935, a distinctly different stylistic subset of the Period Revival era began to be seen. It is used to distinguish this "Starved Classicism," a term used by Lois Craig and her staff in *The Federal Presence: Architecture, Politics, and Symbols in the United States Government Building*. North Dakota has several good, if standard, examples all built between 1935-40. Typical examples of this style are the Langdon and Hettinger post offices, built between 1937 and 1938, respectively. They have the symmetry and formalism of the Colonial Revival, but stylistic details are strictly limited to the front entrances and windows. In general, "Starved Classical" buildings have flat brick walls up to the parapet coping, no cornice, flat roofs, and detailing only at the front entrance and windows. The other Starved Classical post offices in the state are located at Oakes, New Rockford, Lisbon, and Rugby.[99, 100]

Also constructed under auspices of the Treasury Department, border crossing stations across North Dakota's northern boundary with Canada require further investigation in terms of the extent of federal work relief involvement in their planning and construction. Several have been identified that are National Register eligible under criteria of this MPDF. With increased border surveillance for national security reasons, several of those properties are unused, abandoned, or scheduled for decommissioning.

Summary conclusions about achievements of PWA in North Dakota:

The diverse range of North Dakota projects undertaken by the Public Works Administration (PWA) was highlighted in several promotional retrospective publications by the PWA,[101] most notably, the retrospective by C.W. Short and Rudolph Stanley-Brown, entitled *Public Building: Architecture Under the Public Works Administration 1933-1939*.[102] Projects highlighted therein include:

- Valley City Municipal Auditorium (Proj. ND 1049; completed July 1937 at a total project cost of $115,332).
- Jamestown State Mental Hospital, 6-story diagnostic treatment unit (Proj. ND 1014; completed November 1936 at a total project cost of $320,692).
- Fargo Sewage Disposal Plant (Proj. ND 747; completed May 1936 at a total project cost of $766,896).
- Stark County Courthouse in Dickinson (Proj. ND 1043; completed June 1937 at a total project cost of $207,487).

Bearing in mind that the PWA did not prescribe architectural style for buildings, the selected projects illustrated in Short/Stanley-Brown include a fairly narrow range of architectural styles, with a preponderance of the Streamline Art Moderne or Art Deco. Thus, the Public Works Administration

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[99] Norene A. Roberts. (1989), MPS "U.S. Post Offices in North Dakota, 1900-1940", Section E, p.24.

[100] also, see discussion of "starved classicism" in Lisa B. Reitzes. "Moderately Modern: Interpreting the Architecture of the Public Works Administration." (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Delaware; 1989):179-192.

[101] U.S. Public Works Administration. *America Builds: The Story of the PWA*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939.

[102] C.W. Short, and Rudolph Stanley-Brown. *Public Buildings: Architecture Under the Public Works Administration, 1933-39*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939: 55, 101, 388, 456.

essentially allowed prevailing architectural styles of the day to be employed according to the tastes of clients and the professional judgment of qualified architects and engineers. However, it does appear that the standards and requirements of the PWA resulted in a noticeable improvement in the quality of construction and the safety and efficiency of resulting buildings and structures. To the agency's credit, a conscientious effort was made to gather objectifiable "user satisfaction" information through questionnaires sent to school districts and project owners, evaluating the satisfaction with advancement in the technology of their physical plant.[103]

In terms of advancements in architectural design or "style", the best summary analysis of the achievements of the PWA may have been made as part of the agency's 1939 "Report to the President". This summary report was disseminated in a variety of formats. Accompanying the expansive statistical summary of numbers of projects, dollars allotted, local sponsor costs, Short and Stanley-Brown presented an overview of the aesthetic character of PWA architecture, accompanied by a thumbnail sketch of the architectural scene before and during the New Deal.

> Humanity is striving to adjust itself to the new methods of living and its faster tempo of life and to gear its economy to the infinitely increased speed of production. These changes have affected the building industry as well as the planning and designing of the architects and engineers. Scientific improvements have been made in the fields of equipment, processes and materials and some of the best of these have been used in connection with the public works.[104]

In further discussing PWA accomplishments, Short and Stanley-Brown go on to address the soundness of construction, reduction in hazards, cost control, utilization of labor, craftsmanship and decoration. In the best tradition of planning, a conscious effort is apparent to assess sociological impacts of the PWA projects. It seems reasonable to infer that this same level of care, thoughtfulness, and purposeful design were brought to bear on North Dakota work relief projects as for those in every other part of the country.

Accompanied by a forward from Harold Ickes, *America Builds: The Record of the PWA* enumerates the scope of PWA accomplishments. Total number and dollar value of all approved non-federal PWA projects in North Dakota (through 1939) represented 193 projects with a constructed value of $12,996,931; utilizing $6,359,158 of allotted PWA funds. Of particular importance was the construction of modern public schools. It is noteworthy that the dollar value/percentage of local contribution from North Dakota sponsors was among the lowest (in fact one of the three lowest) in the U.S. Allowance was made for completing projects that had been started under programs that were subsequently ruled unconstitutional. Many of the PWA projects are still in use today, reflecting a thoroughly sound and timely investment in public infrastructure.

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[103] Short, and Stanley-Brown: Chapter VIII, pp.18-22, 670.

[104] *ibid.*; Chapter IV, p.7.

IV. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)

Modeled after military efficiency, discipline, and physical effort for the common good, the Civilian Conservation Corps is the single, most universally appreciated New Deal program.[105] On March 21, 1933, just shortly after he took the oath of office as the 32nd President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt presented a message to Congress on the topic of unemployment relief. Mindful that the civilian work force nationally has risen from 3% in 1929 to over 25% in 1933, Roosevelt suggested an immediate plan to enroll unemployed persons in public work.[106] He proposed to establish a program to "enlist young unemployed men in an army" to work on federal public lands doing forestry, prevention of soil erosion, flood control, and similar resource conserving projects. In his message he stated:

> . . . I have proposed to create a civilian conservation corps to be used in simple work, not interfering with the normal employment, and confining itself to forestry, the prevention of soil erosion, flood control, and similar projects . . . The type of work is of definite, practical value, not only through the prevention of great financial loss, but also as a means of creating future national wealth . . . Control of such work can be carried on by executing machinery of the Departments of Labor, Agriculture, War and Interior. The enterprise will . . . conserve our precious natural resources and more important will be the moral and spiritual gains of such work.[107]

Urged on by Roosevelt and his advisors – over opposition such as that raised by Secretary of Agriculture Arthur M. Hyde, who thought the idea of conservation camps to be of an "utterly visionary and chimerical character," or that of American Federation of Labor President William Green, who saw camps as a step toward "regimentation of labor" under military control – Congress rushed through an enacting bill in March, 1933.[108] Roosevelt signed it on March 31 and then issued an executive order on April 5 that put the plan into action.[109] Before the end of the month, Congress passed the enabling Emergency Conservation Work Act and authorized the President to establish the Civilian Corps Reforestation Youth Rehabilitation Movement. Not surprisingly, the program immediately became known by the shorter descriptive name Roosevelt used in his congressional message; the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), although the program was not officially designated by that name until 1937.[110]

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105 John A. Salmond. *The Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967: 54, 218.

106 John C. Paige. *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942*. Washington, DC: National Park Service and U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985:3-5.

107 FDR "Message to Congress", (March 1933).

108 Calvin W. Gower. "The CCC Indian Division: Aid for Depressed Americans, 1933-1942." *Minnesota History*, (Spring 1972): 4.

109 The original text of the legislation and Executive Order are reproduced in Appendix A of Perry H. Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942*. Montpelier, VT: Perry H. Merrill, 1981: 197-200.

110 John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967.

Roosevelt's attempt to conserve both human and natural resources was an extension of his own personal philosophy. His first appointment as a New York State Senator was as chairman of the state's committee on Forest, Fish and Game. In that position he was able to spearhead the passage of the first New York legislation on supervised forestry. While Governor, he encouraged the state legislature to pass laws to aid in county and state reforestation. Under that precursor program, public works projects were also created for the unemployed.

As with the various other New Deal relief programs, the CCC was largely shaped by the administrative head FDR appointed. In mobilizing the CCC, Roosevelt assigned that leadership role to his trusted longtime friend Robert Fechner. Based on his prior experience as a labor leader, Fechner proved to be a very capable director of one of the most favorably regarded work relief programs.[111] Fechner served until his death on New Year's Eve 1939, at which time the directorship was transferred to his hand picked assistant, James J. McEntee.[112]

Rather than establish a new federal bureaucracy, responsibility for the CCC program was divided among four existing cabinet Departments; Labor, War, Interior, and Agriculture. The Department of Labor initiated a nationwide recruiting program, screened and selected enrollees. The Department of War was responsible for providing medical exams, organizing enrollees into companies, constructing the CCC camps, housing, feeding, clothing, training, and providing benefits to the enrollees. The Department of the Interior was in charge of directing work projects within the National Parks, as well as operations of the Office of Education, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Bureau of Reclamation.

The Park Service and Forest Service, known together as the technical services, were responsible for the actual work projects, technical planning and execution, and supervision of the work force. The Department of Agriculture was responsible for projects associated with the U.S. Forest Service and the Soil Conservation Service. The Forest Service coordinated projects on state and private lands as well as those in the national forests.[113]

Purposes and procedures of the CCC were explicitly described in promotional materials and evaluative summaries. Enrollees had to be unemployed single men between the ages of 18 and 25. United States citizenship was required as well as sound physical fitness. In order to be selected, applicants had to demonstrate need, sufficient to obtain a record from their county welfare board based on quotas loosely set for each county. Enrollees were expected to work a 40-hour week and to adhere to camp rules. A limited number of "skilled local men", also known as "locally experienced

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111 John A. Salmond. *The Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967: 28-9.

112 Leslie Alexander Lacy, *The Soil Soldiers: The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Great Depression*. Radnor, PA: Chilton Book Company, 1976.

113 Perry H. Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942*. Montpelier, VT: Perry H. Merrill, 1981: 7-8.

men" (or "LEMs" in the jargon of CCC camps) could be hired as well. For these men, age and the marital stipulation were waived.[114]

The bulk of the work force nationwide, however, was to be taken from the unemployed in large urban centers. A stated goal was to relocate these persons to a healthier working environment, both in terms of living conditions and social factors. Enrollment regulations were later relaxed in order to include veterans of World War I and American Indians (the Indian Division or CCC-ID). Enlistment was guaranteed for a 6-month period with a two-year maximum. In return, each enrollee received food, clothing, shelter, and a monthly allowance of $30, from which they were required to return $25 to their families. Thus, the program had a very far-reaching economic stimulus impact.[115]

By September 1933, there were 1,520 CCC camps in operation nationwide with a total enrollment of 248,740.[116] Each camp typically contained 200 men. This manpower offered the U.S. Forest Service and the National Park Service the means and resources to expand and develop state and national forests as well as state, county, and metropolitan parks. The CCC provided important educational opportunities for the enrollees in the form of general education and vocational training. Classes were taught by CCC technical personnel and, when possible, by teachers from nearby communities. Fundamental skills, such as reading and writing, were emphasized as well as more advanced schooling in vocational and technical skills. These programs boosted morale and greatly improved the enrollees' prospects of permanent jobs after they left the corps. More than 90 percent of all enrollees participated in some facet of the education programs.[117]

Overview of CCC Indian Division nationally and in North Dakota:

Recent scholarship sheds light on a special CCC initiative that is relevant to the context of work relief in North Dakota. For Indian Americans, according to Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier, emergency conservation work presented "the greatest opportunity and the greatest challenge confronting the Indian Service and the Indian Tribes. Reservation Indians, perceived to be already living in "healthful outdoor surroundings," had not been included in the initial planning for the CCC.

> Reservation Indians, like many Americans, had lived on slim if not inadequate incomes in the 1920s (and before), and in the 1930s found themselves in even worse economic straights. As the general unemployment problem was forcing many jobless urban Indians back to the reservations, grasshoppers and drought were repeatedly destroying the crops on which the

[114] John C. Paige. *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service: An Administrative History*. United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1985: 15.

[115] Paige, 1985: 5.

[116] Merrill, 1982: 174-5.

[117] Merrill, 1981: 9.

already hard-pressed reservations were dependent. With little hesitation, therefore, the CCC leaders agreed to establish CCC activities for about 14,400 Indians.[118]

Within the first few weeks of the CCC program's establishment, important policy decisions extended the number of men enrolled in the program. Chronic unemployment, soil erosion, and water resource issues on Indian reservation lands had been problematic. On April 14, 1933 the President directed that enrollment be broadened to accommodate 15,000 Native American Indians in a special Indian Division with allowance for enrollees to continue living on their home reservations, when possible. Tribal councils selected the enrollees, and work projects focused on physical improvements of natural resources on the reservations. CCC relief measures, in fact, benefited no fewer than 100,000 Native Americans nationwide. Indian enrollees could be married and were eligible to live at home in order to care for their families and to raise food. Indian CCC work projects were carried out in 23 states. An exceptional feature of the CCC Indian program was the publication *Indians at Work*. *Indians at Work* was launched in August 1933 with CCC financial support for its publication. Since it continued through May-June, 1945, it outlived the CCC itself. This attractive publication was decidedly one of the most informative and appealing of those associated with the CCC.[119,120,121]

Though only a small number of CCC-ID projects were undertaken in North Dakota, the CCC-ID federal relief program represented an important new federal relationship to Native American populations. In North Dakota there were three CCC-ID "agencies" (the equivalent to companies elsewhere), performing work. They relate primarily to the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation near Belcourt, irrigation projects in the Yellowstone River watershed near the Montana border west of Williston (part of the Trenton-Buford irrigation project), and an unrealized "seed project" exploring the potential of pressure-molded clay blocks that anticipated WPA funding of as many as 600 reservation homes.[122]

CCC companies operating in North Dakota:

In North Dakota, CCC enrollees were sent first to the statewide headquarters at Fort Abraham Lincoln in Bismarck (not to be confused with historic Fort Abraham Lincoln, south of Mandan). The initial enrollment of North Dakotans in the CCC consisted of 1400 men in 8 companies, who arrived at Fort Abraham Lincoln in August, 1933. The first camps established beyond the "headquarters camp" were established in June 1933 at Devils Lake, Minot, Williston, Bottineau,

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118 Calvin W. Gower, citing Salmond and McEntee, with the account taken from "CCC Records Group 35" in the National Archives (NARA), and summarized in *Minnesota History* (Spring 1972): 5.

119 Gower, 1972. *op cit.*: 7.

120 Richard Lowitt, *The New Deal and the West*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984:122-135.

121 Frank Ernest Hill, in Carl Degler (ed.). *The New Deal*. New York: Quadrangle Books, 1970: 95-6.

122 NARA Records Group 35, College Park, MD.

Dickinson, and Jamestown.[123] By August 1937 there were 3800 men employed in 20 North Dakota companies. CCC Camps were assigned a designation by letters indicating, in a general way, their primary purpose or agency affiliation. Those most active in North Dakota dealt with:

P/PE (Private Land Erosion or Private Forestry/Grasslands Rehabilitation), SP (State Park), DSP (Department of State Parks), BS (Biological Survey or), BF (Bureau of Forestry, Fish and Wildlife Service Wildlife Refuge), BR (Bureau of Reclamation), SCS (Soil Conservation Service), and DPE (Drainage Protection of Land Erosion).

Enrollees were organized into companies, which were also given numbers. Companies were then assigned to camps for work on specific projects, or were frequently moved to new camps when their work assignments changed or were completed. An eventual total of 56 CCC camps (of varying sizes and duration) have been identified in North Dakota.[124] While little trace can be found in North Dakota of the actual physical infrastructure of the camps themselves, the larger achievement was in the projects achieved by enrollees. These camps were responsible for development of recreation facilities in all parts of North Dakota, extensive landscape rehabilitation and habitat restoration, as well as construction of dozens of buildings, many in the Rustic Style of architecture for which the WPA, NPS, and CCC are known.[125, 126, 127]

Camps typically consisted of 200 men, although there were occasionally a few smaller camps. Originally, enrollees were housed in canvas tents, which were intended for all CCC camps. Cost feasibility of timber products, and a concerted effort to utilize lumber resources as part of the economic revitalization strategy, led to a change in camp housing policy nationwide. By November 1933, the CCC had more than 40,000 carpenters utilizing more than 300 million board feet of lumber for CCC camps in 46 states. In most winters, the North Dakota companies received orders to relocate temporarily to wintering station camps in Minnesota, South Dakota, Arkansas, or California. Enrollees traveled by train to their new destinations and performed general camp work at those stations from October to April, at which time they returned by train to North Dakota.

1933 CCC camp activity in North Dakota consisted of induction of 8 new companies into the North Dakota Seventh Corps area at Fort Lincoln in Bismarck. The companies were numbered 764, 765, 766, 794, 795, 796, 797, 1783-V (comprised primarily of WWI veterans). Five additional companies totaling 900 men were enrolled later that year and ordered to camps at New England,

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[123] Consistent with the objective of relocating workers to the "healthful, rural countryside" (a debatable premise during the Dust Bowl), most camps were well outside major cities. When camps were later established near Fargo, Grand Forks, and Bismarck, they tended to utilize CCC-Veterans' companies.

[124] A map of North Dakota camp locations and company assignments appears in the Additional Documentation [Fig. 10], compiled by Steve Martens from a list by Ted Will for the National Park Service and www.CCCLegacy.org internet resources.

[125] Linda Flint McClelland. *Building the National Parks*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.381-453.

[126] Linda Flint McClelland. *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916-1942*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993:13-18.

[127] Ethan Carr. *Wilderness By Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998:11-54.

Williston, Park River, Valley City, and Bismarck. By 1934, 24 companies had been established in North Dakota. Details of their work objectives are described later in this narrative.[128]

20 of the 24 North Dakota CCC companies returned for duty in the spring of 1935, while four companies remained on assignment out of state. The returning companies were assigned to camps at Larimore, Kensal, Foxholm, Kenmare, Mohall, Kramer, and Kelvin. During the summer and fall of 1935, 7 newly formed companies were transferred to the Minnesota CCC district. Two of the CCC companies made up of North Dakota enrollees were permanently stationed at camps in Montana, performing watershed work on both sides of the North Dakota/Montana border.

In February 1936, North Dakota Corps was briefly reassigned as a sub-district of the Minnesota-North Dakota District, under command of headquarters in Fort Snelling, Minnesota. It was reported in 1936 that 51 North Dakota CCC camp enrollees had met requirements for high school graduation through coursework completed in the camps. 43 other enrollees had satisfied 8th grade graduation requirements. Many of the men were permitted to return to their hometowns on leave, in order to graduate with their hometown graduating class.

In February 1937, independent command of the North Dakota District was restored, separate from Minnesota. In July, Company 1783-V in Fargo disbanded, and was replaced on duty by Company 4727. Company 2767 removed from Medora to duty in South Dakota, leaving a total of 35 scattered companies made up primarily of North Dakota "boys", several of which were on permanent assignment outside the state.[129]

Russell Reid's role in North Dakota CCC camp work on behalf state parks and historic sites:

From the very beginning of the CCC program, several work relief camps were established based specifically to undertake numerous important projects initiated on behalf of the State Historical Society of North Dakota. (Some of these were later taken over and carried out by other agencies, such as NPS, ERA, or WPA.) Federal relief construction projects laid important groundwork for dramatic expansion of state parks, state historic sites as part of the vision of Russell Reid who served admirably during the Depression as head of the State Historical Society. Reid's supervisory role and guiding hand in determining the way North Dakota history is interpreted and understood, are especially apparent at Medora, Watford City, Mandan, the International Peace Garden, and Turtle River near Larimore (at that time known as "Grand Forks Regional Park"). His excellent judgment in the restrained development of historic sites in all parts of the state reflects a personal understanding of the breadth of North Dakota history.

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[128] North Dakota District CCC 7th Corps Area. "Official Annual, Civilian Conservation Corps, 1937." Bismarck: 7th Corps Headquarters, 1937.

[129] Some readers may find the use of the word "boys" troublesome, inasmuch as the CCC enrollees were young adults between 18 and 23 years of age. The term "boys" occurs repeatedly in the literature of the time, capturing the youthful spirit of camaraderie that characterized the civilian conservation service and camp life.

Much of the early vision for a planned system of state parks and historic sites had been suggested by Reid's predecessor, historian Orin G. Libby.[130] When Russell Reid was promoted to SHSND superintendency in January 1933, the drought years and economic depression had not yet fully taken hold, but by 1933 budgets for all state institutions had been drastically slashed. Reid recognized the infusion of federal work relief funding as an opportunity to serve the needs of the state's drought victims, and at the same time make a timely investment in establishing needed infrastructure to help with SHSND's mission of education and interpretation in all parts of the state.

The State Historical Society was ideally positioned to be a local sponsor, not only for state parks and historic sites, but also for museum collections, reference libraries, collections maintenance and cataloging, and archaeological surveys. The Society suddenly became important as a key agency for helping bring federal money and employment to the state. To the credit of Mr. Reid he took advantage of the possibilities he saw, and obtained creative benefits for North Dakota for more projects than most other Great Plains states were able to get.[131]

> Although many valuable additions to the state park system were acquired prior to the advent of Emergency Conservation Work Programs, it can truly be said that the development of North Dakota state parks and historic sites commenced with the establishment of the first CCC park camp assigned to the state.[132]

In the 1930s, the National Park Service's approach for master planning, rustic design, and landscape naturalization extended to the development and improvement of state, county, and metropolitan parks. With labor from the CCC and sound planning assistance from the National Park Service, valuable development work was accomplished at Fort Lincoln State Park, Fort Clark, Fort Rice, Fort Abercrombie, Menoken, Pembina, Turtle River State Park, and Lake Metigoshe. Still larger achievements were realized at the International Peace Garden and Roosevelt National Memorial Park in the Badlands. Technical specialists employed by the park service, including landscape architects, architects, and engineers, were assigned to each CCC camp and closely supervised the work of the CCC foremen and enrollees.[133]

Other sites, like Fort Union and Fort Buford were acquired to protect them for future interpretation. Reid's amicable demeanor and good personal relationships led to donation of landmark property in Medora, gifted by heirs of the Marquis DeMores. In August 1934, CCC camp SP-8 was established for 212 enrollees of company 2767 near Medora, charged with layout of the south unit of park that eventually became Theodore Roosevelt National Park. Other important work in the western part of the state included conservation of the Chateau DeMores, remnants of the Marquis' abandoned packing plant project, and creation of a Memorial Park in Medora. CCC camp NP-1 executed work at the Chateau DeMores and DeMores Memorial Park (1936-41).

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130 Ray H. Mattison, "The State Historical Society of North Dakota: A Brief History." *North Dakota History*, v34:n4 (Fall 1967); pp.295-317.

131 Robert Cory. "Russell Reid: A Friend's Recollection," in *North Dakota History* v34:n4 (Fall 1967): 289-92.

132 Russell Reid, "North Dakota State Park System." *North Dakota History Quarterly* v.8 (October 1940): 64.

133 Linda Flint McClelland, 1998: 381.

The operational structure of a typical CCC camp is well summarized in a lengthy newspaper interview with Weldon Gratton,[134] and in CCC camp newsletters that promoted the "esprit de corps" of scattered CCC camps throughout the state. Former CCC enrollees have sustained a close brotherhood through reunions and re-publication of camp newsletters.[135] Many of the most informative accounts of this aspect of local history come from personal reminiscences and oral interviews with past CCC workers. Thankfully, much of this history has been collected by an active and still ongoing brotherhood of CCC camp veterans.[136] National Park Service landscape architect Weldon Gratton provided a particularly informed perspective on Reid's relationship to North Dakota historic sites and natural landscapes, based on his working relationship with Reid in the Badlands:

> In early 1934, the federal drought and depression relief programs were seen as an opportunity to proceed with the park project. Congress appropriated funds for the purchase of submarginal lands in the drought areas through the Resettlement Administration to enable residents of such lands, who were not making a living, to sell out and move to more favorable locations. At about the same time, labor and funds for the development of parks and other public works were becoming available through the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), Works Progress Administration (WPA) and other work relief programs.[137]

As a case study example of CCC work relief activity, Theodore Roosevelt Regional Demonstration Park (later renamed Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Park, abbreviated hereafter as "TRMP") is illustrative. Some of the earliest CCC camp work in this Badlands park (particularly the "Section 16" west entrance to the south-unit) has been obscured by later developments. CCC Camp #2767 operated in Medora through June of 1937. At that time the TRMP park work was continued by ERA and WPA crews that were able to employ a number of older men from Billings county who would not have met the CCC enrollment criteria. ERA and WPA headquartered at Peaceful Valley Ranch; a longtime landmark situated in the TRMP south unit.[138] By 1938 the number of WPA workers at Theodore Roosevelt Park reached a high of 140.

Administratively, the National Park Service, under funding through the U.S. Department of the Interior, contributed to the effectiveness of the CCC camps in terms of resource management, study, and competent design masterplanning. Federal Architect Rudolph Stanley-Brown (who also co-edited an retrospective book on PWA achievements) personally represented the federal government as Procurement Officer at the International Peace Garden Memorial. As

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134 Weldon Gratton. "Oldtimer recalls 'days of CCC'", *Billings County Pioneer*, (v64:n14; August 15, 1984):1-5.

135 Alfred E. Cornbeise, *The CCC Chronicles: camp newspapers of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc, Publishers, 2004.

136 Though the reunions are sadly "dying out", somehow -- against long odds -- the aging veterans of this organization have managed to exercise the initiative to interpret their important historic role through the erecting of commemorative plaques at CCC camp sites and by maintaining an active internet presence that introduces later generations to resources and information exchanges, keeping their role in history alive and visible.

137 Weldon Gratton. "Oldtimer recalls 'days of CCC'", *Billings County Pioneer*, (v64:n14; August 15, 1984):1-5.

138 Gratton ,1984: 2-3. Also, see Bertha Palmer's narrative account in *Beauty Spots in North Dakota*, 1939: 101-5.

Superintendent of the State Historical Society, Russe1l Reid served as NPS Procurement Officer for Roosevelt Park in the Badlands and personally guided the development of state parks and state historic sites throughout North Dakota. In that capacity, Reid's role involved interpretation and design as well as purely administrative supervision. NPS field superintendents were responsible for implementing the NPS plan utilizing the labor of the CCC camps. Carl A. Taubert served as state inspector for the NPS on the Medora CCC projects.

Persons whose design work is evidenced by the complete CCC projects include landscape architects Weldon Gratton (NPS), Ben Lantz (ERA), Chandler Fairbank (ERA), Don Walp (CCC); architects Roy Norberg (NPS), Chester Comeau (ERA, from Fargo), Walter Runestrand (Fargo, ERA); engineers: Art Stellhorn (CCC-camp engineer who went on to layout plantings for state capitol grounds). Harold A. "Midnight" Murphy worked at both Medora and at Turtle River, and played a central role in the construction of the fieldstone museum at Fort Abraham Lincoln south of Mandan.

Einar Olstad (a rancher from Sentinel Butte) became blacksmith for ERA/WPA at Peaceful Valley Ranch, and collaborated with local superintendent William "Billy" Neuens and Weldon Gratton. Olstad fabricated the wrought iron fence around DeMores Memorial Park in Medora and accomplished other ironwork including the horseback characterization of Theodore Roosevelt that has become the signature icon of the North Dakota Badlands. Local experienced technical personnel included W.E. Robb from Bowman, ND and Billy Neuens (local superintendent at Medora, 1934-35). The extent to which the CCC welcomed the experience of locals who well-understood the landscape and local history, gives testimony to the integrity with which the constructed relief work reveals legitimate awareness and familiarity with that local context.

Linda Flint McClelland offers an insightful characterization of the way National Park Service technical personnel worked with state agency representatives to implement suitably sensitive design treatment in the course of developing new state parks, using CCC and WPA labor.[139] Careful consideration was given to the layout of these parks in terms of the way natural landscapes were "presented" to the traveling public. Dr. L.I. Hewes, deputy chief engineer for the Bureau of Public Roads in 1932, characterized the National Park Service's Landscape Division "pioneers" in they layout, construction, and landscape integration of roadways within the developing system of parks.[140]

> "Preservation of primitive landscape conditions, adequate protection of wild life, and the safeguarding of forests and watershed can not be carried out if a reasonable balance between accessibility and wilderness is not maintained. A group of landscape architects pass on all plans for improvements in the park system and roads and trails are built to designs that will give least injury to natural features.[141]

[139] Linda Flint McClelland, 1998: 382-421.

[140] Linda Flint McClelland, 1998: 231.

[141] quoted in *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior*, 1929:19

CCC camps, companies, and specific work relief accomplishments in North Dakota[142]*:*

Camps SP-1 & P-51 (Co. #794 established May 1933); worked at the International Peace Garden from their base camp at Kelvin, near Bottineau. Harold A. "Midnight" Murphy served as camp Superintendent for this company before being reassigned to camp SP-8 at Medora in August 1934 where he was attached to Company #2767. Beginning in May 1934 the company constructed the following features at the International Peace Garden: two picnic areas, stone and log shelter buildings, gravel trails and foot bridges, several log and stone bridges, a large amphitheater with log seats, a 20-foot stone spillway dam, and extensive landscaping at another earthen fill dam.

Camp SP-3 (Co. #1783-V established 6/26/1933 at Fort Lincoln, Bismarck, and Co. #2775-V established July, 1934). This company, made up of World War I veterans, engaged in dam building on Apple Creek and Burnt Creek, near Bismarck, developed experimental dams at the Wachter and Wetzstein farms, constructed a large dam west of Elgin, and performed important work in establishing the Northern Plains Experimental Farm, from which much nursery stock was later distributed to the Prairie States Forestry shelterbelt project. After wintering in the Black Hills of South Dakota, the company returned to complete extensive work at three city parks in Fargo (Lindenwood, Edgewood, and Oak Grove), and constructed dams at Valley City and Casselton in the eastern part of the state. They accomplished essential but unglamorous work in clearing out brush and debris from the Red River watershed, which benefited flood control and improved drinking water intakes for the City of Fargo.

In July 1937 this company began its most extensive and lasting work under the National Park Service initiative sponsored by Russell Reid of the State Historical Society. The company completed highly-visible historical site development work south of Mandan, conserving and reconstructing the former Fort McKeen and five Mandan earth lodges. NPS architect Roy Norberg (who had previously completed work for the Chateau DeMores in Medora) contributed to the design of a combination museum/custodial quarters at Fort Lincoln south of Mandan. This significant feature was built by a CCC camp of WWI veterans using locally gathered boulders and cottonwood planks sawn from trees taken from the Missouri River bottom.

Camp SP-5 (Co. #764 and #4727) Turtle River State Park, near Larimore. Two companies (established at Fort Lincoln, 6/25/33 and 10/6/33 respectively) relocated to Camp Grafton near Devils Lake in 1933 to build small dams in the north central part of the state. The companies wintered in Arkansas and on 4/29/34 returned by train to a tent camp in Wishek, doing soil conservation work. In that assignment, they lived through "the worst dust storm in history". In 1934-35 the company wintered at a state forestry camp in Park Rapids, MN. In Spring of 1935 they returned by train to tent camps at Larimore while their permanent barracks were being built. From that time onward, they performed extensive work at Turtle River State Park, including cut stone work to build iconic recreational structures still in use today.

[142] refer to map of CCC camps and companies statewide, Figure 10 in the Additional Documentation section of this MPDF. The accomplishments enumerated in this section are taken primarily from North Dakota District CCC Seventh Corps Area. "Official Annual, Civilian Conservation Corps, 1937," Bismarck: Seventh Corps Headquarters, 1937. Note that all cities and towns referenced in this section are "North Dakota" except when a different state has been designated.

Camp SP-7 (Companies #2771 and #2772) organized 7/19/1934 at Fort Snelling, MN and subsequently stationed to a headquarters camp south of Watford City. This company performed extensive road building and landscape work at the North Unit of Theodore Roosevelt Park. CCC camp SP-7 was established in the North Unit (near Watford City) for Companies 2771 (established 1934-35) and 2772 (operating at this camp 1934-39). After discontinuation of the CCC companies at this site, WPA continued using the camp until summer 1941. The site of this CCC camp is still marked as a campground on the south banks of the little Missouri just west of the Highway 85 bridge. This CCC camp is marked and designated by signage today.

Camp BF-1 (Co. #796) Foxholm (established at Fort Lincoln in Bismarck; 4/19/1933).
This company engaged in dam building in a broad area surrounding Dickinson, including erosion control work along the Heart River. In May 1935 the company relocated to its permanent camp at Foxholm, where this CCC-unit developed the "Camp Maurek" Upper Souris Waterfowl Refuge, (named after the director of the Minot biological survey). Work on the Upper Souris Refuge included building truck trails, dams, levees, fences, improving marsh areas, and establishing nesting islands and wildlife feeding habitat.

Camp BF-2 (Co. #2774) at Kensall, (established at Cass Lake, MN 6/9/1934 with only 18 initial enrollees). This company was initially based at Valley City, doing dam construction, soil erosion control, and development of a fish hatchery under direction of the Soil Conservation Service. Within weeks of their initial deployment this company was joined by 210 North Dakota enrollees. In the winter season the company relocated to Deer River, MN where the enrollees engaged in forestry work and forest fire suppression. Upon return to Carrington, the company engaged in extensive road building and street construction, and assisted farmer with construction of small-scale dams and livestock ponds. Beginning in August 1935, the company was permanently stationed at Arrowwood Lake Migratory Waterfowl Refuge near Kensal, improving waterfowl habitat.

Camp BF-3 (Co. #797) Kenmare (established at Fort Lincoln in Bismarck 5/25/1933).
In its first season, this widely-traveled company constructed 10 rock and earthen dams near Jamestown, and one large timber dam across the James River at Grand Rapids. Seasonally, the company was stationed in Minnesota and at an Ozark Mountains Camp in Arkansas. Upon returning from the wintering camp, the company was stationed at Watford City. From transient "side camps" it completed a number of small dams near Killdeer, before conducting a biological survey for the Des Lacs Wildlife Refuge.

Camp BF-4 (Co. #766) Kramer (established at Fort Lincoln in Bismarck, 6/7/33).
This company initially enrolled 212 men and in July 1933 they were among the first companies dispatched from headquarters to work camps in Williston and Ray to work on dam construction and soil conservation. From October 1933 to April 1934 they relocated to a camp in Orville, SD after which they returned by train to tent camp at Stanley, ND amid severe dust storms. The company built additional dams from side camps near Parshall and Bowbells. The winter of 1934-35 was spent doing forestry conservation work at Effie, MN. The men returned to their Bottineau and Kramer tent camps in spring of 1935 and wintered-over in North Dakota during the winter of 1935-36. During the work seasons of those years, they also constructed a large dam at Westhope and conducted a biological survey of waterfowl on the lower Souris River, contributing to establishment of the internationally

important J. Clark Salyers Refuge. Salyers (the man) was critically important as a wildlife management expert and the visionary originator of the national system of wildlife refuges during the 1930s.

Camp BF-5 (Co. #765) Mohall (originally established as Company 1795 at Fort Lincoln, 6/13/33). This company was first assigned to Minot where they were based in a tent camp at the current State Fairgrounds. The men built earthen dams at Sawyer, Glenburn, Berthold, Burlington, and Surrey. 75 men were sent to form a sub-camp at Kenmare, where together with BF-3 they built dams and flood control structures on various stretches of the Des Lacs River, eventually forming a reservoir to enhance wildlife habitat. In October 1934, the company relocated by train to Tigerville in the Black Hills area of South Dakota, where they spent the winter months cutting firebreaks. From May 1934 to October of that same year they were stationed at Park River, ND and then at Schley in the forests of Minnesota. Early in 1935 the company located temporarily to Foxholm and Mohall, where they accomplished soil erosion control and a biological waterfowl survey. Late in 1937 the company records reported the unusual detail that they were "unique in that the company has never had a death among its members."

Camp BF-2 [NOTE: this is a different BF-2 than the one at Kensall, ND described above] (Co. #4750) was based at Medicine Lake, Montana (organized at Valley City, ND 8/20/1935) In the first year of its organization this company's primary mission consisted of building small earthen and rubble stone dams in drought areas at the behest of the Soil Conservation Service. The company was later transferred to its headquarters base in Bismarck in May 1936. The company was reviewed as part of a personal visit by President Roosevelt on his western states drought inspection tour. The company's eventual primary mission was development of the 30,000 acre Medicine Lake Migratory Waterfowl Refuge in Montana.

Camp BR-30 (North Dakota Co. 2761) formed July 13, 1934 at Park River, ND but permanently stationed between Sidney and Fairview, Montana. Early in this company's term of service, it built rubble stone and earthen dams in drought areas of the Park River basin for the Soil Conservation Service near the town of Park River. The company was permanently positioned in Montana to work on the Lower Yellowstone Irrigation Project along the northernmost boundary between North Dakota and Montana (adjacent to Williams and Divide counties). The company remained under administrative jurisdiction of the North Dakota command, and performed work in both states.

In addition to the 12 camps active in 1937 (whose missions are described in detail above) a separate list of all the known CCC camps in North Dakota was compiled by Ted Will, longtime President of the North Dakota CCC alumni organization. Will accounts for 31 companies that were in place at various times, and 42 various camp locations between 1933 and 1942:

- Eleven camps carried out primarily local park development, erosion control, and construction at State Historical Sites including P-53 at Dickinson, P-54 at Jamestown, P-55 at Devils Lake, P-56 at Minot, P-57 at Williston, P-58 at Wishek, PE-59 at New England, PE-60 at Valley City, PE-61 at Park River, PE-64 at Stanley, PE-65 at Watford City.
- Three camps performed primarily State Park improvement work: SP-1 at Dunseith, SP-2 at Carrington, SP-5 at Larimore.
- Four camps carried out Bureau of Forestry wildlife refuges and biological survey work: BF-2 at Kensall, BF-3 at Foxholm, BF-5 at Foxholm, BF-4 at Bottineau, BSF-4 at Kramer.

- Three camps completed Bureau of Reclamation work that included maintaining or establishing wildlife refuges and biological survey work for the Bureau of Forestry: BR-1 at Dunseith, BR-30 (based at) Sidney, Montana, BR-97 at Trenton, ND.
- Nine camps accomplished Soil Conservation Service work, erosion control, shelterbelt planting: SCS-1 at Wishek, SCS-2 at New England, SCS-3 at Valley City, SCS-4 at Park River, SCS-5 at Mandan and Morton County, SCS-6 at Lakota, SCS-10 at Williston, SCS-11 at Fargo, SCS-12 at Bismarck. Working on behalf of the Soil Conservation Service, these camps constructed 134 small dams of rock and earth, 3 diversion channels, and 2 large masonry rubble dams to control drinking water intake for the City of Fargo. These companies also performed work at Park River, Lakota, Valley City, Wishek, Mandan, New England, and Watford City. Much of that work remains in place and functional in the present day.
- Seven camps worked primarily on drought relief erosion control work on private land: DSP-1 at Bismarck, DSP-3 at Fargo, DSP-4 at Larimore, DSP-5 at Watford City, DSP-7 at Medora, DSP-8 at Jamestown, DSP-67 at Carrington,
- Six camps performed drought relief erosion control work on private and public land, apart from Soil Conservation Service: DPE-62 at Mandan, DPE-66 at Casselton, DPE-68 at Minot and Bottineau, DPE-69 at LaMoure, and DJPE-72 at Langdon.

In 1942, after 9 years of operations, the CCC ended its service. During its time of operations, a total of 31,764 North Dakota enrollees participated in the Civilian Conservation Corps, but because of the requirement for disbursement of wages to family "back home", an additional 120,000 of the state's destitute residents benefited. In total, more than $16-million was invested within the state (including $7.5-million in work relief wages). The cost "per man" averaged $1,100 per year of enrollment.

> The WPA activities gradually wound down and came to a halt in the summer of 1941. Soon after, the CCC camp was closed in November,1941. The buildings were taken by the Army for use by contractors constructing the Alaskan Highway. Many of the enrollees were on their way to enlistment in the armed forces. Most of the supervisory NPS and Army personnel were doing likewise or taking jobs in war-related industries.[143]

The impact on North Dakota was extraordinary, and benefits are still felt today. For nine years, the CCC program gave the state millions of man-days of critically necessary conservation labor, advancing the state's parks and soil conservation efforts. Critically-timed, professional studies of park design, wildlife resources, and management plans brought to bear a much more well informed level of critical environmental judgment than would have been possible under any other circumstances.[144]

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[143] Ibid. p. 4

[144] Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr. "Relief for Youth: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration in North Dakota. *North Dakota History*. v48:n4; (Fall 1981): 17-22.

Under the CCC, water-retention ponds and low-level dams improved water resource management, providing the basis for many successful agricultural irrigation practices through the present day. Grasshopper pest control was another routine work relief undertaking of the CCC camps during the drought years. Because many of these "submarginal lands" were so ill suited for agriculture or even for ranching, the CCC addressed the emergency problem of restoration of idle lands for public recreation and resource conservation uses. Though the number of North Dakota projects was small, the CCC Indian Division fostered a much-improved relationship between the U.S. government and sovereign tribes in three parts of the state, while extending benefits to a much under-served segment of the population. Work of the CCC camps implemented many of the first initiatives that addressed planned resettlement and environmentally sustainable landscape readjustment on the drought-prone Great Plains. Regionally, the goal of the shelterbelt program was to plant 40-million trees in North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. For this purpose, a state nursery was established by the CCC, together with the U.S. Forest Service, in the Denbigh Dunes area of North Dakota.[145] (This important work relief venture is described later in the MPDF narrative as a fundamental function of the Prairie States Forestry Project.)

The importance of the CCC to North Dakota is evidenced by its numerous accomplishments. Utilizing CCC labor and guidance from SHSND and NPS, North Dakota was able to create 12 new state parks, and 36 designated state historic sites, all of which established a new direction for the state's appreciation of its diverse heritage. Campgrounds, picnic areas, and improved wildlife refuges restored and rehabilitated endangered landscapes in drought-prone areas of the state. The CCC "boys" built hundreds of modest but well-crafted buildings, erected 431,555 rods of fence, constructed 623,012 cubic yards of levees and water control features, 124 impoundment dams and 356 small reservoirs. Working in every part of the state they planted 1,773 acres of trees and shelterbelts, and improved 8,625 acres of mature forest. Eventual control of soil erosion through installation of shelterbelts (under the Conservation Service) began with field work initially undertaken by the CCC in most parts of the state. CCC crews re-vegetated nearly 7000 acres of range land and spent 2,762 man days fighting forest fires. Many structures they built, such as the lodge at the International Peace Garden and the museum at Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park remain today for the public's use and enjoyment.

North Dakota's public officials were generally pleased with the CCC, as were the leaders of many important private organizations including the American Legion, various Chambers of Commerce, the League of North Dakota Municipalities, and the influential Farmers Union. Overall, the effect of the CCC as a work relief agency was well received in North Dakota. Scholarly analyses[146] show that the public was accepting of the CCC program because it treated minimal enrollee payment more as a

[145] Thomas J. Turck. "Denbigh Station and Experimental Forest National Historic District" National Register of Historic Places nomination, (March 2010); approved by the North Dakota State Review Board for submittal to the National Register.

[146] Merrill: 159-61. Salmond: 103, and 218. Maher: 226. Lacy: 156.

"stipend" in exchange for regimented, supervised hard labor closely analogous to military service. Popularity was also helped by returning the majority of the worker's pay to benefit their families and home communities. Even the reaction of the press was generally favorable, as typified by a 1935 editorial in the *Grand Forks Herald*, cautioning about spending at a time of financial crisis, but acknowledging that Roosevelt's proposal to engage young men in productive labor, intelligently administered, could produce benefits of lasting value at a reasonable cost.[147]

Lastly, it is not inconsequential that the experience gained by army officers in managing crews of enrollees at the CCC camps provided valuable training that was translated by the Department of War upon U.S. entry into World War II. The context of work relief construction during the Great Depression demonstrates both the historical events and the unique circumstances of design and construction by the CCC companies. All these visionary social purposes were accomplished while providing educational benefits, skills training, and economic revitalizations to otherwise destitute men and their families. A large majority of all the work in place today at North Dakota's state and national parks, state historic sites, national wildlife refuges, watersheds and riparian corridors resulted from the work relief enterprise of the CCC camps.[148]

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147 *Grand Forks Herald*. (April 16, 1933): 5.

148 Neil M. Maher, *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

V. The Works Progress Administration (WPA), later renamed the Work Projects Administration.

By the end of 1934, it was apparent that the New Deal programs, while successful in many respects, had not yet produced the strong, sustained economic recovery the circumstances necessitated. As a broadly supported work-relief agency, the PWA was a bit slow in its allocations, largely out of caution. The second half of 1933 had indicated some improvement in the national economy, but by 1934 that progress was unsustained and seemed far less hopeful. The Roosevelt administration set about developing plans for other broader programs to address the continuing economic depression, taking full consideration of social and political implications, and those impacting the Great Plains region's rapidly degrading natural environment.

FDR's "Second New Deal" emphasized a new, more flexible works program. Utilizing federal funding from the 1935 Emergency Relief Appropriations Act (ERA), more than 40 federal agencies were pressed into service to set in motion the new works program. This best-known of all New Deal era programs was termed the Works Progress Administration (WPA), a somewhat awkward name given it by FDR, but one he refused to recant until 1939, when the program name was changed to "Works Projects Administration" and placed under the authority of the Federal Works Agency.

The President announced several criteria that would be applied in determining the eligibility of work projects:

(1) Projects should be useful.
(2) Projects should be such that a considerable proportion of the cost would be spent on wages for labor.
(3) Projects were encouraged that were likely to produce considerable return to the federal Treasury.
(4) Project funds were required to be spent promptly and not held over.
(5) Projects should give preference to potential laborers on the public relief roles.
(6) Projects were allocated to localities or relief areas in relation to the number of workers on relief roles in those areas.
(7) The maximum number of workers should be encouraged to move from WPA projects to private employment in the shortest time possible.

Each of the ERA acts that funded the Works Progress Administration specified the types of projects for which appropriated funds might be used. The list of allowable project types was long, because the WPA sponsored the broadest range of projects of any work program of the period. WPA construction projects were not unlike those undertaken by the Public Works Administration. Many WPA conservation projects were conducted like those under the Civilian Conservation Corps. The primary differences, administratively, had to do with who was "in charge" of the work. Under PWA and CCC, the federal government acted as the developer in obtaining design recommendations, construction documents, bids and coverage of project costs while the work was underway. Under WPA, cash grants were awarded from the federal agency for labor, while the local sponsor was obligated to provided as much material and design guidance as was feasible. Essentially, each projects' local sponsors were obligated to provide the cost of all materials and design services, while the federal agency would contribute the cost of labor, so projects that were "labor-intensive" were preferred over those that were "material intensive."

Procedurally, a formal proposal for conducting a WPA project had to be made by a "public agency". The application format was a concise, straightforward 4-page standardized form. All proposals were forwarded by the sponsors to the state WPA office. After the proposal was reviewed and determined acceptable, a formal request was made by the state administrator for federal authority to spend the funds. The application was then sent to the Washington office of the WPA where it received a thorough review and was approved or disapproved. Final approval of each and every project was given directly by the President. Ultimately, the viability of each project depended directly on the number of destitute, unemployed persons in the community who could be promptly put to work. All projects were required to demonstrate that they were providing the maximum opportunity to create paying jobs for out-of-work persons in that community where the project was situated.

Projects were occasionally delayed until other projects had been completed, or until the necessary number of qualified unemployed persons had been certified by the WPA for work in that community. When WPA employment was provided in a community, less direct relief was required from local sources. This was one practical incentive for local sponsorship of WPA projects, but the chief incentive was clearly the desire to secure useful improvements to the public infrastructure. The WPA application process was a simple one-page form submitted by a qualifying public body. Generally labor was paid for by the WPA, while materials and local expertise were the responsibility of the local sponsor. As mentioned previously, the WPA often provided small grants for phased work or for completing projects that had been initiated under other work relief programs.

The WPA sponsored the broadest range of projects of any work program of the New Deal. Construction projects were not unlike those undertaken by the Public Works Administration. Many WPA conservation activities -- shelterbelt plantings as one example -- were continuations of projects that had been started by Civilian Conservation Corps companies, but for which there was a readily available supply of local labor to continue the work. Yet, a broad range of additional service projects were also performed under WPA sponsorship that typically involved professionals, white collar workers, and women. Immediate employment was the primary objective of the WPA. Getting people working often took precedence over project efficiency or detailed review of design and project scope. All these expediencies aside, there is good indication that most workers took seriously the opportunity to engage in work relief, and performed meaningful work on behalf of the WPA.

The WPA was organized administratively around six Divisions; Engineering and Construction, Service Projects, Training and Employment, Finance and Control, and Supply. The Division of Engineering and Construction accomplished seven broad categories of project types, discussed more fully later in this narrative. This division of WPA had the most relevance to the type of construction projects addressed in the present narrative. The Division of Service Projects supported important public activities projects, research and records projects, welfare projects (sewing, gardening & canning, surplus commodities, and public health programs). Federal Project No. 1 for music, art, writing, and theater. One particularly important WPA Federal Writers' Project, directed by Ethel Schlasinger, was

the book *North Dakota: A Guide to the Northern Prairie State* (1938).[149] This category also provided support for North Dakota clay pottery development.

FDR appointed Harry L. Hopkins to serve as chief administrator of the WPA program, an appointment in which he served with great distinction and capability through 1938. Political cartoons of the time often poked fun at aspects of the WPA that placed emphasis on white collar work and the arts, but one of the most telling of those cartoons in the (admittedly obscure) Roslindale, MA *Parkway Transcript* showed Hopkins favorably alongside the caption, ". . . an American farm boy from Iowa who spent 9 billions of his country's money and not a dollar stuck to his fingers!"[150] Harold O. Hunter, assistant WPA director to Hopkins, visited North Dakota several times on inspection trips. North Dakota was one of 10 states under Hunter's regional supervision.

Relief era programs went beyond creating jobs to create social structures that enfranchised a much broader segment of the public. The WPA enabled federal participation in a broad range of project types initiated and sponsored by counties, cities, and towns, as well as state and federal agencies. Regional offices were established to mediate between the federal administration and the states. Each state had an administrator who was responsible for the operation of WPA projects in that state. For North Dakota, beginning in 1934 the WPA administrator was Thomas H. Moodie who had been displaced from the governorship by political maneuvering.

Overview of WPA activity in North Dakota:

On March 1, 1934, by long-distance telephone, Harry Hopkins took control of federal relief in North Dakota away from the state Emergency Relief Committee. The state's relief program was then reorganized by Hopkins' directive. Using state and federal money, local Public Welfare Boards, would provide for direct relief needs of the aged, mothers and dependent children, the unemployable, and any employable people not on work relief roles. The federal government would care for the others through new work relief agencies. The new Works Progress Administration (WPA) would give work relief to a specified number of "employables other than farmers."[151] (WPA was essentially created to provide work opportunities for laborers and technical professionals.) Other New Deal programs dealt with direct farm relief, although in North Dakota many destitute farmers has already begun leaving the farm and migrating to the towns.

In order to carry out its program, the WPA was organized at four administrative levels:

(1) The Central Administration in Washington. Harry Hopkins administrator
(2) The Regional Offices. North Dakota was included in Region 4, based in Minnesota

[149] In the estimation of historian Elwyn Robinson, "one of the best books on the state ever produced". The 1938 guide, reissued by the State Historical Society of North Dakota, was especially helpful in framing the contextual settings for this MPDF.

[150] Reprinted in Searle F. Charles, *Minister of Relief; Harry Hopkins and the Great Depression*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1963:123.

[151] Federal Emergency Relief Administration for North Dakota, *Relief in Review in North Dakota* (Bismarck, 1936): 15-124.

(3) The State Administration in Bismarck. Thomas H. Moodie, Director, with Paul S. Bliss and J.R. Kennedy serving as administrative assistants
(4) The District Offices, based in Grand Forks, Fargo, Bismarck, Minot, Jamestown, and other cities.

A large percentage of North Dakota WPA projects seeking less than $10,000 were routinely approved *pro forma*, while projects in the $10,000 to $25,0000 were also commonplace. Still other "aggregated" projects were grouped by agencies like the highway department or county governments, and then allocated to small-scale construction activities undertaken at scattered sites throughout the state or county, with oversight entirely at the discretion of the sponsoring agency. An example is the construction of a small, ornamental stone drinking fountain adjacent to Crystal Springs Lake, alongside the improved route of U.S. Highway 10. This is because federal road funds were accorded to the state highway department for improvement of the pavement and right of way. A lump sum grant to the highway department then allowed them to hire local workers to complete designated local project. Much of the state park and historic sites improvement work was accomplished in a similar manner. The WPA application grouped together a full year of projects located "statewide", and then authorized individual projects to proceed at the discretion of agency head Russell Reid.

The WPA docket rolls suggest that many counties, townships, and local governments had to be rather forcefully encouraged to show a bit of imagination in applying for projects they may not have realized they needed. Recreational amenities were priority local projects under WPA. Essentially every town in North Dakota still uses a baseball or kittenball (softball) diamond, or another outdoor athletic field that was improved under a WPA project.[152] This level of commitment to a broad range of public interests manifested itself in relief construction projects ranging from bathhouses and swimming beaches to ski jump ramps and golf courses to bandshells in municipal parks. From a rather privileged soapbox, in an article entitled "Planning Our Leisure," which was distributed to Information Services Directors in all WPA districts, Harry Hopkins extolled:

> The WPA recreation program is democratic; . . . it is distinctly not intended in any limited way as a program 'for the poor'. It is intended for everybody. People need recreation not because they are poor, or rich, young or old, but because they are people.[153]

Perhaps an unanticipated outcome of the WPA and other federal work relief activities throughout the U.S. had to do with "raising expectations". Before the Depression, immigrant farmers would have managed to somehow muster the means to struggle through the quagmire in getting back and forth to market towns. But with improvement of farm-to-market roads, an expectation was established that their effort ought not be Promethean. Modern sanitary privies with

[152] "Kittenball" was an early name for men's or women's softball, and though not common in current usage, popularity of the term through the 1930s means that many local applications to WPA for athletic field projects identify the game by that name.

[153] "Victor Christgau, State WPA Head to be Adopted Into Chippewa Tribe at Fair." *The Mahnomen Pioneer*, July 23, 1937. Though Christgau was Minnesota state WPA administrative head and not a North Dakotan, this point of view is typical of the approach taken throughout the Minnesota WPA region, if not the nation as a whole.

concrete floors may have been just a touch above the level of luxury to which farm families had been previously accustomed, but such facilities raised the standard of expectation for public health. Planned and designed water control structures and underground sewage systems regulated hydrological conditions, moderating natural cycles. Well-constructed and equipped schools could be made better facilities for learning in smaller communities.

Effectively, the federal work relief construction activities helped make a case for modern, scientific thinking, and established a reasonable expectation that life's hardships ought not be so severe if something modest could be done in the way of investment to improve local conditions. In visiting many dwindling North Dakota communities, it can seem as though the "shot in the arm" received from federal work relief investment in the 1930s was the last significant public investment in infrastructure local residents were able to secure. Federal investment in small North Dakota communities in the 1930s affirmed that those places were meritorious enough to justify the basic amenities of civic life.

Scope of WPA projects in North Dakota; Design and quality of construction

The WPA work-relief programs, in particular, encouraged investment in small, ambitious, readily achievable projects that were envisioned by local communities. With almost all WPA projects originated, sponsored and architecturally designed at the local or state level, the likelihood that a particular project would be realized was largely dependent upon efforts of local individuals. The application process was "streamlined" in such a way that whatever a local sponsor asked for, they were almost certain to be awarded funds for labor to accomplish it. District offices exerted little or no review or comment regarding locally sponsored designs, particularly for projects under the suggested $25,000 limit. The federal government remained more concerned about the employment opportunities afforded by each project, than the scope or even utility of the project.

Architects (when they were involved) and project supervisors essentially worked for the project sponsor, although design documents were reviewed and occasionally recommendations were made to simplify the design in the interest of the level of skill that would be available at the work site. Thus, the earthwork and foundations for Bismarck High School were executed under WPA grants, while the local sponsors sought construction loan money from the PWA for the eventual building construction (which often required a greater level of construction expertise than was possible by less skilled WPA workers).

The most visible surviving legacy of the WPA work relief program is the constructed infrastructure built under the Division of Engineering and Construction, which included seven broad categories of project types[154]:

[154] Rose, 1994: 50-4.

(1) Municipal Engineering Projects included streets, alleys and sidewalks, water supply and purification systems, sewer systems and sewage disposal plants, parks and recreational facilities, and miscellaneous municipal improvements not including public buildings, in municipal locations in North Dakota.

(2) Airport and Airfield Projects included construction and improvement of hangars and other airport buildings, construction or reconstruction of runways, installation of drainage and lighting systems, excavation and grading work, and airfield marking work, in municipal locations in North Dakota.

(3) Public Building Projects included new construction, additions, and improvements to a wide range of state, county, and municipal buildings. Projects of this kind included government administrative buildings (city halls, community buildings, auditoriums and firehouses), educational and recreational buildings, hospitals and medical clinic facilities.

(4) Highway and road projects included grading, graveling, and pavement work on highways, roads (including the important category of rural farm-to-market roads), bridges, culverts, roadside drainage and roadside landscaping. Road projects were the most numerous of WPA projects as they lent themselves to rapid utilization of less skilled labor, in virtually every part of North Dakota.

(5) Conservation Projects focused on erosion control and water conservation. North Dakota was one of only a few states in which these conservation projects were a substantial part of WPA accomplishments. In some instances, WPA continued work that had been initiated by CCC companies (since WPA was less restrictive in the employment of local labor), and continued the FERA program of dam construction in drought areas of the state. Small dams (including farm dams) were generally earthen and stone riprap construction, while more elaborate larger dams made extensive use of concrete and stonework. Erosion control also included terracing and construction of check dams and irrigation drainage channels. The North Dakota State Fish Hatchery at Valley City was substantially developed under WPA, and drainage improvements at numerous wildlife refuges were implemented.

(6) Engineering Survey Projects allowed for hydrological surveys, boundary surveys, and geodetic control surveys, all of which aided in land use planning and resettlement strategies.

(7) Disaster Emergency Activities included improvement of drainageways, constructing and strengthening dikes and levees, emergency evacuations and provision of emergency utility support services, clean-up after a disaster, and labor to provide shipment and distribution of foodstuffs, bedding, and clothing in instances of floods or tornadoes. These projects proceeded immediately, on an emergency need basis, throughout the context period.

The North Dakota WPA got underway July 9, 1935. By November 1, 1935, 638 persons were employed. By the end of December in that first season, the number increased to 11,500. Soon after, the winter season peak employment, not including drought relief, was 14,000 persons receiving WPA paychecks. Emergency drought relief, which had provided relief aid to about 5,000 destitute farmers under WPA, was transferred to the Resettlement Administration at the end of December 1936. October 1936 represented the peak month for WPA employment in North Dakota, when the total employment statewide for all WPA projects in the state was 45,300 persons. During the drought year of 1936, farmers working on the WPA payroll constructed 376 water conservation dams, including a large majority of small earthen-fill types, but several larger dams with rock spillways. The earthen dam at Epping was characterized as, "one of the largest clay core dams in the world." Small-scale dams on farms and ranches and sanitary privies may not sound like important work-relief construction endeavors, but in 1936 the *Grand Forks Herald* reported:

> Thomas H. Moodie, WPA administrator, announced North Dakota had received approval to build earthworks and stone dams in 29 of 53 counties in the state, with a distribution of one dam in each township. The average cost of these features ranged from $2,000 to $5,000 each. The 13,678 destitute farmers engaged in this type of drought relief work rounded out the total number of workers on WPA projects statewide to 23,421.[155]

A year later, Thomas Moodie hand delivered a report to FDR at the time of the President's 1937 visit to North Dakota, detailing WPA accomplishments in the state during the agencies first two years of operations. Roosevelt took a direct, personal interest in the achievements of WPA and other work relief and resettlement activities on the northern Plains. From 1938 to 1940, the WPA, in conjunction with the CWA, performed substantial work at Camp Grafton (Camp Gilbert C. Grafton), near Devils Lake, ND. Under the direction of Norwegian-American master stonemason Christ Frosaker, granite stones collected from the shores of Devils Lake were shaped by the WPA crews in crafting the distinctive Edwards House (now used as the Governor's on-site residence at the Camp Grafton post).

A diverse range of building types, community settings, and benefits to the public is indicated by the list of projects achieved in a remarkably short time.

Administrative buildings and offices
Auditoriums and assembly spaces
Community buildings and city halls
Buildings on the campuses of state institutions
Fire Stations
Gymnasiums
Municipal powerplants and rural electrical distribution infrastructure
Parks and recreational buildings
Schools
Stadiums, athletic fields, amphitheaters, parks and recreation amenities
Street and road repairs and new construction
Large and small dams
Grading and drainage features
Lighting installations
Sidewalks and similar paving projects
Viaducts and bridges
Municipal engineering projects, storm and sanitary sewers, and treatment plants
Wildlife sanctuaries, shelterbelts, and soil erosion control features

Historian Elwyn Robinson summarized the manner by which work relief activities expanded after the drought of 1936.[156] By October nearly 61,000 persons were employed on WPA projects, emergency conservation work, and the projects of other agencies. The peak relief expenditure was nearly $18,000,000 in the last half of 1936. Late that year, about 330,000 persons (half the population of North Dakota) were on relief. Expenditures continued to be large. The quota of

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[155] *Grand Forks Herald*. (July 24, 1936): p2.

[156] Robinson, 1966: 408.

North Dakota WPA workers was set at 12,177 in July of 1937. In May 1938 over 13,000 people were working on WPA projects, nearly 4,000 were with the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and more than 25,000 farm families were receiving grants from the Farm Security Administration. That year, nearly $23,000,000, largely federal funds, was spent on relief programs in North Dakota. In 1939 the state legislature appropriated nearly $6,000,000 for relief and welfare. In January of that year, over 242,000 persons (about 37% of the North Dakota population) were receiving assistance from a state or federal agency. About half of them were members of the nearly 31,000 farm families on relief.[157] In addition to work relief, the WPA also distributed surplus commodities, conducted literacy classes, and operated salvage programs.

Aided by the National Park Service and a series of Civilian Conservation Corps camps and other work projects, the North Dakota State Historical Society developed sixteen newly acquired park areas (4,511 acres) and enlarged five older parks. Work on the North and South Units of the Theodore Roosevelt Park, Fort Abraham Lincoln, Lake Metigoshe, Turtle River, and International Peace Garden parks and on the historic sites of DeMores, Fort Abercrombie, Fort Rice, and White Stone Hill was especially important to the public's appreciation of historic and recreational resources managed by the State Historical Society.[158]

In all, including both work relief programs and direct relief payments made to farmers under farm programs ($142,000,000 from 1934 through 1940), the federal government spent about $266,000,000 in North Dakota from 1933 through 1940.[159] This massive outpouring of federal funds by the administration in Washington was of the utmost importance to the state, contributing much to its survival and well-being.

Even though relief workers were available for project work there remained a shortage of skilled craftsmen to complete the more difficult construction labor. The large majority of workers on WPA projects were unskilled workers, or at best semi-skilled laborers whose skill set might not closely match the kinds of work called for on the specific project. Thus, it often became necessary for local project sponsors to use their own funds to hire skilled workers when needed to complete a project. This proved especially true for projects involving building construction. In North Dakota, as was the case nationwide, schools and other public buildings routinely required local funds to secure the necessary skilled trades. Sponsors were also required to pay a portion of the costs for each project, meaning that local investment was not insubstantial.

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[157] North Dakota Public Welfare Board, *Report, 1940-1942:* 7, 96-101.

[158] Russell Reid, "Report of the North Dakota State Park Committee December 31, 1940," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly,* VIII (January 1941): 138-141.

[159] Robinson: 409.

The average sponsors contributions increased throughout the years the WPA operated, but no minimum percentage requirement was established until the ERA Act of 1939. Clearly most local work relief projects in North Dakota would never have been realized had it not been for the prompting and financial support of New Deal agencies like the WPA. It has been noted that the percentage of local sponsor contributions in North Dakota was one of the three lowest in the nation. After January 1940, sponsor contributions of not less than 25% of project cost were required. The WPA typically paid the cost of labor, while the sponsor was responsible for non-labor expenses such as materials, equipment, tools, skilled labor, technical supervision, office space, and supplies. This requirement for local contributions that could be made up "in kind" is one factor often cited for choosing materials and architectural style that placed heavy reliance on site-cast concrete or locally-harvested fieldstone materials.

In historical terms, national relief programs like the WPA are clearly intertwined with the depression-era lives of local community figures. Thereby, the surviving buildings effectively make the argument for their own significance, architecturally and in terms of the historical circumstances that produced them. Designs were encouraged that were somewhat simplified in the interest of utilizing a higher proportion of unskilled or semi-skilled labor. WPA fieldstone buildings with their laborious material technology would not likely have been realized under a more stable economy. An interesting story was recounted by architectural historian Ron Ramsay; (paraphrasing from an interview with Fargo architect Marius Houkom who practiced during the Depression): "everything we had learned in school about choosing materials for architectural design was out the window; the guidelines on WPA projects required use of the most labor-intensive means of conserving on material costs."

> Architects themselves gave lessons in cutting and dressing the stone, studying the boulders to find the grain, illustrating how it was to be placed in the walls. The government furnished goggles to protect workmen's eyes and work was started. Requiring the hardest steel for chisels, they found it in discarded automobile axles. To each building was assigned a forge and blacksmith. Sharpening chisels is a necessary phase of the work.[160]

A similar point was made by Jamestown architect Gilbert R. Horton who worked perhaps the most extensively of any North Dakota architect in fieldstone designs during the 1930s. The Horton interview also emphasizes the opportunity for laborers to learn new skills through jobsite training.

> [Jamestown architect Gilbert] Horton adapted the concept of labor intensive projects to other aspects of W.P.A. work. He developed a method for using the hard granite fieldstone that is common in North Dakota. There were few experienced stone masons available, but Horton found one in Kulm. Together they taught men to break the rock by hand to the desired face. Horton later recalled, "Watching those boys learn to select the right rock for the right place and building a wall was a real thrill for me . . . The walls: they're just as sound as the day they were put in place."[161]

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160 Roy P. Johnson, "Ancient Art Revived for New Structures in Stone." The *Fargo Forum*, May 9, 1937.

161 Barbara Beving Long, quoting from an interview with Horton, in the manuscript "The Evolution of Gilbert R. Horton, Architects" which she prepared for the State Historical Society of North Dakota, (1991): p12. Though not identified by name in the Horton interview, it is likely that the stonemason from Kulm was a man named Al Geiszler, related but not the same person as Art Geisler who constructed the Crystal Springs wayside fountain.

Construction projects afforded good visibility for federal expenditures, and thus represented about 75% of the total dollars spent in North Dakota. The remaining 2% was distributed among a wide variety of service projects including health surveys, public records projects, education and recreation programs, library work, housekeeping activities, and public health work. "Production-for-use" projects were an important source of work and income for blue-collar women who produced thousands of garments and household goods in structured community sewing rooms, and accomplished extensive gardening and canning projects for food distribution to those in need.[162]

Over a ten year period, the WPA women's division employed 3,006 persons on 680 service projects that included 115 sewing rooms, repairing 2.6 million garments for distribution to the needy in fifty counties. Over $2-million worth of commodity foodstuffs were canned and distributed. 261,800 library books had been mended at an average cost of 3.5-cents per book. 4.5 million school lunches were served. The WPA Division of Education employed more than 150 teachers to serve 12,771 persons interested in improving their education.

Correspondence courses for CCC enrollees, accredited by the University of North Dakota, aided more than 7,000 young men through an initiative described in CCC literature as "the most extensive in the United States."[163] At night schools, 1500 North Dakotans were taught to read and write at a level that would qualify them for citizenship. The Federal Writers Project completed the *Guide to North Dakota* publication, and the State Historical Society had realized dozens of critically timed projects. By 1937, technical analysis of several state resources were showing promising results including the potential of North Dakota clays for ceramics and lightweight brick making, lignite coal development and utilization of sodium sulphate mineral salts for industrial applications.

Though little tangible material evidence of the Service Division remains, one WPA service project in North Dakota is relevant to the context of work relief construction, in particular. That is, the "WPA Ceramics" pottery production project and related work on developing lightweight brick in Dickinson. As part of the WPA, beginning in 1936 Federal Arts Project No. 1 supported ongoing work by Laura Taylor at the University of North Dakota, who served as the state Federal Arts Project director. Ms. Taylor continued work initiated by Margaret Kelly Cable. Though the creative products of this endeavor were not architectural in nature (the pottery was not used in constructing buildings or bridges), the UND work relates peripherally to the economic development initiatives to manufacture lightweight brick in Dickinson. The series of WPA produced ceramic figures of nursery rhyme characters were also utilized in nursery schools as a teaching aid. Initially the WPA ceramics project was located in Dickinson. After it relocated to Mandan in 1939, Robert J. Hughes served as its director and Margaret Cable and Frieda Hammers from UND assisted in formulations of glazes suitable for use with the local Mandan clay.

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[162] Nancy Ellen Rose. *Put To Work: Relief Programs in the Great Depression*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1994: 107-8.

[163] North Dakota District CCC Seventh Corps Area. "Official Annual, Civilian Conservation Corps, 1937," Bismarck: Seventh Corp Headquarters, 1937: 25-6 .

Summary of WPA building projects and work relief operations in North Dakota:

Between July 1, 1935, and June 30, 1942, the WPA in North Dakota built 20,397 miles of highways and streets, 1,737 new bridges and viaducts, 166 miles of sidewalks, 16,760 culverts, 509 new public buildings, 700 additions to public buildings, 680 outdoor recreational facilities (stadia, grandstands, fairgrounds, parks, playgrounds, athletic fields, swimming pools, and golf courses), 809 water wells, 2 major regional watershed irrigation projects, 39 sewage treatment plants and 9 water treatment plants. In total, the WPA repaired 646,206 books, served 3,653,392 school lunches, and sewed 2,078,451 garments.[164,165]

Approximately 40-million total hours of labor were recorded, at an average rate of 42.5-cents per hour. WPA projects entailed construction of 3,228 miles of new farm-to-market roads and 2,200 miles of city and village streets. Essentially all municipal parks in the state had been improved in some respects, with 139 new or improved municipal parks added in communities formerly without park facilities. By 1943, eight airfields had been established or substantially improved at a cumulative investment of $368,500. 70 additional community buildings were constructed, 59 new schools built, 50 new highway bridges constructed, and 13,497 new WPA-approved outhouse privies constructed for improved rural sanitation. Unemployed farmers had cut 1,536 cords of wood for free distribution to destitute families.

Employment under WPA was, at times, seasonal and uneven, making it a bit challenging to track statistics on an annual basis. In its first two years, the North Dakota WPA had expended a total of $22,766,668 dollars out of the total of $23,579,850 appropriation that was allotted to the state. 1936 WPA expenditures for North Dakota work relief projects were allotted as follows:

$ 5,632,746	highways, farm-to-market roads, bridges & pavements
$ 855,837	public buildings
$ 715,808	recreational facilities
$ 926,711	flood control, eliminating stream runoff, and conservation
$ 334,962	sewer, electrical, and utility work
$ 322,926	sanitation and health projects
$ 221,839	other projects not classified
$ 11,000,000	payments for labor to ND WPA workers (made during 1936)

By the time the final report was filed on WPA activities nationwide, the cumulative WPA investment recorded for North Dakota was:

$ 1,447,872	for airport and airfield improvements
$ 9,695,864	for public buildings
$ 7,034,696	for conservation projects and improvements to wildlife refuges
$ 30,842,630	for highways, farm to market roads, and street improvements

164 Robinson, *op cit.*: 406-409.

165 Works Progress Administration, *Report on Progress of the Works Program,* (December 15, 1936):55, 67-68; (June 30, 1938): 114.

$3,403,896	for outdoor recreational facilities and playfields
$ 2,432,426	for sanitation improvement work (including those rural privies)
$ 3,827,331	for water and sewer systems, including treatment plants and water towers
$ 355,000	for other construction-related projects statewide
$59,039,776	**TOTAL** WPA direct investment in North Dakota constructed infrastructure

The 1943 *Final Report on the WPA Program, 1935-43* provided a statistical summary of project achievements in North Dakota[166] as follows:

91	Utility plants constructed (sewer, water treatment plants, electrical utility plants)
81	Miles of water mains & distribution lines (427,680 lineal feet)
83	Miles of storm sewer and sanitary sewer (438,240 lineal feet)
32,101	Total number of new sanitary privies statewide
2	Newly constructed or improved airport landing fields, plus 12 improved airfields
36,123	Lineal feet of new runways constructed
12,200	Lineal feet of runways improved
8	New or improved airport buildings (terminals or hangars)
20,397	Miles of highways, roads, and streets paved
1,737	Number of new bridges and railroad grade separation viaducts for improved public safety
59	New schools or major school additions
1,474	Schools improved, including small rural schools
509	Total number of all other public buildings constructed (new)
707	Public buildings improved or modernized
139	Outdoor recreational facilities; new and improved parks
249	Outdoor recreational facilities, playgrounds and athletic fields
23	Outdoor recreational facilities, swimming pools and skating rinks

The WPA remained the most controversial program of the New Deal. The "made-up work" nature of certain projects, together with the emphasis on the arts and white collar employment opportunities led to some criticism in the local media. Despite the numerous achievements the WPA was able to demonstrate through publications and promotional literature, the program was an easy target for political sniping. Private industry also treated the WPA critically. Unlike the Public Works Administration, which funded construction by utilizing established contractors and construction companies, the WPA served a different "niche" for unemployed laborers, serving as its own general contractor by supervising and managing less skilled workers. Once again, wherever possible the main objective under the WPA was to put money back into the local economic stream by paying workers, rather than by making direct "dole" payments. The investment in work and effort and self-respect may have been nearly as meaningful as the modest cash outlay.

Because of its far-reaching scope and the very substantial numbers of projects completed in virtually every part of North Dakota, the WPA was arguably one of the most important works programs of the Depression-era. Total numbers of projects nationwide, total dollar value of

[166] U.S. Works Progress Administration. *Final Report on the WPA Program, 1935-43*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943.

expenditures, numbers of jobs provided, and especially the enduring infrastructure that benefits communities, all reflect the impact of WPA projects. Projects implemented by WPA in small communities throughout North Dakota afforded a kind of "flywheel effect", meaning that as small communities were withering on the vine, the impetus of public investment carried them forward with vigor into the second half of the twentieth century.

The WPA effectively and shrewdly promoted its numerous accomplishments in order to sustain political support. Procedures mandated identifying signs at project sites. Distinctive bronze plaques attached to completed buildings are recognizable identifiers, still visible on numerous public buildings on the contemporary landscape. As a result, the initials "WPA" are among the most recognizable symbols of the New Deal era "alphabet soup" of federal agencies. In general, the public tends to assume, often erroneously, that most federal work relief construction projects are associated with the WPA, as the most visible of federal work relief agencies. In conducting local interviews for many Depression-era buildings, local informants tend to associate the WPA with work relief construction almost by default, even when other work relief programs played a part.

WPA was essentially the funding source "of last resort". WPA completed numerous projects that had been commenced by the CCC, CWA, and even projects rejected or only partially funded by grants from the PWA. For that reason, some projects may appear on more than one of the "project lists". Since the single original set of actual state records for the WPA agency were regrettably destroyed by accident in the 1980s, tracking projects associated with WPA in the state can be a bit daunting. Duplicate copies of statistical summaries of expenditures and numbers of workers are conveniently accessible, but the single best source of verification for a particular WPA project is the expansive docket roll microfilm. A partial list of identified WPA work relief construction projects in North Dakota follows:

Partial sampling of WPA building projects in each region of the state identified by County, city, project (completion/dedication date where known; architect of record):

- Markers at various state parks including Fort Rice, Double Ditch, Menoken Indian Village, Fort Abercombie, and Wadeson Cabin; plus implementation of a large number of research, analysis, and documentation projects envisioned by SHSND head Russell Reid. [As a component of this MPDF nomination project, NDCRS files are being created and updated for these features, and placed on record with ND SHPO.]

- Completion of projects at state parks initiated by CCC; Theodore Roosevelt North- and South-Units, the International Peace Garden, Turtle River State Park (originally "Grand Forks State Park"), Forth Abraham Lincoln south of Mandan.

Southeast:

- Cass, Fargo/NDSU campus, Student Health Center (1939)
- Cass, Fargo, Island Park Arena (1937)
- Cass, Fargo, Island Park Swimming Pool complex (1939)
- Barnes, Valley City, Pioneer Park Amphitheater and park improvements
- Barnes, Rogers, School Auditorium (1938; Gilbert R. Horton)

- Richland, Abercrombie, Public High School (1938)
- Richland, Abercrombie, Tourist Wayside park
- Richland, Wyndmere, City Park improvements
- Ransom, Lisbon, Ransom County Courthouse and related artwork (1935-38, Ira Rush)
- Sargent, Lidgerwood, School Auditorium addition (1938)
- LaMoure, Dickey, School Auditorium addition (1939)
- LaMoure, Edgeley, Community Building (1937)
- LaMoure, Nortonville, Kennison Township Hall & Community Building (1938)

Northeast:

- Grand Forks, Grand Forks, State Fairgrounds Grandstand (1936, Theodore B. Wells)
- Grand Forks, Grand Forks, State Fairgrounds Entrance Gate and related features (1938-39)
- Grand Forks, Grand Forks, Central High School Auditorium (1937, Samuel T. DeRemer)
- Grand Forks, Grand Forks, Riverside Park Pool and Bathhouse (1939-41, Lium & Burdick)
- Grand Forks, Grand Forks, Memorial Park and Calvary Cemetery gates and chapel/vault (1937-38, Ray F. Wyrick)
- Grand Forks, Larimore, Turtle River State Park fieldstone structures & masterplanned improvements (1934-39)
- Nelson, Michigan, Cemetery improvements (1937)
- Nelson, Lakota, Cemetery improvements (1937)
- Nelson, Lakota, Bathhouses (1938)
- Nelson, Tolna, Firehall and Community Building (1937)
- Nelson, Kloten, Community Building (1937)
- Nelson, McVille, Community Building (1937)
- Ramsay, Camp Grafton near Devils Lake (1938, Christ Frosaker stonemason)
- Ramsay, Minnewaukan, Museum Building
- Walsh, Grafton, Walsh County Courthouse (1938-40, Theodore B. Wells)
- Walsh, Edinburg, City Hall (1939)
- Pembina, Drayton, Memorial Auditorium (1939)
- Pembina, Crystal, School (1938)
- Foster, New Rockford, School Auditorium addition (1940)
- Steele, Finley, Steele County Courthouse (1336-38, Braseth & Houkom)

North Central:

- Towner, Cando, War Memorial Building and Auditorium (1937, E.W. Molander)
- Towner, Cando, Public School (1937, Joseph Bell DeRemer)
- Renville, Mohall, Renville County Courthouse (1936-37, E.W. Molander)

Southcentral:

- Stutsman, Medina, City Auditorium (1939)
- Kidder, Steele, City Hall and Auditorium (1939)
- Kidder, Tuttle, Public Office Building (1937)
- Kidder, Crystal Springs Roadside Fountain (1935)
- McIntosh, Ashley, Public School (1937)
- Emmons, Hague, Village Hall and Firestation
- McIntosh, Wishek, City Auditorium (1938)
- McIntosh, Wishek, City Hall and Firestation (1936)
- McIntosh, Venturia, Community Building (1937)

Southwest:

- Billings, Medora, Theodore Roosevelt Park South Unit (1933-39, NPS architects and landscape architects)
- McKenzie, Watford City, Theodore Roosevelt North Unit (1934-39, NPS architects and landscape architects)
- Morton, Mandan, War Memorial Building and Auditorium (1937, VanHorn & Ritterbush)

At the time FDR became President in 1932, airport development nationwide was essentially at a standstill due to inconsistent and inadequate funding. The WPA played a role in developing airfield landing strips in North Dakota, as well as a modest few airport terminals. Beginning in 1933, Congress encouraged the coherent development of a system of airports, but the FERA and PWA obsession for well-planned projects with minimal environmental impacts worked contrary to the work-relief objectives that were key to FDR's vision of planned growth and immediate work-relief labor for unemployed persons. The first work-relief projects geared toward airports were initiated in 1933-34 by the Civil Works Administration, on a temporary basis. By the end of the following March, CWA had provided work relief for more than 4 million persons nationally, and had spent about $11.5 million on airports. In the spring of 1934, airport projects under CWA were transferred to FERA until 1935.

Among the notable WPA air transportation improvement projects in North Dakota were airfields in Portal and Bismarck, as well as architecturally distinctive air terminals in Fargo, Grand Forks, and Valley City. The Works Progress Administration supervised all airport projects from 1935 to 1939, at which time the President established the Federal Works Agency (FWA) to consolidate some of the burgeoning of WPA and PWA bureaucracies from earlier years.[167] In North Dakota, airport development was largely delayed in most communities until airport improvement work was propelled by international events leading up to World War II. Several surviving air terminals still bear the characteristic hallmarks of a standardized design for small air terminals, developed by the Civil Aeronautics Authority in 1938 and replicated at airports from Charlotte, NC to Mesa, AZ. The site cast concrete terminal building at Valley City appears to be based on that elegantly functional design.

Summary conclusions about the practical impact of WPA work relief projects on North Dakota are evidenced by surviving structures that are in active use to the present day. A promotional brochure produced by WPA in 1937 advertised the philosophical rationale and public benefits from investment in work relief:

> Millions of Americans who never felt the pinch of unemployment are now using roads and streets, parks and airports, stadiums and swimming pools, water and sewer systems, hospitals and libraries and schools which would not exist today except for this program. Each of these civic improvements represents an increase in our national wealth, and in the day-to-day pleasure or comfort of many people. During the depression, local communities had less and less money with which to build, expand, or repair public facilities and services, yet the population (and therefore the need) grew steadily. Millions of people needed work who could help meet these shortages. They included doctors and nurses, mechanics, clerks, teachers, building trades workers, scientists, dietitians, housewives, unskilled laborers, and workers in hundreds of other occupations. Their training and energy were unused because they could not find jobs. The Federal Government appealed to local officials everywhere to plan and put forward essential civic improvements and services which could employ their own local unemployed who were certified by local agencies as in need. Local officials rallied to this appeal, carefully planning widely varied, useful projects in their communities to

[167] Ellis L. Armstrong. *History of Public Works in the United States; 1776-1976*. Chicago: American Public Works Association, 1976. 193-9.

> meet the wide variety of skill and experience among the unemployed. The WPA paid the wages of the workers; local money paid most of the cost of materials.
>
> The result was essentially a localized program. Each community got what its officials wanted and requested. The local money they contributed (averaging 16 percent of all project costs) was evidence of the usefulness of the projects. About 85-cents out of every Federal dollar went directly into pay envelopes to be spent quickly by security workers in the channels of local business. Literally thousands of local officials, of many political faiths, have praised the workmanship on these projects. Hundreds of thousands of WPA workers have returned to private industry, able to hold their old jobs because the Works Program kept them from going rusty and losing hope. More are returning daily, as rapidly as new jobs are available. The WPA has helped many business men to remain in business, owing to the great amount of materials used on these new projects.[168]

The Works Progress Administration (WPA), though the largest and perhaps best known Depression era work relief agency, was only one of numerous agencies employing needy workers from relief rolls under the Federal Works Program.[169] The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) conserved natural resources by reforestation, prevention of forest fires and soil erosion, protection of wild life and widespread improvement of national parks and forests. The National Youth Administration (NYA) provided jobs and the opportunity to continue in school and college for more than one-half million young people through employment on part-time work projects. The Bureau of Public Roads, on projects operated by Works Program funds, was instrumental in building almost 10,000 miles of highways and in eliminating over 1,000 dangerous grade crossings.

WPA resources pervaded nearly all the other New Deal federal agencies. The federal Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine greatly advanced the fight against plant diseases and insect pests in North Dakota.[170] The Forest Service assisted in the implementation of a major microclimate-changing regional shelterbelt project under the Prairies State Forestry Project, and through establishment of a national (and international) system of wildlife refuges for migratory waterfowl.[171]

By comparison, the Public Works Administration (PWA) was designed to stimulate heavy industry by constructing large public works on a grant basis under private contracts. PWA had built 1,400 public buildings, more than 200 sewers, almost 400 waterworks, and 41 large low cost housing projects by the end of 1936. In February 1937, PWA projects employed more than 101,000 persons. The Bureau of Reclamation, with PWA funds, developed 23 expansive irrigation projects (of which the largest nationally was Grand Coulee Dam). Under PWA auspices the Corps of Engineers began improving inland waterways and advancing facilities for flood control.

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168 WPA, "Work Pays America - 1937 Works Progress Administration Brochure", (accessed online May 13, 2010 at web site), http://www.gjenvick.com/WPA/1937-02-WorkPaysAmerica.html

169 Rose, 1994:107-8.

170 Mixing grasshopper poison bait was a widely employed and surprisingly effective WPA work relief activity, although lasting consequences of arsenic in the environment have clearly been problematic.

171 Rose, 1994: 52, 53-5. Also, see http://www.fws.gov/refuges/history/biosalyer_fs.html and Richard H. Stroud (ed.), *National Leaders of American Conservation*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985.

In terms of architecture, engineering and construction, WPA projects in North Dakota are particularly distinctive as a visible example of design priorities, style, and material selection during the Depression-era. Characteristics of concrete Moderne styling and picturesque rustic motifs that have been previously discussed for the other noted federal programs, are particularly apparent on projects with which the WPA was involved in providing labor. Additionally, architects had substantial latitude in meeting the needs of local sponsors. Work by Joseph Bell DeRemer, Ira Rush, and particularly Edwin Molander reflects exploration of American Colonial Revival motifs for public commissions.

As evidenced in the body of architectural drawings produced for the Grand Forks County Fairgrounds, studies from the DeRemer special collection at the UND library demonstrate a fundamental familiarity with Art Deco and Moderne motifs. Other good examples of the Art Deco or streamline Moderne style can be found in WPA projects like the Fargo Arena, the Riverside Park Pool in Grand Forks, Abercrombie School, Oakes Pool Bath House, and the Valley City Airport.

Materially "rustic" applications of fieldstone are well represented in the north central and south central parts of the state in the substantial body of work done by the Gilbert R. Horton architectural firm. Examples include auditoriums and City Hall buildings in Steele, Wishek, Tuttle, Robinson, and Medina. The stonework supervised by master stonemason Christ Frosaker at Camp Grafton is similarly skillful in its Rustic design.

These architects, and many others who practiced in the state, demonstrated responsiveness in adapting to the labor guidelines and specific procedural expectations of federal work relief agencies. Site cast concrete was used extensively on imposing and well constructed railroad grade separation viaducts. Exemplary grade separation viaducts in communities like Stanton, Dickinson, and Velva all reflect a scientific understanding of the engineering principles of concrete structural design. Together with the WPA administrators, the state's architects and local sponsors used work relief construction projects to add value to community infrastructure. Productive work was rewarded as a civic virtue, while imparting new skill sets and awareness of worker safety to those who labored on the projects. As advocated by Harry Hopkins, the work contributed significantly to the "material enrichment of the nation's wealth" while adding respect, meaning, and value to the workers' labors and affirming the viability of scattered rural communities.

VI. The Resettlement Administration (RA), ND Federal Rehabilitation Corporation

The fundamental purpose of the Resettlement Administration was to attack the problem of chronic rural poverty through regionally-planned changes in the way land was used. The desperate rural condition was of a scale and magnitude portrayed in Pare Lorentz's documentary movie, *The Plow That Broke The Plains* (1936) one of the first promotional productions sponsored by the RA to give Americans a more complete awareness of the seriousness of the environmental conditions in rural America.[172] With over one million farmers on relief at the inception of the RA, efforts to maintain marginal farmers on submarginal lands was pointless and futile. Land so ill-suited to agricultural production could best be converted to new, more economically viable uses.[173]

In July 1933 the Division of Subsistence Homesteads was created under the U.S. Department of the Interior according to provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). In December 1933 the Federal Subsistence Homesteads Corporation was created as the Division's implementing agency. Historian Paul Conkin has contributed a useful overview of the Subsistence Homesteads component of the Resettlement Administration (RA).[174] Nationally, a total of 37 rural and urban communities were initiated by the RA, which also inherited 34 communities from the Division of Subsistence Homesteads and 28 communities initiated by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). In total, nearly 11,000 housing units were constructed by the RA in 99 planned communities.[175] Rural Resettlement and planned "subsistence homesteads" were a pet interest of Eleanor Roosevelt.[176]

However, it was becoming apparent that no one agency offered any real promise of effectively dealing with rural poverty in all its dimensions. As part of a 1935 reorganization of the New Deal rural programs, it was hoped that a new "umbrella agency", the Resettlement Administration, could offer a concentrated approach. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), and the Division of Subsistence Homesteads of the Department of the Interior had already begun to address some of the problems of agricultural land use and rural settlement patterns. Roosevelt transferred the land program of FERA to the Resettlement Administration and on May 15, 1935 he transferred the Division of Subsistence Homesteads to that same agency. Soon after, the land Policy Section of the AAA was moved to the Resettlement Administration.

The Resettlement Administration (RA) was established by Executive Order No. 7027 on April 30, 1935, with the following mandate:

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[172] Pare Lorentz, *The Plow That Broke the Plains*; (documentary film); U.S. Resettlement Administration, 1936. [7- years after its original production, the film is available today in a variety of formats, including on-line video links.]

[173] Bernard Sternsher. *Rexford Tugwell and the New Deal*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1964.

[174] Paul K. Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World: The New Deal Community Program*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1959: 93-130.

[175] Conkin, 1959: 337.

[176] Watkins, 1993: 255-73.

I hereby establish an agency within the Government to be known as the "Resettlement Administration", and appoint Rexford G. Tugwell, Under Secretary of Agriculture, as administrator thereof, to serve without additional compensation. I [FDR] hereby prescribe the following functions and duties of said Resettlement Administration to be executed and performed by the Administrator thereof:

(a) To administer approved projects involving resettlement of destitute or low-income families from rural and urban areas, including the establishment, maintenance, and operation, in such connection, of communities in rural and suburban areas.
(b) To initiate and administer a program of approved projects with respect to soil erosion, stream pollution, seacoast erosion, reforestation, forestation, and flood control.
(c) To make loans as authorized under the said Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 to finance, in whole or in part, the purchase of farm lands and necessary equipment by farmers, farm tenants, croppers, or farm laborers.

. . . To the extent necessary to carry out the provisions of this Executive order the Administrator is authorized to acquire, by purchase or by the power of eminent domain, any real property or any interest therein and improve, develop, grant, sell, lease (with or without the privilege of purchasing), or otherwise dispose of any such property or interest therein.

On June 30, 1935 the Rural Rehabilitation Division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, including the state corporations and committees (including notably, the North Dakota Rehabilitation Finance Corporation, or NDRFC), was transferred. Planning and implementation of strategies for relocating farm families from "sub-marginal lands" was thus consolidated in a single federal New Deal agency. Agricultural adjustments may not be thought of immediately as a federal "work relief" activity. But the initiatives of the Resettlement Administration in North Dakota resulted in some architecturally interesting work relief construction, particularly relating to planned communities.

Here was a grand opportunity for experimentation in land-use planning, cooperative farming, community planning, massive retirement of lands, and the restoration of life to exhausted people.[177] In selecting Rexford G. Tugwell to head the program, FDR was placing his full trust and confidence in a former economics professor from Columbia University, who had persistently proposed solutions for permanent land reform.[178] Tugwell believed that exhausted lands should be taken out of production and fatigued farmers should either be relocated onto more productive land or encouraged and helped to enter industry.[179] In serving as head of the Resettlement Administration, Tugwell was in a good position to implement agricultural planning and management strategies consistent with the vision he shared with Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture.

The Resettlement Administration was a repository for a wide range of New Deal programs. It had the task of carrying on rural relief or rehabilitation, of continuing the land utilization/conservation programs, and extending the New Deal community building programs through rural (and urban) planned

[177] Sidney Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics: The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968): 88.

[178] Adam Cohen, 2009: 60, 109.

[179] Basil Rauch. *The History of the New Deal*. New York: Creative Age Press, Inc., 1944: 120-9.

resettlement. Rural resettlement soon came to include loans to individuals, loans to cooperatives, grants to destitute farmers, and a debt-adjustment program. According to an historian Paul Conkin, the Presidential Order creating the RA might have been paraphrased, "To rearrange the earth and the people thereof and devote surplus time and money, if any, to a rehabilitation of the Solar System."[180]

Because the charge of the RA dealt with judgments and economic decisions made by independent farmers, and because rational planning itself has long been regarded with suspicion in the American system of economics, the more controversial aspects of this program had to do with land use and resource planning, including resource conservation; particularly on the Great Plains and in the West. Effectively, Americans are persistently resistant to public agencies picking "winners and losers", when those choices may contradict the judgment of economics and the banking industry. The national economy and persistent drought had already done an effective job of selecting the "losers", at least, by the mid-1930s. Suffice to say that planned management of agricultural risks, such as through farm payments, land set-asides, or relocation strategies as first attempted in the 1930s, remain controversial in the present day. Though the number of RA projects actually implemented in North Dakota was surprisingly small, several of them in particular, afford a fascinating snapshot of public reaction to planned intervention in the agricultural sector of North Dakota.

The Resettlement Administration began with a staff (nationally) of just 12 employees on May 1, 1935. By the end of that year it employed 16,386 people in Washington and scattered around the country. In seven months, the RA became a major federal agency with twelve regional offices and smaller offices in every state and most respective counties. Key mandates which guided RA planning initiatives proposed that a variety of alternative land uses were environmentally better suited to development and agricultural practices. It was also suggested that some land ought to be taken out of agricultural production to improve economic prospects for successful farms. The Resettlement Administration was organized into four main divisions, of which three had a consequential impact on North Dakota. Howard Wood was the state resettlement director for the North Dakota RA/Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA). At the end of its first year in operation, the Resettlement Administration had spent or obligated $205-million.

The Suburban Resettlement division dealt with planned communities on the periphery of larger American cities, and thus while this is an interesting story architecturally, it had little relevance to smaller communities in the North Dakota setting.

The Rural Rehabilitation division included five intertwined programs; a standard loan program, an emergency grant program for subsistence needs, a farm debt adjustment program mediating negotiations between individual farm debtors and their creditors, and a cooperative loan program aimed at furthering various cooperative enterprises, notably the Rural Electrification Cooperative movement.

[180] Conkin, 1959: 153; quoting from an editorial in the Portland, ME: *Press-Herald*, (May 24, 1936).

The Land Utilization division was responsible for evaluating, planning, and executing a program of submarginal land retirement involving more than 275 land acquisition projects nationally and providing for eventual purchase of 20 million acres of land and resettlement of more than 20,000 dislocated American farm families. Ultimately, 9-million acres of submarginal land was taken out of cultivation and restored to more sustainable uses, including grasslands restoration and wildlife refuge uses.

The Rural Resettlement division established a variety of model rural communities, individual farms, small garden home projects for farm laborers, and migrant labor camps. In North Dakota, one of the visible manifestations of this initiative was the Red River Resettlement Farms in Traill and Cass Counties. This initiative will be discussed at greater length later in this section.

In 1937 a special Presidential Committee on Farm Tenancy endorsed the initial work of the Resettlement Administration. This committee remanded land purchase and farm credit issues to the Department of Agriculture and effectively discontinued support for the community housing programs nationwide after 1943. On September 1, 1937 the Farm Security Administration was established to carry out provisions of the Bankhead-Jones Act focused on the tenant-purchase aspects of the farm tenancy problem. Perhaps the most important and most enduring accomplishment of the Resettlement Administration was its Land Utilization Division. This division purchased submarginal lands from farmers (including extensive grassland holdings in the western part of North Dakota) and transferred them to states, the Forest Service, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, or the Park Service, where the submarginal lands have since become valued national parks and wildlife preserves.

The Resettlement Administration continued under attack from a variety of interests.[181] Much of the criticism was directed at Tugwell himself, perhaps the most controversial member of the Roosevelt administration. Tugwell resigned as head of the RA on December 31, 1936 and designated his deputy administrator, Dr. Will W. Alexander, to succeed him. At the same time, the RA was transferred to the jurisdictional authority of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, in hopes of adding more legitimacy to its undertakings. Concurrently, attention was focusing on the problem of the tenant farmer, representing two out of every five farmers in the United States. In North Dakota, as elsewhere, this tenant class faced chronic economic insecurity, with minimal control over crop prices, land values, or farm credit. But the American public seems as fundamentally resistive to rural land use planning in the 21st century as it was in the 1930s.

[181] Hamilton, 1991: 216.

Rural Resettlement activity in North Dakota:

In North Dakota, a small number of fascinating projects were undertaken as planned agricultural experiments, recounted in useful detail by Leonard Dalsted, who served for a time with NDRRC in administrative capacity. The North Dakota Rural Rehabilitation Corporation (NDRRC) was initially enfranchised by the Federal Emergency Relief Agency (FERA) as the state agency through which federal funds for rural redevelopment could be "funneled". The NDRRC first used funds granted to it under the 1933 FERA Act appropriation, to assist farm and ranch families with feeding livestock. In 1934, this initiative was expanded to provide emergency relief and grasslands abandonment in stricken agricultural "drought areas" of the state. NDRRC later acted as a non-profit corporation with authority autonomous from state government. A few years later, farm programs were reorganized and the state administering agency was ultimately absorbed into the Farm Security Administration (FSA) under the U.S. Department of Agriculture.[182]

In the course of land use planning for abandonment of "submarginal lands", the RA constructed several dams and irrigation water projects in northwestern North Dakota including the Buford-Trenton project in Williams County, the Sioux Irrigation project and the Lewis and Clark irrigation project. Each of these projects included land allocations and planned farmsteads in addition to the irrigation infrastructure. These projects may have been among the first to envision a diversion of water from the Missouri River watershed for irrigation and economic development. Under New Deal planning in the Great Plains region, the idea of diverting Missouri River water across the continental divide and into the James River and Sheyenne River basins was first proposed, with the claim that "FDR has indicated personal interest in this type of project." Also folded into Resettlement Administration (RA) mandate were shelterbelts, grasslands abandonment, and improvement of rural living (rural electrification, sanitary farm privies, improved rural schools).[183]

The NDRRC acquired 320 acres of farmland in Barnes County for potential reallocation to qualifying drought affected farm families. The scale of that acquisition, however, was seemingly too small to merit further development. More prominent in its impact was the Red River Valley Farms project in Traill and Cass Counties of eastern North Dakota. 120 farms were offered for sale under favorably credit terms, each consisting of from 160- to 400-acres. Terms were $30 per acre, compared with good, tillable farm land available nearby for $25 per acres. Much of the land was reacquired by the federal government from railroad corridor land grants. Unfortunately the quality of the land was, in some instances poorer in its fertility than surrounding farms. Favorable interest-free loan terms made these farms attractive to many qualifying farm families, but the farms could be purchased from the NDRRC for no money down. Typically the farmsteads were offered with a newly-planted shelterbelt and constructed farm buildings already in place. Architectural drawings in the

182 G. Leonard Dalsted, *History of the North Dakota Rural Rehabilitation Corporation*. Privately published manuscript, by Leonard Dalsted, in the library collections of North Dakota State University; (July, 1996).

183 Ellis L. Armstrong (ed.). *History of Public Works in the United States; 1776-1976*. Chicago: American Public Works Association, 1976:367-9.

Resettlement Administration collections at the National Archives show the standardized designs for farmhouses, barns, a chicken coop, hoghouse, granary, wellhouse, and privy. Qualifying farm families (only families with children qualified) were required to keep a garden of a specified size and, among other stipulations, to show that they had obtained a pressure cooker suitable for food canning.[184]

Subsistence Homesteads; the Burlington, ND "stranded community" project:

An especially intriguing (and little-known) local case study is afforded by the sequence of events associated with the Burlington Subsistence Homesteads project in Ward County, North Dakota. The project was meant to address the resettlement needs of chronically unemployed coal mine workers from the faltering Oliver Mines; (and as such was classified as a "stranded community"). Foundation work for this planned community was commenced with a CCC project that attempted to manage some of the consequences of soil erosion, runoff, and drought conditions on the DesLacs River. As time progressed, unemployed coal miners were hired to construct small-scale stone dams for water impoundment in addition to rudimentary canals for irrigating the fertile and tillable flatlands near the river bottom (termed the 1934 "Burlington Irrigation" project). The eventual outcome of this project was NDRRC construction of 35 units of housing. A number of coal-related industrial development ventures including charcoal briquetting and paint production had been attempted unsuccessfully in Burlington, and for a variety of reasons the stranded subsistence homesteads project was little more successful.

In 1934 the *Minot Daily News* reported on the Burlington Project;

> Beginning of a $100,000 subsistence homestead project for miners at Burlington, first of its kind to be undertaken in the state, awaits only approval of the new North Dakota Rural Rehabilitation corporation by Washington authorities. . . . Two tracts of land in the Mouse river valley, both lying near the course of the Des Lacs river, a smaller stream, have been surveyed, and plans for homes and for irrigation systems have been drawn. . . . .Each family would have a cottage, irrigated tract, barn, chickenhouse; total cost $100,000. . . . The necessary construction would be done by F.E.R.A. labor, and the F.E.R.A. *[actually CWA]* would finance the entire scheme. It is expected that completion of the plan will enable many of the miners to become home-owners and to become independent of public relief during summer months when no work is available in the lignite coal mines.[185]

The Burlington project, later renamed "The Judge A.M. Christianson Project" for its principal advocate, was uniquely different from more viable ventures like the Resettlement Project in Cass and Traill counties. The Burlington project was set up to ameliorate the desperate condition of some 35 or 40 families displaced from the small Burlington vicinity coal mines. A plan was implemented to utilize DesLacs River reserve water for irrigation of bottomlands, and to establish on those lands individual subsistence farms with sufficient irrigation acreage. Farmstead buildings and modest community facilities were designed and constructed according to architectural drawings (prepared by the Ritterbush Brothers firm from Bismarck).

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[184] Arlin K. Foss, oral interview regarding Red River Valley Farms, with Steve Martens at Fargo, April 14, 2010.

[185] *Minot Daily News*, (September 4, 1934): n.p.; *[editorial emphasis added by the author]*.

The practical handicaps in fitting 35 families to such a project were exceedingly difficult to overcome. The families had largely lost all hope. They did not know how to work together cooperatively, and additionally, alcohol abuse was a persistent problem among many. Rent on the 29 cottages ranged from $25 to $35 a month. On the leased land, the state received 25% of all grain crops and 40% of the hay crop. By 1960 ownership of the cottage homes was transferred to disabled veterans. Six of the units were sold at auction to individuals who relocated them. Based on the many obstacles and the scale of the project, in retrospective this "utopian" project was probably doomed from the beginning. Newspaper accounts describe the process by which the farmsteads and the farm buildings were liquidated, offered first to veterans and then to open bidders. Nearly all of these recognizable and historically interesting farmsteads survive *in situ*, and much of the irrigation infrastructure and stone dams remain in place.[186]

The Burlington Project was but one among many of the state's work relief and direct relief programs assigned administratively to Judge A.M. Christianson of the North Dakota Supreme Court. As the Roosevelt administration's "go to" person in the North Dakota Emergency Relief Committee, Christianson was perhaps the state's most highly respected public figures, both within the state and in the eyes of the national administration. The RA program was administered honorably and enthusiastically by the appointed state commission. But the Burlington Project, as with many of the North Dakota Rural Rehabilitation Corporation projects, was treated as a bit of an unwanted stepchild under the New Deal bureaucracy, with authority and funding moved from one agency to the next in a most unreliable manner.[187]

Causes contributing to the programs failures were lack of state support, withdrawal of funding resources, followed by a transfer of the completed developments to the Farm Security Commission and eventually to the State Industrial Commission (with the Bank of North Dakota as trustee). By the early 1940s, most of the responsibilities of the RA had been reassigned to the USDA Farm Security Administration (FSA) or Soil Conservation Service (SCS), effectively leaving the North Dakota Rural Rehabilitation Corporation with little in the way of a rural assistance mandate and little in the way of financial resources. Despite the sincere, good-faith efforts of the program's administrators, North Dakota outcomes under the RA and RFC are a bit disheartening.[188]

Summary of work relief construction in North Dakota under the Resettlement Administration.

Under the FERA-funded state Rural Rehabilitation Corporation and the Resettlement Administration of 1935, the New Deal brain trust organized rescue strategies for those rural

[186] Written communication (1948) from USDA Farmers Home North Dakota Director Walter J. Maddock, reproduced in *Burlington Centennial, 1883-1983*; Minot, ND: privately published (1983): 86-89.

[187] Corresponence from Walter J. Maddock, State Director to Robert Cory of the Minot Daily News (February 6, 1948). Also see the detailed account in G. Leonard Dalsted, *History of the North Dakota Rural Rehabilitation Corporation*. Privately published manuscript, by Leonard Dalsted, in the library collections of North Dakota State University; (July, 1996).

[188] *Minot Daily News*, (June 28, 1942); and "State to Take Over Burlington Project Again" *Minot Daily News*, (August 31, 1946): 4.

dispossessed. With improved status and enlarged responsibilities, in 1937 the RA was reorganized into the Farm Security Administration (FSA), to provide short term loans directly to farm families. Though the federal government guaranteed the interest on farm loans, private takers were few, and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation had to furnish a greater part of the loans. In the end, much of the farm aid grants turned out to be a form of charity, but various other work relief agencies – FERA, PWA, and WPA – were also brought into rural settings to help rural residents with work planting shelterbelts and constructing rural roads.

VII. The National Youth Administration (NYA):

The National Youth Administration (NYA) was created by Executive Order No. 7086 on June 26, 1935 under the authority of the Emergency Relief Appropriations Act of 1935. The NYA recognized that prior federal programs of the early days of the New Deal had dealt inadequately with the employment and educational needs of American youth. Upon signing the order, President Roosevelt reflected on the problem of youth unemployment, to be addressed by this initiative:

> I have determined that we shall do something for the Nation's unemployed youth because we can ill afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women. They must have their chance at school, their turn as apprentices, an opportunity for jobs, and a chance to work and earn for themselves.
>
> In recognition of this great national need, I have established a National Youth Administration to be under the Works Progress Administration.
>
> This undertaking will need the vigorous cooperation of the citizens of the several States, and to assure that they shall have an important part in this work, a representative group will be appointed to act as a national advisory board, with similar boards of citizens in the States and municipalities throughout the country. On these boards there shall be representatives of industry, labor, education, and youth, because I want the youth of America to have something to say about what is being done for them.
>
> Organizations along State and municipal lines will be developed. The work of these organizations will be to mobilize industrial, commercial, agricultural, and educational forces of the States so as to provide employment and to render other practical assistance to unemployed youth.
>
> It is recognized that the final solution of this whole program of unemployed youth will not be attained until there is a resumption of normal business activities and opportunities for private employment on a wide scale. I believe that the national youth program will serve the most pressing and immediate needs of that portion of the unemployed youth most seriously affected at the present time.
>
> It is my sincere hope that all public and private agencies, groups, and organizations, as well as educators, recreational leaders, employers, and labor leaders, will cooperate wholeheartedly with the National and State Youth Administration in the furtherance of this national youth program.
>
> The yield on this investment should be high.[189]

The major objectives of the NYA were to provide part-time employment for high school and college students, provide relief employment for youth who were not in school, to offer vocational guidance and counseling, and to promote useful and job-qualifying leisure time activities. The spectrum of NYA activities was somewhat broader than that of the CCC, although inevitably there was some overlapping. The NYA also differed from the CCC, at least in the beginning, in that most participants remained at home. From its inception in 1935 until 1939 the administrative functions of the NYA were carried out through the WPA with Aubrey Williams of Texas serving as National Director for the agency.[190]

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[189] Federal Security Agency, *Final Report of the National Youth Administration Fiscal Years 1936-1943.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1944), p23.

[190] Watkins, 1993: 258.

In North Dakota, E. W. Willson was the first state director (briefly in 1935), succeeded by Secretary of State Robert Byrne. Byrne served as North Dakota's NYA director until the NYA was discontinued in the state in 1942. Under the auspices of WPA funding, the National Youth Administration effectively had a single purpose; to provide part-time work, paying wages for two main groups of young people throughout the country. Provisions were made for youth who were in school but needed financial assistance in order to continue their education, in addition to youth who were out of school, unemployed, and needy. The NYA was in operation 8 years, from June 1935 to June 1943. In some states, the NYA emphasized building repair and light construction, but this does not appear to be the case in North Dakota.

Construction-oriented relief work accomplishments of NYA in North Dakota are few in number and enduring evidence of these projects is minor. This does not minimize the impact the continuing education and wage-earning opportunities had on North Dakota's youth, perhaps akin to the CCC camps, but without the tangible productivity in terms of constructed projects. Rather, it is an indication of the scope and level of work they were capable of undertaking. As with other states in the upper Midwest-Great Plains region, only about 20% of funds expended by the NYA were directed toward construction projects, whereas the majority of sponsored activities were serve-work related. Local school advisors, though cooperative, did not exert much imagination in envisioning noble projects. The school-work program emphasized construction skills and focused on repair of local buildings, apparatus maintenance, clerical and department assistance, health work, recreational leadership and arts and crafts (in descending order of importance). Qualified supervisors were difficult to locate and public agencies were reluctant to serve as sponsors because they lacked resources or regarded NYA as a "play work" setup.[191]

Effectiveness of the NYA program, increased in 1938 with establishment of resident centers, that largely emulated the CCC organization in terms of relocating young people to a structured "camp type setting". As one example, 59 young women from the chronically poverty stricken Turtle Mountain area participated in educational programs that emphasized personal hygiene and dietary instruction. A similar program, sponsored by the local business community, was set up at a state park site in Logan County.

Overall, the accomplishments of the NYA work program have been characterized as substantial, if unspectacular. Among those that are identifiable in North Dakota, the NYA work program did undertake some major building maintenance and repair projects, like the repair of Hovid Hall at the State School of Forestry Bottineau campus, and construction of NYA dormitory buildings at UND and NDAC. The NYA came to an end in the summer of 1943, about 12 months after the CCC was concluded. It is not especially difficult to understand the rapid demise of these two youth programs with the outbreak of World War II and the growing need for young workers and enlisted people.

[191] Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr., "Relief for Youth: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration in North Dakota." *North Dakota History*. v48:n4; (Fall 1981): 22-27.

Summary conclusions:

The ostensible purpose of the federal relief construction projects was to provide work opportunities for unemployed laborers. Statistical information substantiates the degree to which this objective was fulfilled. But the federal work relief programs implemented in North Dakota from 1931 to 1943 provided many other benefits as well. The unusual design parameters of the various relief programs resulted in choices of material, technology and design which are unusual and architecturally distinctive; embodying stylistic traits and methods of construction associated with broad patterns of historical events; thus satisfying several of the key conditions required to establish their significance. 70 years or more after they were built, buildings constructed under the federal work-relief MPDF context exhibit a significant degree of material integrity, and integrity of setting and place in that they remain in their existing contexts and many continue to be used for their original purposes.

The tangible legacy of federal work-relief in North Dakota affords informative insights into the patterns of historical events and the federal response to the worst economic Depression in our nation's history. The work relief programs afforded employment income that was absolutely essential to North Dakota's unemployed, both rural and city residents. The opportunity to work was sociologically uplifting and enabled workers to support their families while developing beneficial trade skills and awareness of construction safety practices. The work relief programs, WPA and CCC in particular, initiated a new relationship between the federal government and sovereign tribal nations of Native American Indians. Reliance on a coordinated program of federally administered relief aid, in fact, changed the relationship of all North Dakotans in regards to the federal government.

The statewide distribution of buildings constructed under this context reveals important information about local sponsors, the working methods of architects, landscape architects, and the construction industry from the 1930s extending up to the beginning of World War II. The work relief buildings in the state of North Dakota embody two main architectural styles; the picturesque Rustic vocabulary (often associated with the WPA and the CCC) and the Art Deco (or simplified Art Moderne) style. A third stylistic tendency is reflected in the smaller percentage of North Dakota buildings with American Colonial Revival influences.

The buildings built under the federal work-relief programs improved virtually all North Dakota communities, from small towns and isolated rural residents to the larger cities. The federal government's 1931-43 investment in infrastructure of roads, utilities, schools, community centers, and government buildings sustained and invigorated a significant number of communities in every part of the state. These buildings have proven their continued relevance and usefulness in the majority of instances, even to the present day. The investments made to create parks, playfields, and historic sites continue to benefit North Dakota citizens. Improved wildlife refuges have helped to mitigate the potential for environmental disaster on the arid, drought-prone northern Plains. By

extension, the New Deal established some of the first parameters for long range land use planning and rural resettlement, as well as providing funding for the restoration of grasslands and wildlife refuges.

There is substantial evidence on the record (in archival collections of published resources and in the construction features themselves) that most of the programs were administered fairly, and with balanced integrity. Implementation of these work-relief programs made adjustments for shifting populations and unique local conditions. The programs which were oriented toward the arts, design, and performance were the most prone to critical challenge at the local level, but each of the agencies did an effective job of gathering statistics and producing promotional materials that answered questions or attempted to address the criticisms. Graphic media and promotional publications (primary source documents) distill statistics and helped cultivate public support for the New Deal initiatives.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt was directly and personally engaged through professed "non-political" trips around the country to inspect New Deal projects. Trips like his August 1936 inspection of drought-affected western states served a political purpose. As one North Dakota Republican wryly acknowledged, "Roosevelt has traveled across our state three times and has sewn it up. Most of our Republican candidates do not even know where North Dakota is."[192] FDR's train visits to North Dakota, especially his 1937 visit to Devils Lake and Grand Forks, reflect his sustained commitment to the rural northern Great Plains. Other aspects of the administration of federal work relief programs that confirm the Roosevelt administration's commitment to North Dakota include the documented reports of Lorena Hickok, Pare Lorentz's documentary *The Plow That Broke the Plains,* and the engaged roles of Thomas Moodie, Rex Tugwell, and Harry Hopkins, among many.

Over the 12-year period discussed in this context narrative, the federal work relief programs produced most of its intended results. Most of the programs were beginning to wind down by 1940, with the federal legislation redirecting appropriations to other priorities. The last of the New Deal work relief programs were essentially discontinued by the onset of U.S. participation in World War II. Programs like the CCC and NYA afforded a kind of "proving ground" for subsequent recruitment, training, and enlistment of young people in the military services.

A broad range of very instructed primary and secondary historical research resources were identified for this research project, but the primary sources, in particular, are scattered in many local repositories; many of them fairly obscure for the general public to locate. This narrative attempts to summarize and distill the circumstances of the historic context as it is reflected in North Dakota. The MPDF establishes criteria for National Register eligibility of various buildings and structure types. There is a continuing need for identification and further investigation of many of the

[192] Anthony J. Badger, quoting in *New Deal: the Depression Years, 1933-1940*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002:247.

individually eligible properties. In a current age when many buildings reach obsolescence in less than 20 years, the buildings and other constructed features of the Depression era have enduring architectural qualities. Through the quality of their design and materials, these historic built features teach us about the immediate and enduring value of work. Dissemination of information about this important historic context and architectural significance can potentially encourage people in North Dakota communities to value and appreciate the many distinctive features of federal work relief construction statewide.

Statement of Associated Historic Contexts:

A substantial number of prior context studies, multiple property submissions, and individual or district National Register nominations relate directly to the North Dakota Depression-era work relief construction MPDF. Several previously listed properties would be eligible under criteria established for this context.

Potential related contexts (suggested by manuscripts and inventories in the collections of SHSND):

- The Great Depression
- National Government
- State Government
- Aviation
- Bridges
- Communications and Energy Development
- Education
- Entertainment and Recreation
- Farming/Ranching/Agriculture
- Industrial Development
- Irrigation and Conservation
- Military
- Transportation: Roads Trails, Highways and Bridges
- Rural Settlement

Related contexts (addressed in prior scholarship, manuscripts in the collections of SHSND):

- "U.S. Post Offices in North Dakota, 1900-1940" NRHP MPS
- "North Dakota Courthouses" NRHP Thematic Nomination
- "Historic Roadway Bridges of North Dakota" NRHP MPS
- "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks" NRHP MPS

- Long, (1991). "The Evolution of Gilbert R. Horton, Architects".
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- Cordecki. (1994). "Fort Ransom State Park Intensive Cultural Resources Inventory." Mss #6221.
- Cordecki, McCormick, Toom. (1996). "Lake Metigoshe State Park Cultural Resources Inventory." SHSND, Mss #6716.
- Klinner, (1995). "Turtle River State Park Cultural Resources Inventory", SHSND, Mss #1756.
- RMC, (2009). "Depression Era Water Control Structures at Six National Wildlife Refuges in North Dakota." SHSND, Mss #10-1128
- Pfaff, (2000). "The Bureau of Reclamation and the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942."

Individual properties previously NRHP-listed, that fit this MPDF context in North Dakota:

- Valley City Municipal Auditorium, Barnes County (32BA828; listed 2008)
- DeMores Memorial Park, Medora, Billings County (32BI60; listed 1975)
- Peaceful Valley Ranch, Medora vicinity, Billings County (32BI67; listed 1994)
- Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Park, Billings & McKenzie Counties (32BI64, 32MZ154; listed 1966)
- Fort Dilts monument, Rhame vicinity, Bowman County (32BO6; listed 1980)
- Menoken Indian Village historic site, Menoken vicinity, Burleigh County (32BL02; listed 1966)

- Grand Forks County Fairgrounds, Grand Forks County (32GF3505; listed 2009)
- WPA stonework in Memorial Park & Calvary Cemeteries; Grand Forks (NRHP pending)
- Larimore City Hall, Grand Forks County (32GF153; listed 1990)
- South Junior High School, Grand Forks County (32GF2757; listed 1999)
- Denbigh State Experimental Nursery, Denbigh vicinity, McHenry County (NRHP pending)
- Old Wishek City Hall, McIntosh County (32MT87; listed 2005)
- Fort Abraham Lincoln CCC Museum building, Mandan vic., Morton County (32MO141;subm. 1992)
- Central High School, Devils Lake, Ramsey County, (32RY356; Listed 2003)
- Lisbon Bridge, Ransom County (32RM78; individually listed 1997)
- Renville County Courthouse, Mohall (32RV256, individually listed 1985)
- CCC Lodge at the International Peace Garden, Rolette County (32RO18, pending 2008)
- Dickinson Post Office, Stark County (32SK546; individually listed 1989)
- Stark County Courthouse, Dickinson (32SK551; individually listed 1985)

One notable omission among the NRHP properties listed above is the "CCC Lodge at the International Peace Garden" in Rolette County, which was returned to SHPO for more information in May of 2008. A further positive result from this context narrative and the criteria developed for "Federal Relief Construction in North Dakota, 1931-1943" would be that this MPDF may motivate community groups with interest in identified eligible properties to proceed with developing National Register nominations, either as districts or for individual properties. The context narrative and criteria for Associated Property Types highlight several good, candidate properties by name. Three individual nominations are submitted accompanying the MPDF (Alkabo School, Menoken Historic Site WPA features, and Crystal Springs Roadside Fountain). One property, in particular, seems an especially good candidate for nomination as a district; that is, the "Burlington Homes Project" in Ward County.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

Property types associated with federal relief construction in North Dakota include buildings, structures, objects, sites, districts and combinations of these resource types. All of these properties share a common associative attribute in that they were created under the auspices of one of the various federal relief programs that funded (wholly or in part) or carried out construction, engineering and conservation projects in the state between 1931 and 1943.

Physical attributes, such as scale, size and plans of property types, varied depending on the purpose of the property. Some resources reflect standard engineering or construction practices of the era; while others reflect common characteristics associated with federal relief programs. These common characteristics include similar patterns in workmanship involving hand labor, the use of local building materials and construction methods, and an adaptation of regional architectural styles. Even those buildings constructed in the then-popular Art Deco and Art Moderne architectural styles and those constructed from standardized plans reflect the patterns of workmanship associated with federal relief construction.

In addition to common physical attributes, these properties share some commonalities in terms of their significance and registration requirements. These commonalities are discussed below. Information pertaining to each individual property type and sub-type is discussed on the following pages. Brief descriptions are provided to supplement the information presented in the historic context, as are statements pertaining to each property type and registration requirements that are specific to that property type.

It should be noted that with a relatively small amount of information about some of the property sub-types included in this document, and in the absence of a comprehensive resources survey, the information presented here is somewhat limited. As further research and survey work is conducted, the information pertaining to the descriptions of the Associated Property Types may need to be modified.

Significance in General

All eligible resources associated with this context will be significant under Criterion A. They are important for their direct association with an unprecedented federal initiative to stimulate the nation's depressed economy through an aggressive series of public works and relief programs. These programs significantly affected the social history of the nation at that time and for decades to come. Secondarily, resources associated with this context may also be considered for the direct economic impact of the projects within their communities. The results of these programs in North Dakota were far-reaching, touching all parts of the state. The efforts to promote the well-being of the unemployed resulted in a significant expansion of public buildings, structures and sites, as well as extensive conservation efforts and direct relief to families in need.

In addition to the significance these resources hold under the category of social history and economics, most may also qualify under another category of significance reflective of the property's original function. Resources associated with this context which clearly embody distinctive characteristics of federal relief construction projects may be considered eligible under Criterion C.

Distinctive characteristics of properties eligible under Criterion C include:

- use of hand labor and fine craftsmanship in stonework, timber work, or concrete construction,
- use of local building materials and construction methods,
- regional adaptations of architectural styles, including the then-popular Art Deco and Art Moderne styles, as well as the use of standardized plans for certain property types,
- documentary evidence of work performed as "relief work" by persons employed under one of the New Deal federal programs, or
- documentary evidence of design work or construction supervision that distinguish the work as being associated with an identifiable architect, engineer, or agency.

If a property represents the work of a master builder or possesses high artistic values, it may be eligible under this criterion as outlined in the National Register guidelines. Additionally, works of art and design associated with properties (such as murals and sculptures developed in conjunction with federal art programs) were incorporated into a few new post offices and courthouses during the Depression-era. For these reasons they are significant under the category of art. Suggestions for these additional categories of significance are found in the discussions about each property type in this section of the MPDF.

In this context, no North Dakota properties have been identified as eligible under Criterion B. For a property to be considered eligible in association with a person or persons, the property must be associated with the person's productive life and it must be shown that that person gained importance within his or her profession or group. Properties that are historically important for their relationship to a person or persons will most likely be of local significance in this context, rather than of statewide or national significance. If the person is an architect, artist or engineer, the property will more appropriately be eligible under Criterion C.

In order to be considered eligible under Criterion B, the property must represent the most important property associated with the person, or be the last remaining property associated with that person. Examples could include a constructed work by a person whose formative career was directly associated with wildlife conservation at a particular wetlands refuge location, as shaped by federal work relief activities. A particular property associated with the nationally-important wildlife biologist J. Clark Salyers, II may be one individual approaching the level of national significance required for Criterion B. The NRHP-listed "Denbigh Experimental Forest" property associated with Dr. Joseph Stoeckeler, who was instrumental to the establishment of forestry on the Great Plains, may also have sufficient associations with his developmental work. Properties associated with the important role of Russell Reid, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, in shaping the direction and interpretation of the state's history also merit further consideration under Criterion B.

Properties may also be eligible under Criterion D if it can be demonstrated that they have yielded or are likely to yield information important to history in the context of federal relief construction in North Dakota, through the potential for discovery of archaeological evidence and material, such as the patterns and configuration of features in a known CCC camp.

General Registration Requirements

Just as there is a common associative attribute for these properties, there are registration requirements that apply to all property types and sub-types. These include:

1. A resource must have been financed (wholly or in part) or constructed by the Federal government under the auspices of one of the federal relief programs that carried out construction, engineering and/or conservation efforts in North Dakota. Funds should have been utilized for materials, labor, and/or supervision.

2. Construction should have been substantially completed by the end of 1943.

3. A resource should be considered locally significant, unless it represents the only known example in the state of a particular property sub-type within a general property type, or is one of the few remaining examples of that property type associated with a specific work program. In these cases, a resource might be considered significant on a statewide level.

4. Resources constructed as part of a larger complex must be evaluated in terms of the broader contexts associated with the complex. An individual resource constructed as part of a complex may not be considered eligible unless a sufficient number of components survive from the original complex, which can interpret the historic function of the complex. Only in the case where an individual resource, constructed as part of a larger complex, is the only remaining resource associated with that complex should it be considered eligible in the absence of a sufficient number of components associated with the original complex. An individual resource may be considered eligible if it represents a significant example of an architectural style, an engineering or construction method, or the work of a master, OR it alone best represents a significant person's productive life.

5. Resources built in great numbers, such as stock dams and shelterbelts, of which many still exist, should be considered eligible as contributing resources in a larger context such as a district or cultural landscape. A single resource of which there are many examples remaining may not be considered eligible as a single resource unless the resource represents a significant example of an architectural style, an engineering or construction method, or the work of a master OR it alone best represents a significant person's productive life.

6. A resource must possess sufficient integrity to convey its significance. Generally, a resource will possess several, and usually most, of the following seven aspects of ***integrity***:

   a. ***Location:*** Because the relationship between a resource and its historic associations is usually destroyed if the resource is moved, the resource should remain in its original location. Buildings, structures and objects moved from their original locations must meet Criteria Consideration B for moved properties as indicated in the National Register guidelines.

   b. ***Design:*** A resource should retain a combination of elements that convey its original design. These elements may include the form, plan, organization of space, structural systems, technology, materials, and style. Generally, a resource should retain its overall original form and massing. Subsequent additions to resources should be either set back so as to not obstruct the original form, should be of a compatible scale, and should not be on the

primary facade of a building. Window replacement in buildings may be acceptable if fenestration patterns remain intact. Enlargement of window and door openings may render a building ineligible if the alterations significantly change the wall to opening ratio. The filling in of openings, if the original openings are still readable, may be considered on secondary facades only. Original plans and organization of space should be evident, even if the use of the space has changed over time. Textures and colors of original surface materials should remain intact. The type, amount and style of ornamentation must reflect the original design. In the case of designed landscapes, the original arrangement and type of plantings, as well as the overall site plan should be intact. Design elements related to specific resource types are noted, as appropriate, in the property description sections.

c. ***Setting:*** The physical environment in which the resource exists should reflect its historic features, including topography, vegetation, simple constructed features (such as paths or fences), and the relationships between the resource and its surroundings.

d. ***Materials:*** A resource must retain the key exterior materials dating from the period of its historic significance. Retention of original materials is essential for resources constructed under federal relief programs that emphasized use of local building materials. If a resource has been rehabilitated, historic materials and significant features must be preserved. A resource whose historic materials have been lost and then reconstructed may be eligible only if it meets Criteria Consideration E for reconstructed properties as indicated in the National Register guidelines.

e. ***Workmanship***: Because labor-intensive work relief and construction was paramount in the federal relief programs, resources should retain the physical evidence of workmanship. This workmanship should illustrate aesthetic principles and technological practices associated with federal relief programs, as well as individual, local, and regional applications of both. A resource should retain evidence of federal relief workers' labor and skill, as well its original design and materials.

f. ***Feeling:*** A resource should retain sufficient original physical features that, when taken together, convey the resource's historic character. This will generally include the combination of original design, materials, workmanship and setting. Because feeling depends on individual perceptions, its retention alone is never sufficient to support eligibility for the National Register.

g. ***Association:*** To retain association, the direct link between the resource and its association with an important historic event or person must be sufficiently intact to convey that relationship to an observer. Association, like feeling, requires the presence of original physical features that convey the resource's historic character. Because association depends on individual perceptions, its retention alone is never sufficient to support eligibility for the National Register.

7. A resource needs not retain its original function if its historic physical integrity is intact.

8. Significant additions to or renovations of resources constructed under the auspices of New Deal federal relief projects should be considered in the context of the entire property and its history, even if the original feature includes elements that were constructed prior to 1931.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

I. NAME OF PROPERTY TYPE: GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS

Description:

Government Buildings of the Depression Era are generally those buildings associated with the administration and operation of the federal, state, county, and municipal levels of government. This property type is divided into the following structural types:

A. POST OFFICES

Following World War I, federal construction was marked by an emphasis on efficiency. The stock market crash in 1929 and the subsequent depression, however, delayed the full implementation of the Public Buildings Act of 1926. In May 1930, Congress amended the Public Buildings Act and increased funding for public building construction. This legislation marked the beginning of the trend in public works projects during the 1930s. Following the creation of the Public Works Administration (PWA), which disbursed funds for federal construction projects, the number of post offices constructed during the decade was more than three times the number constructed during the previous fifty years. In its final report in 1939, the PWA characterized the local post office as the most typical and widely represented building type constructed nationwide under that agency's auspices. During its years of operation, the PWA financed the construction of 406 post office buildings in the U.S.

Post office buildings are often the most visible architectural expression of federal government in North Dakota communities. A focused program of post office construction during the Depression-era, together with the federal commitment to standardization, produced a distinct structural type throughout North Dakota. After the PWA assumed sponsorship of post office construction for the Treasury Department in 1933, over three times as many buildings were constructed as had been built in the preceding 50 years. As a general pattern of distribution, a new post office could be constructed in each congressional district each year. Under that formula, by 1939 the PWA had financed the construction of 406 post office buildings nationwide. With only two single congressional districts in the 1930s (and only a single such district today) North Dakota was arguably "oversupplied" with eight new post offices constructed between 1931 and 1943.

Post office projects were undertaken according to standard designs, and constructed under the direction and authority of the Supervising Architect of the U.S. Treasury. The National Register Multiple Property Submission developed for North Dakota Post Offices makes the administrative process explicit. Post office construction had been standardized in 1915 under "the McAdoo System". Four classifications (A-D) were established by which the level of annual postal receipts determined the size and materials for the post office building to be constructed. Class A buildings, for post offices with annual receipts of $800,000 and over, were constructed with materials such

as marble or granite facing, ornamental bronze work, and mahogany. Class B buildings, for post offices with annual receipts from $60,000 to $800,000, were constructed with limestone or sandstone facing, marble or wood interior finishes, and restricted ornamentation. Class C buildings, deemed appropriate for post offices with annual receipts from $15,000 to $60,000, were brick faced with stone or terra cotta. For post offices with annual receipts of less than $15,000, Class D buildings were constructed of brick with standard stock doors and sash and no ornamentation. These classes of standardization continued throughout the Depression. Minor modifications in design and materials were made by the Supervising Architect's office within the Treasury Department. Additional character defining features, regardless of Class designation, included lobby spaces with mailboxes, window-counter areas, large postal sorting workrooms separate from the lobby areas, and Postmaster's Offices.

North Dakota post offices are the subject of a previously developed National Register Multiple Property Submission. During the Depression era, a number of PWA post offices or post office additions were built in North Dakota. Only one, in the community of Oakes, was of the Class D variety (built in 1935). The remaining post offices constructed or expanded during this period were of the Class C variety. During the period 1931-1943, Class C post offices were built in Grafton, (1932), Carrington (1933), Langdon (1937), Hettinger (1938), New Rockford (1939), Lisbon (1939), and Rugby (1940). Each was one story faced with brick, stone or terra cotta and was designed in either the Colonial Revival style, or a style described as "Starved Classicism". Though accepted as a defined style understood by architectural historians, attaching the word "starved" has a rather pejorative connotation. The classical motifs associated with this unassuming style were decidedly restrained, sparse, even "severe". Architects who designed on behalf of the Supervising Architect of the U.S. Treasury consciously suppressed more overt expressions of style and detail in the interest of lean efficiency. The gambrel-roofed Pembina Post Office (1932) also served the functional needs of a U.S. Customs House, and as such is somewhat more elaborate that the others in its scale and Georgian Colonial Revival features. A substantial addition (1935) to the Grand Forks Federal Courts Building expanded postal services in that community, with emphasis on the building's architectural design.

The National Register Multiple Property Documentation for the context of "U.S. Post Offices in North Dakota, 1900-1940" develops the context in much greater detail, including informative discussion of the roles of James A. Wetmore and Louis Simon who served as Supervising Architect for post office designs, 1915-1934 and 1935-1942 respectively. For some larger-scale post offices, retention of a local design architect was permitted, but all the North Dakota examples from the depression-era were of the standardized type.

Artwork was consciously introduced into federal post offices during the Depression-era, as part of the Public Works of Art Program (PWAP) and the Treasury Department's Section of Painting and Sculpture (later called the Section of Fine Arts). Murals, paintings, and sculptures were added to many Federal buildings, including post offices built in the 1930s. However, the extent of these artwork installations in North Dakota public buildings is strikingly less than in most other nearby states. Only three post offices have painted murals produced under the Fine Arts programs; they are at Langdon, New Rockford, and Rugby. The only known instance of a sculptural design executed under the Fine Arts Programs for a North Dakota post office was in Lisbon, and for unknown reasons that feature was removed soon after the building was dedicated,

and was reportedly relocated to a museum setting at Augustana College in South Dakota. Artistic merit of these artists' work, in relationship to federally supported PWAP artwork nationally, is discussed at greater length in Park and Markowitz (1984). Those artists whose work was represented in North Dakota post offices included the following:

Langdon, Leo J. Beaulaurier (artist), "Indians Demanding Wagon Toll." (1939)
New Rockford, Edward Buk Ulreich, "Advance Guard of the West." (1940)
Rugby, Kenneth Callahan, "Rugby, the Geographic Center of North America." (1943)
Lisbon, James L. Hansen, "Family Group" (1944; terracotta sculpture)
Reference, Park and Markowitz. *Post Offices and Public Art in the New Deal*. (1984).

As evidence of how durable the standardized designs proved to be, post office buildings in Dickinson (Stark County) and Wahpeton (Richland County) employed essentially all the same stylistic motifs as the Depression-era post offices, but outside the period of the 1931-1943 context. They are virtually indistinguishable from those constructed under federal relief projects during the historical period. Several smaller, class D post offices are identified in the statewide survey of historic properties, but are not mentioned in the Multiple Property Submission. Undated post offices in Strasburg and Hazelton (both Emmons County), Wheelock (Williams County), Edinburgh (Walsh County) and Zap (Mercer County) may bear further research investigation in the context of federal relief construction.

B. BORDER CROSSING STATIONS AND U.S. CUSTOMS HOUSES

A second prevalent building type associated with the direct role of the federal government and, in particular with the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department, includes a variety of functional buildings used as border crossing inspection stations, customs clearinghouses, and international Ports of Entry along the North Dakota border with Canada. Seven such historic border crossing stations are identified in the statewide survey of historic architectural resources. They are at Pembina (1932), Maida (1938), Westhope (1937), St. John (1937), Northgate (n.d.; "not dated"), Portal (1932), and Ambrose (1932). The more expansive and architecturally embellished Customs House in Pembina serves additionally as a U.S. Post Office. These federally owned properties from the historic period were constructed using PWA grant funds, under similar design parameters to the standardized post offices. Twelve other border crossing points along the North Dakota border have not been evaluated or identified as having historically significant architectural features, and may bear further investigation.

C. FEDERALLY-SPONSORED BUILDINGS FOR LOCAL TRIBAL COMMUNITIES

Buildings built by federal agencies in tribal communities on North Dakota's Native American Indian reservations reflect notable changes in the relationship between U.S. government and tribal communities during the New Deal era. In a variety of respects, these buildings reflect an emergent awareness of self-determination in the delivery of services to tribal communities. This contextual theme is developed further in Part E of this MPDF. Some of these properties suggested under this property type may have individual eligibility, but in most instances their significance derives from their relationship to other features of a campus complex or community cultural setting. Matters of National Register eligibility for these

properties is subject to input from the Tribal Cultural Resources Office or the Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO):

- Fort Yates former BIA Office Building (Sioux County, 1931)
- Fort Yates former BIA Nurses Residence (Sioux County, 1940)
- Fort Yates, Standing Rock Reservation Headquarters (Sioux County, 1938 and 1940)
- Former BIA Administrative Offices at Wahpeton Indian School (Richland County; 1931)
- Turtle Mountain Chippewa Administrative Office facilities (Rolette County, 1936-38)
- Turtle Mountain Chippewa Community Center building (CCC-ID; Rolette County, 1937)
- Dunseith Native American Indian Day School (Rolette County, 1940)
- St. Michael's Mission School (Benson County, 1941)

Three noteworthy architectural features associated with the now-lost community of Elbowwoods on the Forth Berthold Reservation reflected the 1930s architectural work of Minot architect Edwin W. Molander. The Elbowwoods features – a day school (1935), nurse's quarters (1935), and two staff quarters buildings (1937) – show up prominently on historic photos. The Elbowwoods community was submerged in the 1950s flooding of Lake Sakakawea, with construction of the Garrison Dam under Pick-Sloan federal legislation. Only a few Depression-era residential demonstration buildings in New Town and at Belcourt and Trenton are addressed under the Social Welfare Housing section of the Property Types section F.

D. COURTHOUSES

Several prominent and architecturally distinguished county courthouses are associated with Depression-era federal relief construction in North Dakota. These properties represent a substantial public investment in government efficiency and local pride in the civic value of county government. There is also a "timeliness" consideration in that many older communities in North Dakota had well-established county courthouses dating from just prior to the depression years (Burke County, 1927; Tolz, King, and Day architects), Burleigh County (1931; Ira Rush, architect). Other counties failed to achieve the necessary "critical mass" for county government services until after World War II (Nelson County and Cavalier County examples).

The more notable Depression-era courthouse buildings are generally expressive of a restrained Art Moderne architectural style, reflecting the training and taste of the generation of architects who designed them. These prominent public buildings incorporate quality materials and durable construction methods that have enabled them to continue functioning efficiently and in a materially well maintained manner for more than 75-years. At least one of the courthouses (Dickinson Stark County Courthouse) was the subject of national exposure as an important example of the values and virtues of PWA investment in the Short/Stanley-Brown retrospective book on accomplishments of the PWA. In many instances, the initial funding was by PWA grant, but a majority of the local match was eventually made up utilizing WPA funding.

- Linton, Emmons County Courthouse (PWA/WPA 1934; Bugenhagen, Hess, Deeter architects)
- Mott, Hettinger County Courthouse (PWA 1934; Ritterbush Brothers)
- Lisbon, Ransom County Courthouse (PWA/WPA 1935; Ira Rush)
- Mohall, Renville County Courthouse (PWA/WPA 1936; Edwin W. Molander)

- McCluskey, Sheridan County Courthouse (WPA 1939; Ira Rush)
- Dickinson, Stark County Courthouse (PWA 1936; William F. Kurke)
- Finley, Steele County Courthouse (WPA 1938-39; Braseth and Houkom architects)
- Grafton, Walsh County Courthouse (WPA 1940; Theodore B. Wells)

Two other county courthouses have marginal associations with federal work relief programs. The Oliver County Courthouse at Center displays an historic cabin that was relocated onto the courthouse site by the WPA, and the Slope County Courthouse in Amidon exhibits some late features of WPA planning and design, although both of these courthouses were completed and dedicated (in 1945), after the end of the period of historic significance for this MPDF context.

The eight North Dakota courthouses identified under this property type are significant for their architectural style and methods of construction. The Stark County Courthouse, in particular, is architecturally sophisticated in its use of limestone and decorative features of its Art Deco embellishment. It reflects the apex of the impressive body of Kurke's Art Deco architectural work. Kurke is also important in the state of North Dakota for his role as collaborator (with Joseph Bell DeRemer and Holabird & Root, architects) on the North Dakota State Capitol building.)

E. MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS, CITY HALLS, POLICE AND FIRE STATIONS

Municipal buildings, also called city halls, town halls, or village halls, were a frequently constructed structural type nationwide during the Depression era. Communities' governments were suitable local sponsors and the projects were well suited to immediate employment of local labor, both skilled and semi-skilled. There was also a need for local embodiment of the civic and administrative aspects of government. Stylistically, municipal buildings represent a range of architectural designs and popular 20th century revival styles.

Building materials most often included brick, concrete, and stone. One-story, light wood framed buildings were more typical in smaller communities, while two story buildings were constructed in larger communities. Interior layouts varied but generally included various offices for city departments and a public lobby. Approximately half of the municipal buildings constructed in North Dakota during this time period were financed with PWA assistance; the majority of the rest were financed with WPA assistance. None of the municipal buildings is known to have been adorned with murals or sculpture sponsored by federal art projects.

Stylistically, municipal buildings represent a range of designs, most of which would be fairly characterized as "vernacular". Some of the more fascinating examples, such as in Stanley, in western North Dakota, invoke American Colonial Revival motifs as an *homage* to the ideals of democracy and civic accountability. Municipal buildings were often multi-functional, particularly when constructed in small communities. These buildings frequently combined any number of the following uses: office facilities, council chambers (that often doubled as meeting spaces), libraries, auditoriums, meeting rooms with kitchen space, police stations, fire departments, and even (occasionally) post offices, as at Tuttle. Notable examples of this structural type were constructed in North Dakota at Flaxton (n.d.), Hebron (PWA 1933),

Pembina (PWA 1933), Goodrich (1934), Belfield (1936), Columbus (n.d.), Linton (1938-39), Steele (1939), Grafton (1939), Stanley (1941), Hague (WPA 1942), and Strasburg (1942).

The work of Gilbert R. Horton on the Wishek, Steele, Medina, and Robinson civic auditorium properties is particularly noteworthy for the application of labor-intensive split fieldstone construction, in the Rustic version of the Arts and Crafts style. The Colonial Revival stylistic motifs of the Stanley City Hall (probably E. W. Molander) reflect the architect's tastes as much as the community's civic values. Often these municipal buildings served local volunteer fire departments. In only a few instances were Police Stations and freestanding Fire Departments built as separate structures to serve larger communities (Fargo, Grand Forks, Bismarck, Minot), and most of those appear to have been subsequently replaced with more efficient, modern facilities. The only freestanding fire stations identified from the various sources consulted in preparing this MPDF were at Max (WPA, 1935), Milnor (PWA), Carpio, Wishek, and Tolna (all WPA).

F. ARMORIES AND MILITARY FACILITIES

Traditionally, the National Guard presence in local communities was often defined by an armory building. There was minimal commitment to constructing armories in North Dakota between the two World Wars. Armory buildings are traditionally large, imposing structures, often with monumental proportions, sometimes occupying an entire city block. In North Dakota, the stylistic expression of armories for the military reserve training is generally much more architecturally modest than in surrounding states. Most of the elaborate, early armory buildings in North Dakota (Williston, Wahpeton, Bismarck) are associated with World War I and predate the period of significance for this MPDF. At times, civic auditoriums and even fairgrounds buildings were also utilized for military drill purposes. Though related, War Memorial auditoriums are treated separately as a property type under "Social and Recreational Features".

Building materials for armories usually included reinforced concrete, brick masonry, and structural steel. In terms of construction, armories were also associated with innovative "longspan" building methods, which eliminated most interior columns by using trussed girders or laminated wood arches. Representative examples of Depression-era federal relief armory buildings were constructed in Valley City (1937, Gilbert R. Horton), Devils Lake (associated with a War Memorial Building, 1934), and Jamestown (1935, Gilbert R. Horton). However, this property type also includes buildings and structures constructed at larger-scale military complexes such as Camp Grafton. Though there are few, if any, notable historic architectural features associated with the more modern Camp Grassick facility, a substantial number of historically important features (some 30 features dating from 1935-1941) have been identified on the inventory of cultural resources for Camp Grafton, near Devils Lake. The fieldstone gatepost features present there may be more relevant as part of a unified thematic context or historic district, but the remarkably crafted and immaculately preserved, rustic Edwards House is clearly significant as in individual property located on a military facility.

SIGNIFICANCE OF GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS

Government Buildings are historically significant for their association with the social, political, and economic impact of the Great Depression and the subsequent development of the various federal relief

programs which were responsible for their construction. The unprecedented federal response often produced a building representing a city's first modern and complete municipal facility, thereby providing an expanded governmental presence in the community. Towns and villages that had previously provided the services of only a fire department and jail, were then able to offer libraries, auditoriums, and community rooms, for use in a variety of social and civic functions. Comprehensive public safety/administrative facilities enhanced the quality of life in many communities.

The construction of a Government Building often provided substantial employment (work relief), thereby significantly reducing the number of residents receiving direct relief. The federal assistance associated with these buildings established the precedent for direct federal allotments to municipal governments. Government Buildings are architecturally significant as many of the most prominent and visually significant buildings in the community. A variety of well-executed designs were constructed, including the prevailing styles of the day -- distinctive architectural expressions associated with specific work programs, such as the Works Progress Administration (WPA).

The programmatic requirements for such projects often resulted in the use of monumental building materials (employing masonry and site-cast concrete, in particular). Hand crafted detailing was often combined with labor intensive methods, making the level of detail difficult to match in the more industrialized, mass-produced present-day construction economy.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS

The following criteria should be applied in order to place Government Buildings on the National Register of Historic Places:

1. The construction of a Government Building should have been financed through a grant or loan from the federal government, or federal funds should have been utilized for materials, labor, or supervision.

2. Construction should have been substantially completed by the end of 1943.

3. Due to the large number of surviving resources, and because many Government Buildings may be considered historically significant for their association with the unprecedented federal response to the Great Depression, the following criteria should also be applied:

   a. A Government Building should be eligible under National Register Criterion A by representing a particularly important project through the size and scope of the work involved, or by the number of people employed; or the project should represent a significant contribution to the community by providing a new and modern facility which offered programs, amenities, or community services which were previously unavailable. For example, a municipal building which lacked architectural significance and which merely duplicated previously available services might not be considered eligible unless it provided significant employment.

   or if this criterion is not met, the following criteria should be applied:

   b. A Government Building should be eligible under National Register Criterion C for incorporating the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or

represent the work of a master, or possess high artistic values. This criterion may be met if a building is constructed with finely crafted indigenous materials, a distinctive construction method often associated with specific federal work programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps or the Works Progress Administration; or a building may be considered eligible if it contains art or sculpture that has been evaluated as artistically significant. For example, a post office designed in a distinctive example of the Colonial Revival Style may be considered eligible, however, a post office constructed utilizing a standardized federal design not may be eligible unless it represents a particularly important work relief project, or contains a mural of artistic significance.

or if this criteria is not met, the following criteria should be applied:

c. A Government Building should represent the only known example in the state of a particular category of resource within this property type, or one of the few remaining buildings associated with a specific work program. For example, a garage building may not be considered architecturally significant, yet, it may be eligible as one of the few examples of a complete building constructed by a work program such as the Works Progress Administration; or a sole surviving example of a municipal building may be eligible for its ability to represent this historically significant building type.

4. A building constructed as part of a larger existing complex, such as a military facility, may not be considered eligible unless evaluated in terms of the broader contexts associated with the complex.

5. A Government Building should possess integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, and association, and should be without substantial alterations. Original materials and prominent features should remain intact, and any alterations should be modest in scale without impacting or obscuring major facades, elements, or design features. An eligible Government Building should generally represent a building that was constructed new during the years of this context, rather than being an addition or minor expansion of a previous structure.

6. A building needs not retain its original function if historic physical integrity is retained.

II. NAME OF PROPERTY TYPE: EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Description

Education facilities represent one of the most widespread and important property types from the Depression era, if not in terms of the number of these features, then in terms of their design sophistication and durable, long term payback on public investment. In fact, educational building construction was the leading project type of the Public Works Administration in North Dakota. The PWA sponsored the construction of at least 45 educational buildings; either new or additions. Similarly, the Works Progress Administration built 17 schools or school additions and substantially improved or modernized an additional 10 school buildings for emergent educational programs. The Educational Facilities property type includes the following structural types:

A. LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS

Surprisingly few library or museum buildings were constructed in North Dakota during the 1930s. This fact may have to do with the lack of a suitable "public" sponsor for a federal work relief application. One good, representative example of community library built with WPA funds is the Lisbon Public Library in Ransom County (1942). Library additions were also constructed, such as the expansion of the Williston and Mandan Public Libraries, and work on the Dickinson Carnegie Library. Other examples may include renovation work at the A.M. Tofthagen public library in Lakota (originally built 1926) or the Alfred Dickey Free Public Library in Jamestown, but any modest work relief construction there is unrecognizable. Most of the Depression-era library work in North Dakota seems to have been more in the nature of service work, rather than building construction.

B. PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Primary and secondary schools were built in cities and rural communities of all sizes throughout North Dakota during the Depression years. These projects clearly served a multi-fold purpose; providing work relief and upgrading the standard infrastructure for a broadened educational curriculum in towns and cities. School facilities were subject to review of the state Superintendent for Public Instruction. In the rural countryside, schools constructed during this time period remained quite straightforward, modest, and basic in their architectural development; little altered from earlier one room schools, except that in many instances the Depression-era rural schools took better advantage of natural daylighting, electrical services, and occasionally indoor restroom facilities. It is useful to categorize the schools built under New Deal programs based their scale and the size of communities in which they were located. This should not distract, however, from awareness of the commitment to widespread improvement of school facilities in communities of all sizes. Many of the schools constructed with federal relief project support between 1933 and 1943 remain in viable use in the present day.

A typical school building of the period features brick and reinforced concrete construction, yet, a wide variety of designs and building materials were employed. Straightforward frame construction was common in rural areas such as the small, one- and two-room rural schools constructed at Wheatland and Davenport in Cass County (PWA), in the vicinity of Norma in Renville County (PWA), in the vicinity of Garrison, Wilton, and Underwood all in McLean County (all PWA), and Alamo in Divide County (PWA). Small "town schools" serving communities as small as 200 residents were surprisingly ambitious in their scale, material quality, architectural style, and level of public investment. Excellent examples can be found in communities like Selz in Pierce County (PWA, 1937); Neche in Pembina County (PWA, 1938); and Belfield in Stark County (PWA). Larger scale schools include buildings constructed in Ashley in McIntosh County (PWA, 1937), Arthur in Cass County (WPA), and Abercrombie School (WPA) all displaying extensive use of reinforced concrete construction in a streamline Art Moderne architectural style. Additions were also frequently built, with gyms and auditoriums the most common type, as evident at Grand Forks Central High School.

Characteristics of small, one-room rural schools (also referred to as country schools) were relatively uniform, based on standardized plans endorsed by the Division of Public Instruction and the North Dakota Superintendent of Schools. Examples of the small one-room, wood frame

schools are dotted throughout the countryside. Typically, these rural schools were square or rectangular buildings with hipped or gabled roofs. A small entrance vestibule was most often centered on the primary facade. Fenestration patterns included two small windows on one side and several large windows on the opposite side, a design adapted to provide better lighting and less eyestrain, more blackboard space and better seating arrangements. Functionally, the plan was primarily a large open space, sometimes with small coatrooms at the rear of the classroom space. Not all the rural schools were equipped with indoor plumbing, but there was a trend toward improved hygiene and sanitary facilities during the Depression-era. An excellent and unusual example of a remarkable small school, designed and built for an extremely remote rural, smalltown setting, is the immaculately preserved Alkabo School in Divide County (WPA, 1939; E.W. Molander, architect), which exhibits a peculiarly proportioned Colonial Revival motif.

Notable examples of important medium-sized schools in established communities can be found at Des Lacs in Ward County, at Clifford and Gardner in Cass County, and at Cavalier in Pembina County (all PWA). Good examples of smaller brick masonry schools can be found in Edgeley, Streeter, Selz, Wales, St. John, and Palermo. The buildings were often wood joisted construction, but in a surprising number of instances the structural frame was of site cast concrete. Basements occasionally afforded an open meeting space that was sometimes used for games and recreation. Basements also housed mechanical equipment, modest sports lockerrooms, and occasionally hot lunch or dining room facilities. Many of these school buildings remain unused on the landscape, resulting from school consolidation. Many communities have elected to demolish the disused school buildings, even though they remain physically intact as reflections of local pride in those communities.

Interior characteristics of large school buildings in larger communities typically included rows of classrooms accessed by central corridors, centrally located primary staircases with secondary stairs located at each end of the building, an office (or suite of small offices) for administration, restrooms, and a faculty lounge or teacher preparation space. A number of large schools included classroom space for what was then called mechanical arts and domestic arts (generally larger spaces than regular classrooms, sometimes located in basements or wings of buildings). Some large schools also included auditoriums (often centrally located) with stages, fixed seating, and occasionally balconies. Gymnasiums were usually large open spaces with high ceilings in interesting longspan structural configurations. Characteristics may include bleachers (on one or more sides), locker and shower rooms, and hardwood floors designed for sports. Occasionally, a small stage may be at one end, especially if the school did not have a dedicated auditorium. One of the most remarkable large schools, deserving special attention, is the elaborate and stylish Central High School in Devils Lake (PWA and WPA, 1937). The Art Deco design makes extensive use of limestone, and interior finishes are durable and well-detailed.

Additions to schools were also frequent construction projects, with gymnasiums and auditoriums among the most common types. An example of a typical addition to an existing small school is the Penn School Auditorium addition. An example of a typical gymnasium addition can be found in Lidgerwood. Additions were generally constructed to "match" the existing school facility, using similar building materials and architectural styles, although a few of the auditorium additions are more elaborate in their stylistic embellishments, often favoring a simplified Moderne

architectural style. Two major additions to Grand Forks Central High School (WPA, 1937, Samuel Teel DeRemer, architect) afforded excellent auditorium and gymnasium facilities.

C. EDUCATIONAL BUILDINGS ON CAMPUSES OF STATE INSTITUTIONS

For a variety of issues relating to Populist state politics and the quarrelsome relationship between the Langer administration and the state universities, few buildings were constructed on North Dakota's numerous state university campuses during the depression era. University buildings are generally large multi-story brick and reinforced concrete or masonry structures, some of which served double-duty as an auditorium, sports facility, or armory. One such example is the Physical Education Building at North Dakota Agricultural College (now the Benson-Bunker Fieldhouse), which was actually dedicated at the very beginning of the period of historical significance for this MPDF, prior to the earliest federal work-relief construction projects. The now-demolished Winter Sports Building at the University of North Dakota in Grand Forks was a more typical example of a large public facility built for quasi-educational purposes on a university campus.

One exception to the general patterns of style and scale is represented by the diminutive C.I. Nelson Student Health Services Building at the North Dakota Agricultural College in Fargo (WPA, 1939; Paul W. Jones, architect), built in a somewhat unusual Prairie School style and included as part of the NDSU Old Campus historic district. Again, these Depression era buildings often had less to do with the teaching missions of the university system than other services provided at colleges and universities. It may be that the college and university system was not in a particularly active "growth mode" during the years of the economic depression. Further research would be appropriate relating to classroom buildings at the state's two-year colleges and normal schools. Campus landscape development of the college campus at Dickinson State Teacher's College was supported by a WPA project for erecting a low stone landscape wall comprised almost entirely of local scoria rock.

D. STATE PARKS AND STATE HISTORIC SITES

The extensive development of state parks and state historical sites during the Depression era for their educational benefits to the people of North Dakota is a testament to the imaginative vision of Russell Reid, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of North Dakota. He solicited design recommendations for a variety of interpretive features, including kiosks, shelter buildings, signage elements, and markers, all utilizing a design vocabulary that was sympathetic to the undisturbed nature of the historic feature being interpreted. Though people often think of parks as recreational amenities, they are treated here as part of the state's educational infrastructure owing to the vision and imagination of Russell Reid, who actively sponsored research and historical documentation projects, artifact collection, and interpretive sites in equal proportion.

Excellent examples of historic sites that contribute to this educational purpose can be noted at the Fort Abraham Lincoln complex south of Mandan, which consolidated historic Fort McKeen and the On-A-Slant Mandan Indian village archaeological site. The fieldstone museum building at Fort Lincoln is well-documented in terms of the role of CCC crews in constructing the building of local fieldstone and cottonwood timbers from the nearby river bottom. Architectural elements and landscape interventions constructed at the Chateau DeMores and DeMores Memorial Park in Medora make excellent use of well-crafted, quarried and cut local sandstone, as well as CCC wrought ironwork.

All of these projects were undertaken under sponsorship and design review by the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

Some of the historic site markers are even more modest in the scale of their architectural features. Generally speaking, one objective was to treat the interpretive features and signage in a "background" way that would not compete with the historic resource being interpreted. Typical examples are found at Fort Clark (Mercer County), Writing Rock (Divide County), and Wadeson Cabin (Barnes County). A wonderful CCC/WPA state historic site interpretive structure at Whitestone Hill Battlefield Site (LaMoure County) was destroyed by fire in the fall of 2009. Artfully crafted, WPA-Rustic features at Menoken Indian Village State Historic Site (Burleigh County) remain intact, although beginning to show signs of needed repair and maintenance.

SIGNIFICANCE OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Educational Facilities are historically significant for their association with the social, political, and economic impact of the Great Depression and the subsequent development of the various federal relief programs which were responsible for their construction. Educational Facilities represent one of the most frequently constructed property types of the Depression Era and one that impacted all areas of the state, from large urban centers to remote rural communities. Modern and complete facilities were provided which often replaced inadequate, unsafe, and dilapidated buildings. Buildings were erected which included facilities considered essential in a modern educational program, such as auditoriums, gymnasiums, libraries, science laboratories, art and music rooms, home economics and industrial arts facilities. In addition, small school districts were sometimes reorganized into larger administrative units in order to provide modern and efficient educational programs.

Educational Facilities are sometimes plain, utilitarian brick buildings lacking architectural distinction Yet, many well designed buildings were constructed, including the prevailing styles of the day as well as unique architectural expressions associated with specific work programs, such as the Works Progress Administration. Programmatic requirements for such school designs were often predicated on labor-intensive methods and finely crafted detailing.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

1. The construction of an Education Facility should have been financed through a grant or loan from the federal government, or federal funds should have been utilized for materials, labor, or supervision.

2. Construction should have been substantially completed by the end of 1943.

3. Due to the large number of surviving resources, and because many Educational Facilities may be considered historically significant for their association with the unprecedented federal response to the Great Depression, the following criteria should also be applied:

   a. An Educational Facility should be eligible under National Register Criterion A by representing a particularly important project through the size and scope of the work involved, or by the number of people employed; or the project should represent a significant contribution to the community by providing a new and modern building which offered programs, community services, or a

physical environment which were previously unavailable. For example, this criterion could be met if a new building replaced a small school and now offered expanded facilities or opportunities.

or if this criterion is not met, the following criteria should be applied:

b. An Educational Facility should be eligible under National Register Criterion C for incorporating the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or represent the work of a master, or possess high artistic values. This criterion may be met if a building is constructed with finely crafted indigenous materials, or a distinctive construction method often associated with specific federal work programs such as the WPA; or a building may be considered eligible if it contains art or sculpture that has been evaluated as artistically significant;

or, if this criterion is not met, the following criterion should be applied:

c. An Educational Facility should represent the only known example of a particular category of resource within this property type, or one of the few remaining buildings associated with a specific work program. For example, a sole surviving example of a school building may be eligible for its ability to represent this historically significant property type.

4. A building that was constructed as part of a larger complex, such as a university, may not be considered eligible unless evaluated in terms of the broader context associated with that facility.

5. A building should possess integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, and association, and should be without substantial alterations. Original materials and prominent features should remain intact, and any alterations should be modest in scale without impacting or obscuring major facades, elements, or design features. For example, a school with a modern addition may be considered eligible if the integrity of the original construction is not impaired. However, if the size of the addition exceeds the original building, of if it encloses a portion of the earlier structure, the building may not be eligible. A building that has been altered might be considered eligible if the school represented an important relief project for the community or if the building contained art or sculpture that has been evaluated as artistically significant. An Educational Facility should also represent new construction rather than an additional or expansion.

6. An educational building needs not retain its original function if historic physical integrity is retained.

III. NAME OF PROPERTY TYPE; SOCIAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

Description

Social and Recreational Facilities were one of the most prevalent property types of the period. The impact of the automobile increased both the mobility of American families and the demand for recreational facilities. Providing recreational amenities was also regarded as a civic investment that could potentially help compensate for public frustration and physical suffering in an exceptionally adverse environmental circumstance. The WPA alone was responsible for building or improving 10 municipal parks, 30 playgrounds and athletic fields, and 10 swimming pools. This property type includes the following structural types:

A. CIVIC AUDITORIUMS AND COMMUNITY BUILDINGS

Dozens of Civic Auditoriums and Community Buildings were constructed in North Dakota as a result of federal relief programs. They varied widely in scale and design, representing large and small structures in a variety of architectural styles, ranging from simple vernacular to the distinctive Moderne style often associated with WPA-construction. Materials also varied and included wood, reinforced concrete, brick, and native stone. Larger auditoriums sometimes had barrel vault roofs. Fenestration patterns varied, but typically included ventilating sash windows placed high on the exterior walls, and fairly elaborate entrances with two-, three-, or more pairs of doors. As community gathering space, auditoriums and community buildings usually included large open spaces for various ceremonial purposes and performances. Sometimes used as a community gymnasium and/or theater, some auditorium/community buildings were equipped with hardwood floors and/or stages. In addition to the large primary space, an office, a kitchen, and restrooms may have been included. Occasionally, community buildings were multi-functional incorporating separate public services into secondary parts of the building. Examples of large scale, reinforced concrete auditoriums can be found in North Dakota communities like Venturia, Tolna, Church's Ferry, Petersburg, and Edinburgh. Excellent, distinctive fieldstone auditoriums exist in Wishek, Medina, and Steele. Examples of smaller scale wood frame community buildings can be found in Hannaford, Buxton, Penn, and Zap (WPA, 1936).

B. FAIRGROUNDS AND RODEO GROUNDS STRUCTURES

A number of state and county fairgrounds benefited from federal relief projects, including a few such instances in North Dakota. Fairground Structures include exhibit halls, stock pavilions, grandstands, storage sheds, barns, show and livestock rings, and occasionally sale barns. Rodeo grounds structures generally included grandstands or bleachers and show rings with attached entry chutes. Projects were approved for overall planning and design, as well as for construction and improvement of these buildings and structures. General landscaping for the grounds and the installation of utilities such as water, sewer and power were also encouraged in the scope of these projects.

Other examples of WPA-approved projects in North Dakota include grounds improvements and a fieldstone pavilion/auditorium building on the grounds of the Wells County Fair at Fessenden, construction of pavilion buildings and exhibit halls, as well as installation of water and electric lines at the Grand Forks State Fairgrounds, grandstands and enclosure features for the Medora rodeo grounds in Billings County, and rodeo grounds at New Town. Further investigation is necessary to confirm any federal relief involvement on construction of grandstands or other physical improvements at powwow grounds on tribal reservation lands.

The record of planning, construction, and improvement of the Grand Forks State Fairgrounds complex under WPA participation is particularly complete, even though a number of the architecturally designed pavilion buildings no longer exist. Historical documentation of the work of Theodore B. Wells on behalf of the State Fairgrounds association is accessible in the Orin G. Libby special collections library at the University of North Dakota. Those structural features that do survive, including a historically important grandstand and several fieldstone features constructed by the WPA (1938), are listed on the National Register. Depression-era architectural amenities at the State Fairground complex in Minot (an interesting historic gateway) and the

Fargo State Fairground site are no longer extant. An octagonal livestock showing pavilion (or cattle barn) at the Emmons County Fairground in Linton requires further investigation for purposes of dating and verifying work relief involvement.

C. SPORTS AND RECREATION STRUCTURES

The largest buildings within this structural type were arenas including the (now demolished) Winter Sports Arena Building at the University of North Dakota in Grand Forks and the Fargo Arena (WPA), where only the facade portion of which survives *in situ*. Both of these structures were especially interesting in terms of their longspan construction innovations. The glue-laminated structural arches that originally supported the Fargo Arena are reportedly intact and were relocated after World War II to construct a military aircraft hanger at Fargo's Hector Field (subsequently demolished). Members of the U.S. silver medal winning 1952 Olympic ice hockey team reportedly trained at the Fargo Arena ice facility.

A variety of recreation structures of more moderate size were also very common. These include grandstands, recreation centers, and golf course clubhouses. Sports and recreation buildings were usually frame structures with minimal embellishment. Representative examples include, recreation buildings in three public parks in Fargo (Edgewood, Oak Grove, and Lindenwood), all constructed by CCC crews. Two unassuming golf course clubhouses have been identified, the Ray Richards clubhouse at the University of North Dakota in Grand Forks and another, along with the attendant sand greens golf course, in Garrison. Athletic fields in Ray (Mountrail County) were constructed with WPA involvement.

Stadiums and grandstands were also constructed, typically in conjunction with athletic fields, such as the excellent covered grandstand and Corbett Field baseball complex in Minot. A modest example is a set of utilitarian bleachers built at the Mott High School athletic fields. More exotic recreational features were embodied by the ski rump ramps in north Fargo and at Lincoln Park in Grand Forks (both of which have long since been demolished).

D. SWIMMING POOLS AND BATH HOUSES

Swimming Pools and Bathhouses were a very popular project during the Depression Era. Pools range from small wading pools built in Mott, to the more common larger scale structures that were built, for example, in Oakes or Grand Forks. Public swimming pool facilities, some with bathhouses and others without, were built at Mott, Oakes, Lakota, and Williston. Bathhouses were occasionally built in conjunction with swimming pools, and when they were included they were most often clad with local fieldstone. In recent years, local park districts have at times struggled with maintenance and public health issues in trying to maintain and retain these public pool amenities.

Two swimming pool complexes are particularly noteworthy because of their architectural style and innovative methods of construction. The iconic streamline Moderne style, site cast concrete bathhouse and pool complex at Riverside Park in Grand Forks is National Register listed and remains of considerable public interest and neighborhood pride. The Island Park Swimming Pool Complex in Fargo includes substantial interior space (below the site cast concrete grandstands) that has provided recreational space for social service community groups. The swimming pool itself has been infilled

and replaced with tennis courts. Historic photos illustrate impressively tall Moderne styled tower and foot wash baths that were originally part of the Island Park Pool complex.

E. PARKS, BAND SHELLS, CAMPGROUNDS, PICNIC GROUNDS, AND TOURIST CAMPS

Based on the idea of making nature more enjoyable and accessible, parks, campgrounds and picnic grounds were constructed throughout North Dakota. Construction and improvement projects were funded through several federal relief programs and resulted in the development and improvement of numerous parks, camp and picnic grounds in all parts of the state. A large number of these projects were funded through the CCC and WPA. Many of the features are recognized for their importance and are proudly maintained by park staff, who do an effective job of explaining to the visiting public the connections with federal relief work.

Numerous picnic areas and campgrounds were developed throughout the Badlands by the CCC. An excellent example of the rustic style of architecture using massive stone and log elements is Theodore Roosevelt National Park, North- and South-Units. Development of the grounds included construction of a large log and stone shelter house with a massive stone stove/fireplace, a stone and log latrine, a well house, a mile of road with a dozen spurs for individual camps, two parking areas, outdoor camp stoves, picnic tables and benches. Construction of the road included culverts and bridges. General landscaping included preparation of the site to add an additional twelve individual camp sites if the demand warranted. Picnic grounds include the WPA wayside park at Abercrombie. Although original structures at some of the campgrounds and picnic grounds have since been replaced, there are examples of the original structures found in various locations.

The National Park Service and the U.S. Forest Service considered rustic architecture the appropriate style for construction in state and national parks and forests, and these agencies appropriately influenced the proliferation of this style on a statewide basis. In keeping with the emphasis on nature for parks and recreational features, natural settings were emphasized and "rustic" architecture, with its massive elements, was the dominant style. The use of native building materials, such as logs and stone, was common. Projects under the auspices of the U.S. Forest Service (predominantly CCC projects) utilized standardized plans (occasionally modified) for buildings and structures in campgrounds and picnic grounds. These plans emphasized the use of native materials in a rustic mode. WPA funding paid for the development of gardens, wading pool, for an occasional ice skating rink, and for construction of the impressive native stone amphitheater (currently endangered) in Valley City's Pioneer Park.

Municipal parks, which tended to be developed for individual communities, ranged in size from small parks, such as the improvements made to community parks at Linton, Wyndmere, Hazen, and Burlington. Larger-scale parks such as Wahpeton's Chahinkapa Park, Valley City's Pioneer Park, and two public parks in Bismarck were also enhanced and improved by CCC and WPA labor. Other examples such as three riparian parks in Fargo have been discussed elsewhere in this section (Lindenwood, Oak Grove, and Edgewood). Historical documents reflect that none of the state's historic zoos (at Bismarck, Minot, or Wahpeton) include elements with federal relief construction. Bandshells are a noteworthy federal relief construction feature in city parks at New Salem, Richardton (WPA, 1938), and Lisbon. The stonework enclosure at the municipal park in Ashley dates from about the same time, but further investigation is needed to ascertain any federal agency involvement in its construction.

Campgrounds and picnic grounds also varied in size and were often developed in conjunction with state parks and forest service land. Improvements included picnic shelters and sanitation buildings, recreation buildings, pathways and bridges, curbing, landscaping, bandstands and amphitheaters. The unifying factor, however, was the inevitable use of native materials and labor intensive building methods. Fieldstone entrance gates to the municipal park in Zeeland are about the only architectural element in evidence there.

Work relief features at Lake Metigoshe resort, Turtle River State Park, and any surviving remnants of the tourist camp at Minot may be eligible. The historic (original) Red Trail Tourist Camp at Medora is no longer extant. The Boy Scout Camp in Ward County may have undocumented connections with the National Youth Administration (NYA). The Stewart Lake Picnic area in Slope County also bears further consideration as an example of recreational park and picnic ground infrastructure. Arguably the best examples would be in the three public parks in Fargo (Lindenwood, Oak Grove, and Edgewood).

F. CEMETERY IMPROVEMENTS AND CEMETERY CHAPELS

A finely crafted split stone Arts and Crafts influenced cemetery chapel and entrance gateway was constructed in Calvary Cemetery at Grand Forks. Together with picturesque WPA-Rustic entrance gateway features at Memorial Park Cemetery in Grand Forks, the Grand Forks WPA Stone cemetery features are subject of a pending (2010) National Register nomination. All of these features reflect the design work of landscape architect and cemetery engineer Ray F. Wyrick. Other WPA cemetery improvements have been identified at Michigan and Lakota, in Nelson County. Cemetery features at Calvary Cemetery in Traill County (n.d.), Hazelton Cemetery in Emmons County (1936), Union Cemetery in Mandan (1939) and St. Francis Xavier Cemetery monumental features in McHenry County (1941) all require further investigation to verify any federal relief involvement.

G. SCENIC BYWAYS, WAYSIDES AND OVERLOOKS

Waysides and Overlooks were built to increase the recreational qualities and enjoyment of the state's highways. Waysides and overlooks built by the CCC, WPA, and the NYA include landscape features built to take advantage of a scenic landscape. The scenic overlook for the Little Missouri River Badlands landscape alongside U.S. Highway 85 south of Theodore Roosevelt North Unit is defined by a stone wall with semi-circular projections allowing for an optimum view. There is an expressed concern over plans to expand U.S. Highway 85 that could negatively impact this well-known feature, necessitating its careful documentation. Several of these roadside amenities were identified in a timely way in the *WPA Guide to 1930s North Dakota*. Waysides occasionally included parking areas or pullouts, shelter buildings, and sanitation buildings or latrines.

One prominent roadside feature is the Rugby "Geographic Center of North America" monument (1932) and nearby Pierce County Fairgrounds features of fieldstone construction. A very pleasant and comfortable roadside park, with fieldstone entrance gates and shade tree plantings was constructed by the WPA along County Highway 27 on the edge of Abercrombie. This feature traditionally afforded an introductory wayside gateway to historic Fort Abercrombie, although today it is maintained and administered separately from the state historic site.

Another easily overlooked historic resource built under auspices of the WPA was the Crystal Springs Fountain, alongside the former route of U.S. Highway 10 (historically the "Red Trail" or National Parks Highway). Constructed in 1935 of locally-gathered fieldstone by stonemason Art Geisler, the Crystal Springs Fountain wayside replaced, "the old iron pipe from which travelers used to obtain a cool drink of spring water while motoring on No. 10." Fed by one of the artesian wells that replenishes Crystal Springs The fountain was actually an elevated reservoir that fed the open drinking fountain below. This structural feature is situated in a clearing adjoining Crystal Springs Lake and proximate to the former site of a landmark Conoco gas station, forming a kind of informal wayside park.

SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

Social and Recreational Facilities are historically significant for their association with the social, political, and economic impact of the Great Depression and the subsequent development of the various federal relief programs which were responsible for their construction. Social and Recreational Facilities often provided the focus for the social, civic, cultural, and recreational activities within a particular community, but also as an amenity for the touring public. These were often the first well-developed facilities of their type. Their development was a response to a perceived need for social and recreational activities as a result of the impact of the automobile and a growing interest in travel and tourism. Facilities administered by state agencies represent the first state wide efforts to provide state owned and centrally administered recreational areas to a large segment of the population.

Social and Recreational Facilities may be architecturally significant as outstanding examples of the use of native building materials in the construction process. These include significant examples of the Rustic Style as well as finely crafted masonry construction. Parks, waysides, and scenic overlooks are often significant for incorporating the principles of landscape architecture into the design process in an attempt to achieve non-intrusive and environmentally sensitive development.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR SOCIAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

The following criteria should be applied in order to place Social and Recreational Facilities on the National Register of Historic Places:

1. The construction of a Social or Recreational Facility should have been financed through a grant or loan from the federal government, or federal funds should have been utilized for materials, labor, or supervision.

2. Construction should have been substantially completed by the end of 1943.

3. Due to the large number of surviving resources, and because many Social and Recreational Facilities may be considered historically significant for their association with the unprecedented federal response to the Great Depression, the following criteria should also be applied:

    a. A Social or Recreational Facility should be eligible under National Register Criterion A as a particularly important project through the size and scope of the work involved, or by the number of people employed; or the project should represent a significant contribution to the

community by providing a new and modern facility which offered programs, amenities, recreational activities, or community services which were previously unavailable;

or if this criteria is not met, the following criteria should be applied;

b. A Social or Recreational Facility should be eligible under National Register Criterion C for incorporating the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or represent the work of a master, or possess high artistic values. This criterion may be met if a building is constructed with finely crafted indigenous materials, a distinctive construction method (such as site cast concrete) often associated with specific Federal work programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps or the Works Progress Administration; or a building may be considered eligible if it contains art of sculpture which has been evaluated as artistically significant. For example, a recreational building featuring unusual field stone construction may be considered eligible, however, an undistinguished framed shelter building may not. Similarly, a wayside defined by only a low split stone wall with no other confirming features, may not be eligible unless it forms part of a complex of related constructional elements.

or if this criterion is not met, the following criterion should be applied:

c. A Social or Recreational Facility should represent the only known example of a particular category of resource within this property type, or one of the few remaining buildings associated with a specific work program.

4. A building or structure constructed as part of a larger complex, such as a park, parkway, wayside, or bandshell, may not be considered eligible unless the original landscape design, spatial and functional relationships remain intact. In such cases, the property should be nominated as an historic district. In addition, grandstands, ski jumps, and other sports structures might not be eligible unless they represent components of a larger sports complex or demonstrate architectural or engineering significance. Similarly, a single building constructed at a park or fairgrounds may not be eligible, yet, there may be situations where sufficient components exist to form an historic district.

5. A Social or Recreational Facility should possess integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, and association, and should be without major alterations. Original materials and prominent features should remain intact, and any alterations should be modest in scale without impacting or obscuring major facades, elements, or design features. For example, a stone bath house might be considered ineligible because the accompanying swimming pool has been infilled. A building or structure should represent new construction rather than an additional or expansion.

6. A building or structure need not retain its original function if historic physical integrity is retained.

IV. NAME OF PROPERTY TYPE; INSTITUTIONAL BUILDINGS AND SOCIAL WELFARE PROJECTS

Description

Institutional Buildings and Social Welfare Projects include those buildings and structures associated with institutional facilities and social welfare programs. Institutional Buildings and Social Welfare Projects

are most typically located on the campus of a state institution or federal agency. Only occasionally does this building type concern itself with freestanding buildings functioning within a community. This property type is divided into the following structural types:

A. HOSPITALS

Modern medical facilities and hospitals were constructed in many communities nationwide during the Great Depression, but in surprisingly few North Dakota communities. For some communities, the local hospitals and clinic buildings would have been the first modern medical facilities in those towns. Modern hospital buildings were generally funded through the PWA program and therefore represented a variety of architectural styles. Building materials also varied, although brick with stone or concrete trim was a popular combination for hospital construction. Hospitals of the time were often rectangular, L-shaped, or U-shaped with a conspicuous public entrance. Typical plans included double-loaded corridors with patient rooms and wards located on each side of the hallway at one end or wing of the building and waiting rooms, offices, kitchens, utility rooms, and operating rooms located on each side of the hallway at the other end or wing of the building. Nursing stations were strategically located near the patient rooms, but with easy access to the service wing.

Major improvements were made and new construction completed for PWA-funded work at the Veterans Administration Medical Center campus in Fargo (Colonial Revival style). Buildings on the VA campus associated with federal relief construction were identified in a 2009 mitigation survey completed on behalf of the State Historical Society of North Dakota. The original hospital treatment building, known on the Fargo VA campus as "Building No. 1" was constructed according to a design developed by the Veterans Administration's regional headquarters in St. Paul, MN:

> Architecturally, Fargo's main VA hospital facility (Buildings 1 and 9) was constructed between 1926 and 1947 based on a design expressive of the Georgian Colonial architectural style. This overt stylistic treatment was consistent with other regional medical centers of about the same time period. Designs were developed under the auspices of Veterans Administration regional headquarters. The regional center for building engineering and design of the Fargo VA Hospital was in St. Paul, MN. Designs were likely adapted from a prototypical set of buildings, stylistically similar among medical centers in any one region of the country. The Fargo VA's historic architectural features resemble many other VA medical centers in construction, functional layout, plan, elevations, and general approach to medical care design.
>
> Much of the construction on the original 1929 hospital building and its various additions were undertaken during the Great Depression. Historic photo documentation reveals that federal programs like the Public Works Administration (PWA) were the basis of some construction on the VA campus during that time period. The purpose of the Public Works Administration (initiated in 1933) was to stimulate economic recovery by providing employment for workers in the buildings trades, and in businesses supplying the construction industry, with the broad goal of placing more money in circulation and increasing purchasing power. Federal projects like the egress stair and service additions to Building 1 were typically paid for entirely by PWA appropriations.[192]

[192] Excerpted from Steve C. Martens, "Determination of National Register Eligibility for Historic Architecture on the Veterans Administration (VA) Fargo Medical Center Campus; Fargo, North Dakota," (2009), unpublished report in the collections of the North Dakota State Historic Preservation Office.

B. INSTITUTIONAL AND SOCIAL WELFARE BUILDINGS ON HEALTHCARE CAMPUSES

As outlined in the narrative historical context section of this MPDF, North Dakota has long struggled with the "too much" principle, and that principal is plainly evident in the "too many campuses" for state institutions that are too numerous for the state's small population. With the opportunity and inducement to apply for federal work relief construction grants, a few state hospital facilities were expanded or improved. The PWA and WPA both provided funding and labor for the construction of a major hospital Ward Building (designed by William F. Kurke) at the state mental institution in Jamestown. The PWA also funded a dormitory at the School for the Feeble-Minded in Grafton and work at the infirmary for tuberculosis patients at San Haven (PWA).

As to other state-operated campuses, a powerplant, commandant's house, and infirmary were built at the State Veterans' Home in Lisbon. New buildings were constructed at the State School for the Deaf in Devils Lake. The federal government constructed a building for Indian tuberculosis patients at the State Sanatorium for Consumptives at Dunseith. Federally financed relief work at the North Dakota State Penitentiary in Bismarck was more the nature of underground utility infrastructure.

Federal funds were also used to establish or improve hospital facilities for Native American Indian patients during the period. Examples of these facilities include the Indian Health Services at Fort Yates (primarily a Nurse's Residence related to two other administrative work relief buildings) and Wahpeton (the extensive BIA Indian School, with eight buildings constructed 1934 to 1939). Three healthcare buildings in the reservation community of Elbowwoods were destroyed as a result of the contentious flooding of Lake Sakakawea/Garrison Dam Reservoir.

C. COUNTY POOR FARMS AND COUNTY WELFARE HOMES

Buildings at county homes or poor farms may have included various building types designed for residential facilities, such as dormitories, administration buildings, farm outbuildings, and others. Little or no material has been identified about any projects of this type accomplished in North Dakota. There was an apparent tendency for local charity to remain local, and for counties to attempt to meet this need without applying for federal work relief construction assistance. Further research and survey work is needed to determine any character-defining features for properties of this type.

D. HOUSING PROJECTS

North Dakota did not have any large scale urban housing projects, but the state was the recipient of housing projects developed for the Subsistence Homestead and Resettlement Administration "stranded communities" program. The Burlington Homes Project consisted of 39 scattered farmstead units and related irrigation infrastructure. Each farm unit included of a small house, barn, and chicken coop.

Several farmsteads were developed and assigned to families for occupancy in Cass County and Traill County of the Red River Valley. These farm units were developed or adapted from a set of several standardized plans, designed to fit regional styles and needs. In some instances, existing farmhouses were remodeled for a subsistence homestead unit. The house style used in North Dakota resembles a vernacular Cape Cod cottage. The one-and-a-half story wood frame houses included a living room, kitchen with dining area, two small bedrooms and a bath on the first floor and

additional bedroom space on the upper floor. Depending on the plan used, either a small shed roof covered stoop or gable roofed porch extends from the front or the end of the house. Original windows were six-over-six double hung wood sash. Shelterbelts were a related feature dating from the Depression-era.

Outbuildings associated with these farm units were vernacular in style. All were wood frame construction on concrete foundations. All were typically sheathed with horizontal shiplap siding; wood shingles covered the roofs. The barns were one-and-a-half story barns, relatively small in scale. The lower portions were typically sheathed with horizontal shiplap siding, while the upper level was sheathed with vertical boards. Occasionally the barns were enlarged by shed roof extensions along one side. Chicken coops were smaller, one-story buildings. The roof form was such that the gable's ridgeline was off-center, giving a steeper rise to one slope and a longer, gentler rise to the other. Four six-over-six double hung sash windows were situated along the south side of the building and a door was located at one end of the building. Pigeon coops were smaller versions of chicken coops, similar in style, but only two windows long. Hog barns were small, single-story structures with gable roofs, and double doors in one end and windows along the sides for ventilation. Granaries were taller, shed roof structures, approximately one-and-a-half stories tall. A single doorway provided entry at the front corner of the building. Single-car garages, built to accommodate the smaller cars of the 1930s, were relatively narrow. Original doors were double-leaf board and batten doors hung by side hinges.

No Bureau of Indian Affairs subsistence homestead projects have been identified in North Dakota from the Depression-era. A few demonstration buildings on the Fort Berthold (Three Affiliated Tribes) and Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservations may justify further research investigation.

E. WORK CAMP BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

This structural type includes those buildings and structures constructed to house relief workers and to conduct the operation of various work projects. Such work camp facilities were built by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the State Emergency Relief Administration (ERA), and the Works Progress Administration (WPA). With the exception of those camps operated by the CCC, work camps were usually built to house transient men. The camps usually included barracks, mess halls, recreation buildings, latrines, maintenance and equipment buildings, offices, and staff quarters. However, because work camp buildings were considered temporary or even portable, few examples survive outside of state parks and national forests.

Because these structures were built according to standard designs, this nomination summarizes by quoting a description at length from the MPDF for South Dakota developed by Michelle Dennis.[193] Some surviving infrastructure at National Guard Camp Gilbert C. Grafton may bear incidental similarities to this basic CCC camp organization:

> Buildings and structures constructed to house relief workers and to conduct the operations of various projects are included in this structural type. Work camp facilities were built primarily by the CCC, although there were a handful of WPA camp sites which housed transient men. Camps usually

[193] Michelle Dennis. National Register of Historic Places MPDF cover form, "Federal Relief Construction in South Dakota, 1929-1941". Accepted for the National Register of Historic Places; (12 February 1999): E85.

included a variety of buildings such as barracks, kitchen and mess halls, recreation buildings, office buildings, officers' quarters, latrines and showers, hospitals and infirmaries, and maintenance and equipment buildings. Three major types of camps were built, depending on location, available building materials, terrain features, number of enrollees, and time of construction. These camp types included tent camps, rigid camps, and portable camps. Despite their differences, they took on a generally uniform appearance and style indicative of being constructed within Army guidelines. Because all tent camps and most rigid and portable camps were dismantled after the end of the Great Depression, there are only a few examples of camp-related buildings remaining (the following descriptions pertain only to rigid and portable camps).

Site plans for each camp depended in part on the size of the camp and the terrain in which it was located. There were, however, consistent elements including a centrally located flagpole in front of the administration building or office. In addition, a camp also had at least four barracks, a kitchen and mess hall, a recreation hall, a hospital or infirmary, officers' quarters, truck garages, a latrine and a shower building. Additional buildings and structures may have included lighting plants, spring or well pump houses, blacksmith shops, tool houses, laundries, and cellars. Patterned after army posts, camp layouts were built in a circle, rectangle, crescent or U-shape with the buildings facing an open, grassy "parade ground" or "quad" which served as the hub of the camp. In some cases, a road circled the hub, forming a company street.[194]

SIGNIFICANCE OF INSTITUTIONAL BUILDINGS AND SOCIAL WELFARE PROJECTS

Institutional Buildings and Social Welfare Projects are historically significant for their association with the social, political, and economic impact of the Great Depression and the subsequent development of the various federal relief programs which were responsible for their construction. Institutional Buildings and Social Welfare Projects are significant for providing services which ranged from the first permanent hospitals to transient camps; facilities which may have been previously unavailable. New institutional complexes were constructed, with existing facilities expanded and modernized. These activities established the precedent of federal responsibility for the administration of human services. They also represent the federal government's first attempt to provide public housing and to address the unemployment problem through work camp environments.

Institutional Buildings and Social Welfare Projects are architecturally significant as prominent and visually significant buildings based on the philosophy of institutional care during the Depression-era. Work camp buildings and structures are significant as few surviving resources associated with such Depression-era programs still remain.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR INSTITUTIONAL BUILDINGS AND SOCIAL WELFARE PROJECTS

The following criteria should be applied in order to place Institutional Buildings and Social Projects on the National Register of Historic Places:

[194] Alison T. Otis, William D. Honey, Thomas C. Hogg, Kimberly K. Lakin. *The Forest Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps; 1933-1942*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, National Park Service and U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986: 8-9, 11.

1. The construction of an Institutional Building or Social Welfare Project should have been financed through a grant or loan from the federal government, or federal funds should have been utilized for materials, labor, or supervision.

2. Construction should have been substantially completed by the end of 1943.

3. Because many Institutional Buildings and Social Welfare Projects may be considered historically significant for their association with the unprecedented federal response to the Great Depression, the following criteria should also be applied:

   a. An Institutional Building or Social Welfare Project should be eligible under National Register Criterion A as a particularly important project through the size and scope of the work involved, or by the number of people employed; or the project should represent a significant contribution to the community by providing a new and modern facility which offered programs or services which were previously unavailable;

   or if this criterion is not met, the following criteria should be applied:

   b. An Institutional Building or Social Welfare Project should be eligible under National Register Criterion C for incorporating the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or represent the work of a master, or possess high artistic values. This criterion may be met if a building is constructed with finely crafted indigenous materials, a distinctive construction method often associated with specific federal work programs such as the Works Progress Administration; or a building may be considered eligible if it contains art or sculpture that has been evaluated as artistically significant;

   or if this criterion is not met, the following criteria should be applied:

   c. A Institutional Building or Social Welfare Project should represent the only known example of a particular category of resource within this property type, or one of the few remaining buildings associated with a specific work program.

4. A building or structure constructed as part of a larger complex, such as hospital facility or housing project, may not be considered eligible unless the original design and spatial and functional relationships remain intact. In such cases, the property should be nominated as an historic district. In addition, a building constructed within an existing complex may need to be evaluated in terms of the broader context of that facility. For example, a building constructed at an existing hospital or sanatorium complex may not be considered eligible until it has been evaluated under the broader context associated with that facility. However, a newly constructed complex may be eligible as an historic district. Similarly, a large housing project may be considered eligible if a significant portion of the complex remains intact. If this surviving portion can depict the original design and configuration, the property may be nominated as an historic district.

5. An Institutional Building or Social Welfare Project should possess integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, and association, and should be without substantial alterations. Original materials and prominent features should remain intact, and any alterations should be modest in scale without impacting or obscuring major facades, elements, or design features. For example, a hospital

with a large addition that is unsympathetic to the original construction may be considered ineligible. An eligible building should represent primarily new construction during the Depression years rather than an expansion or addition to a previously-existing structure.

6. A building need not retain its original function if historic physical integrity is retained.

7. Due to the scarcity of surviving work camps, any extant buildings associated with a Civilian Conservation Corps or Transient Relief Administration camp should automatically be considered eligible for the National Register. Minimal physical integrity may be acceptable if the building still reflects the design features usually associated with work camp buildings, such as straightforward frame construction with horizontal or vertical siding, gable roofs with a low pitch, and small pane casement sash. In addition, if sufficient footings or foundations walls exist from the majority of a camp's buildings (which would usually total approximately fifteen) and these structures can interpret the operation of the camp, the property should be nominated as an historic district.

V. NAME OF PROPERTY TYPE: CONSERVATION STRUCTURES

Description

With increasing awareness in the 1930s of erosion, drainage runoff, effects of drought, and degradation of habitat, a variety of conservation structures were built throughout North Dakota to manage grasslands, wildlife, and the state's water resources. The CCC, in particular, initiated thirty major projects of this type and completed dozens of smaller dam features. Following up on those initiatives, the WPA alone was responsible for completing an additional ten conservation projects, and involved destitute farmers as laborers to build several hundred smaller scale dams for water impoundments in drought affected parts of the state. This property type is divided into the following structural types:

A. DAMS, LAKES, PUMPING STATIONS, CANALS, AND IMPOUNDMENTS

Hundreds of dams were constructed throughout the state in order to provide a more dependable domestic water supply and more uniform flows for power production. Lakes or reservoirs were also created to control and store flood waters for conservation purposes in times of drought. The most common dam was the "Type C," a small structure usually constructed along shallow drainage swales or coulees to back water up into small lake or stock ponds. Larger scale projects include dams that form larger impoundments along volatile drainage basins like the upper Souris/Mouse River, the DesLacs, at Lake Ilo and Chase Lake Wildlife Refuge near Medina.

Watershed control projects were frequently the product of joint efforts between the WPA and the CCC. The CCC was responsible for several dams and lakes in the North Dakota Badlands (both within and outside the Theodore Roosevelt Park). In addition, the CCC was responsible for dams along the Park River, the Sheyenne River, the Heart and Cannonball Rivers. These dams created lakes that provided for swimming, fishing, boating and general recreation, as well as for water supplies for some communities and occasional irrigation for nearby farm fields. The extensive Lower Yellowstone Project southwest of Williston entailed a 72-mile long canal with a diversion dam at intake Montana, providing 100-miles of lateral distribution for irrigating 20,000 acres of dry land in North Dakota to grow sugar beets.

One of the larger North Dakota projects of the Depression era was the Epping Dam (subsequently subsumed into the Garrison Dam Reservoir). When filled with water, the lake covered more than 1,000 acres and was, at the time of construction, one of the state's largest artificial lakes. However it would be erroneous to overlook the environmental impact and water conservation benefits of the many numerous smaller-scale dams, by giving undue emphasis to the few larger scale projects. The dams were constructed using a variety of local earthen fill materials and rock when available.

In addition to several sizeable dams and lakes, most of which were constructed for recreational purposes, there are numerous smaller stock dams which dot the landscape. These dams were typically earth fill with core trench. Where the dams were large enough to warrant them, concrete or masonry spillways were constructed. Stock dams generally made use of the natural contours of the land, making the most of natural snow and rain run-offs in areas that would provide ponds deep enough to provide safe water supplies for livestock. The majority of these dams were constructed in the drier counties west of the Missouri River.

In addition to constructing dams and lakes, the WPA was involved in a number of projects in which channels of natural waterways were altered to correct for problems with flooding. Providing irrigation to drought-stricken areas was also an important aspect of federal relief program conservation efforts. Among the most visible of these projects, and one that served a wide variety of practical purposes, was the construction of several sections of dams along the upper reaches of the Souris/Mouse River, to form the Des Lacs wetlands and wildlife sanctuaries, and serving a stranded community Subsistence Housing project at Burlington, in western Ward County.

B. WETLAND RESTORATION, WILDLIFE REFUGES AND FISH HATCHERIES

The Bureau of Biological Survey (under the U.S. Department of Agriculture) operated several CCC camps and side camps for the improvement of wildlife refuges in North Dakota. These camps created impoundments that were used as experimental areas for growing suitable waterfowl food and for identification and experimentation with diseased ducks. The National Wildlife Refuges initially established in North Dakota in the 1930s have grown to be part of the largest and most extensive network of waterfowl habitat preserves in the world. The work was essentially undertaken to mitigate effects of drought, soil erosion, and degradation of wildlife habitat. The pivotal role of J. Clark Salyers II in establishing this system is recognized by the association of his name with a major wildlife refuge on the Upper Souris. Waterfowl Refuge. At the Chase Lake National Wildlife Refuge, creeks were diverted to send their waters into the lake and an overflow channel was constructed on the southwest shore of the lake. Further research and survey work is needed to determine which resources (structural features) constructed during these projects may still be intact.

McHenry County; Sandhill Tower (1937)
McHenry County "Trappers Shed" (1935)
J. Clark Salyers, II Wildlife Headquarters (1935)

Improvements and additions to state Fish Hatcheries at Valley City and Washburn were also sponsored by federal relief construction grants, but essentially all of the Depression-era features

have been subsequently replaced with more modern infrastructure, leaving little indication of the historic feature except for the basic masterplan layout. Ponds were constructed and improved at both sites and new hatchery buildings were built. The original ponds and the resident headquarters building at Valley City National Hatchery complex were constructed of stone.

C. NURSERY, EXPERIMENTAL FOREST, AND GRASSLANDS RESOURCES

Features of this property type were constructed by both the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Progress Administration for the Division of Forestry and the Department of Conservation. A tree nursery to provide wildlife cover and food was initiated near Towner (with secondary nurseries at Bismarck and Oakes), but the most significant landscape feature of this structural type was the State Experimental Forest near Denbigh in McHenry County. Much of the planting work for the shelterbelt component, which is still visibly identifiable in the present day, was accomplished utilizing CCC and WPA labor as well as work relief labor contributed by individual farmers.

The impressive Experimental Forest is associated with F. E. Cobb, State Forester in 1931 and State Administrator of the Prairie States Forestry Project that promoted the Great Plains Shelterbelt project. According to a National Register nomination prepared by Thomas Turck, Grasslands Archaeologist for the U.S. Forest Service, a great deal of important, experimental sivicultural work at the Denbigh facility was carried out by Dr. Joseph.Stoeckeler. Shops, garages, pump houses, and various service buildings were typically constructed as supporting features of this overall landscape property type. Unpretentious but identifiable examples of Rustic style buildings have been documented in the pending nomination for the Experimental Forest property.

D. SHELTERBELTS, TERRACING, AND SOIL EROSION CONTROL FEATURES

Conservation efforts in North Dakota included projects aimed at minimizing wind and water erosion. Seventeen CCC companies, under the direction of the Soil Conservation Service, constructed terraces, pasture furrows, irrigation ditches/sod waterways, and contour lines for contour farming to reduce runoff. They also demonstrated strip cropping and rough tillage and planted several shelterbelts to reduce wind erosion. Further research and survey work is needed to determine if any of the CCC's work on this project still exists, as well as to further define the characteristics associated with the conservation practices of terracing, contour lines, and pasture furrows.

Shelterbelts (sometimes referred to as "windbreaks") were large stands of trees strategically placed to reduce wind erosion on farm land, were planted in eastern North Dakota by the CCC and WPA as part of the Great Plains Shelterbelt Project (later known as the Prairie States Forestry Project). FDR was a strong advocate for the plan to mitigate wind erosion by planting a belt of trees some 100-feet wide and extending from the Canadian provinces to Texas. With participation of the North Dakota Agricultural College as many as seventy species of trees and shrubs were planted, the most successful of which was eastern red cedar, caragana, juniper, American plum, boxelder, Russian olive, green ash, cottonwood, American elm, Chinese elm, buckthorn (now considered an undesirable "invasive species"), hackberry, western yellow pine and western chokecherry.

Shelterbelts were planted on hundreds of farms and covered thousands of acres in the state. Because of the life expectancy of some of the species, it is understandable that examples of shelterbelts from this era still exist. Several particularly good, visible examples are located between Kindred and Enderlin along State Highway 46 along the boundary between Cass, Richland, and Ransom Counties. It should be noted, however, that continued maintenance and planting, as well as self-sown seeds, have altered the stands of shelterbelt trees over time. Many of the tree species have matured and are nearing the end of their viable lifespan after 70 years, thereby warranting the clearing of deadwood and replanting. North Dakota's shelterbelts are a remarkable feature of the rural landscape, and many are in desperate need of renewal.

The GPSP/PSFP was a regionally planned land conservation strategy that took shape largely in the Dakotas, based on research that was initiated at the Denbigh Dunes State Experimental Forest, as work of Dr. Joseph Stoeckeler. The most visible single feature in North Dakota relating to forestry and wind erosion control is the state-operated nursery (discussed in the Historic Context narrative) that continues providing trees for North Dakota's program in the present day. The scope of the Denbigh Station and Experimental Forest complex is well described in a pending National Register National Historic District nomination prepared by Grasslands Archaeologist Thomas J. Turck, on behalf of the U.S. Forest Service.[195]

SIGNIFICANCE OF CONSERVATION STRUCTURES

In addition to significance under Criterion A, in association with social history and economics in our country during the Great Depression (as noted in the introductory section), Conservation Structure sub-types may also be considered significant in association with conservation, engineering, entertainment, recreation, invention, and science. Conservation Structures represent North Dakota's first large-scale, statewide effort to manage the state's natural resources. These efforts resulted in extensive improvement in the state's national grasslands, further development of state parks, the construction of numerous dams for the purposes of water conservation and recreation, the development of wildlife refuges and fish hatcheries, and the reduction of soil erosion through various conservation farming practices and the planting of shelterbelts.

Conservation Structures are historically significant for their association with the social, political, and economic impact of the Great Depression and the subsequent development of the various federal relief programs which were responsible for their construction. Conservation Structures represent one of the most frequently constructed property types of the Depression Era and a pervasive investment that impacted all areas of the state.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR CONSERVATION STRUCTURES

1. The construction of Conservation Structures should have been financed through a grant or loan from the federal government, or federal funds should have been utilized for materials, labor, or supervision.

[195] Thomas J. Turck. "Denbigh Station and Experimental Forest National Historic District" National Register of Historic Places nomination, (March 2010); National Register listed 2010.

2. Construction should have been substantially completed by the end of 1943.

3. Due to the large number of surviving resources, and because many Conservation Structures may be considered historically significant for their association with the unprecedented federal response to the Great Depression, the following criteria should also be applied:

   a. A Conservation Structure should be eligible under National Register Criterion A by representing a particularly important project through the size and scope of the work involved, or by the number of people employed; or the project should represent a significant contribution to the landscape, wildlife habitat, or physical environment that was previously unavailable. For example, this criterion could be met by any of the several very expansive projects on the Upper Souris drainage basin.

   or if this criterion is not met, the following criteria should be applied:

   b. A Conservation Structure should be eligible under National Register Criterion C for incorporating the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction. This criterion may be met if a building is constructed with locally available indigenous materials, or a distinctive construction method often associated with specific federal work programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps; or a structural feature may be considered eligible if it exhibits an experimental approach to local rubble stone dam construction or extensive irrigation work as at the Upper Yellowstone CCC project or the Burlington Project (Subsistence Homes) complex.

   or, if this criterion is not met, the following criterion should be applied:

   c. A Conservation Structure should represent the only known example (or most accurate example) of a particular category of resource within this property type. For example, a sole surviving example of a state forest nursery or fish hatchery would likely be determined eligible for its ability to represent this historically significant property type. For example, a minor dam might be ineligible unless it demonstrates engineering significance or makes particularly effective use of locally available indigenous materials.

4. A building or structural feature that was constructed as part of a larger complex, such as a university, may not be considered eligible unless evaluated in terms of the broader context associated with that facility. Resources built in large numbers, such as stock dams and shelterbelts, of which many exists, should be considered eligible as contributing resources to a larger context. Historic resources such as the shelterbelt tree culture of the northern Great Plains may best be addressed as part of a broader historical context or district.

5. Character defining features of the historic Conservation Structure should be intact. A building or structural feature should possess integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, and association, and should be without substantial alterations. Original materials and prominent features should remain intact, and any alterations should be modest in scale without impacting or obscuring major facades, elements, or design features. A Conservation Structure should also represent new construction rather than an additional or expansion. Emphasis should be placed on design elements (especially form, technology, handcraft, and structural features).

6. A building or structural feature of this property type needs not retain its original function if historic character and physical integrity are retained.

VI. NAME OF PROPERTY TYPE: PUBLIC UTILITIES

Description

Though perhaps not as glamorous as public buildings from an architecture historian's perspective, construction of modern public utilities was one of the most popular projects of the period. In fact, more than half of the projects funded by the Public Works Administration involved improvements in public utilities. These important projects have benefited communities for several decades, and only in the present day are some of them being replaced with more modern works of engineered functionality. This property type includes the following structural types:

A. WATERWORKS AND WATER TOWERS

Waterworks may include filtration and softening plants as well as standard water towers. Buildings that contain these systems are typically one-story tile or brick masonry structures with large industrial sash. Stylistically, these buildings are often plain and utilitarian, but certainly not without engineering sophistication. The water towers are straightforward structural tower assemblies that have withstood the test of time and reliability. Among the notable projects documented in North Dakota are a deep well and filtration plant in Scranton; waterworks facilities in Richardton, Killdeer, and Noonan; and water towers in Northwood (1938), Steele (n.d.; ca. 1938), and Ray (1938).

B. SEWAGE TREATMENT PLANTS AND UNDERGROUND SERVICES

Installation of sewers and the construction of sewage disposal plants was one of the standard "shovel ready" work relief projects of the Depression Era. These projects often represented the first modern sanitation facilities in a North Dakota community. Although even as late as 1940 a substantial number of smaller North Dakota municipalities were still without modern sewage treatment plants. Sewage treatment and disposal plants generally consist of a complex of buildings and structures built with brick, stone, or reinforced concrete. A typical underground sewer system installed with PWA grant funds has been identified in the community of Steele (in Kidder County).

Among the most expansive utility projects in the state were sewage treatment plants in Lisbon, Grand Forks, Carrington and Fargo that include buildings constructed in a very restrained, utilitarian version of the Moderne Style. The treatment plant in Fargo was only replaced by more modern technology late in the 20th century, and the other surviving examples demonstrate some 70 years of effective, reliable performance.

C. STORM SEWERS AND STORM SEWAGE TREATMENT PLANTS

The construction of sewer lines, storm sewers, and sewage disposal plants during the Depression-era represented the first modem sanitation facilities in many communities, and

actually the first scientific awareness of the need to manage surface water runoff into sensitive drainage basins. Sewage treatment facilities may have consisted of a single building in small towns or a complex of buildings in larger communities. Sewage facilities may have included a variety of equipment including flocculators, sludge tanks, clarifiers for treatment of filter effluent, pumps, air blowers, and mechanical generators to power necessary equipment. In addition to the treatment plants, sewer lines and service connections throughout communities were also constructed. Storm sewer construction included catch basins, manholes, and drainage lines. Only as a result of contemporary emphasis on storm and sanitary sewer separation have many of these systems been replaced late in the 20th century.

D. GENERAL STORAGE FACILITIES AND LOCAL MAINTENANCE GARAGES

Warehouses and garages were built for cities, counties, schools, hospitals, and other institutional complexes. These are typically plain, unadorned, utilitarian structures of varying size built with frame or brick construction. Representative examples of this property type included equipment maintenance garages in Valley City, Grand Forks, and Lefor.

E. SANITARY PRIVIES

In communities and scattered rural settings where sewage treatment facilities were not feasible, federal relief programs (primarily the WPA) constructed sanitary privies to improve overall community sanitation and reduce the risk of various diseases. Privies were square or rectangular, depending on the number of seats, and usually had a shed or gable roof. The largest majority was wood frame, although concrete construction and modern sanitary materials were often used for floors and "pedestals". A small square window is a distinctive feature of WPA privies. More than 2.3 million sanitary privies were constructed nationwide, of which more than 32,000 were constructed in North Dakota. According to WPA records, "sanitation projects" or "sanitary improvements" were listed in nearly all counties in North Dakota, although individual communities were not always mentioned.

While it is tempting to overemphasize this "ubiquitous" feature of the rural landscape, dozens of specific instance, dates, and locations of WPA-approved privies have been identified in NDCRS site files. The site file for SITS# 32 OL 0534 in Oliver County appears to be particularly complete in its documentation of a 1942 privy. It seems unlikely that any individual instance would be considered for National Register eligibility, although it is refreshing to know that documentation of this significant public health achievement is on the public record in the form of photos and design drawings in the promotional materials of the WPA. Though in most instances there is no longer pressing functional need for most outdoor privies, many of them continue to be maintained and preserved as a matter of local property owner interest.[196]

[196] Individual privies have occasionally been presented to the National Register State Review Board as eligible properties, but to date none appears on the list of approved properties. Beyond occasional mention in numerical GIS inventories, there is scant documentation in site files for this commonplace historic feature. The author of this MPDF has visited and photographed one well-maintained example of a WPA-approved modern privy on a farm outside the community of Great Bend in Richland County, but no documentary information is yet on the official public record.

F. ELECTRICAL UTILITIES AND TELEPHONE LINES

Construction of telephone lines was a regular activity associated with some of the federal relief programs, in an effort to connect remote communities with larger towns and/or with each other. Typically, telephone lines included wires strung from wooden pole to pole along a designated route, often along highway right-of-ways. Glass and ceramic insulators were common equipment necessary to protect the poles from the wire. It is likely that most telephone lines from this era have long since been replaced with up-to-date equipment. The CCC was responsible for running telephone lines along various routes. The WPA assisted in running telephone lines in rural counties, many of which were sponsored and maintained by Rural Electrification Cooperatives.

Municipal electrical powerplants were a type of project most often constructed utilizing PWA grant funds. Municipal electrical powerplants were built in communities including Devils Lake, Leeds, Marmarth, Lidgerwood, and Walhalla. A notable example of a municipal power utility building exists in Valley City, but although some of the equipment is Depression-era vintage, the building itself was built outside the period of this context. Another intriguing utility feature in the same community of Valley City is the "Great White Way" franchised street lighting system, purchased from Westinghouse and erected during the 1930s, though research to this date has uncovered little other information about that system.

SIGNIFICANCE OF PUBLIC UTILITIES

Public Utilities are historically significant for their association with the social, political, and economic impact of the Great Depression and the subsequent development of the various federal relief programs which were responsible for their construction. This unprecedented federal response provided many communities in the state with their first modern and complete utility systems. Public utility projects were among those most frequently requested throughout the entire Depression Era and studies from the period confirmed that the absence of sanitary facilities was commonplace throughout the state, a situation that improved dramatically throughout the 1930s.

Public utility projects were also a major source of work relief. The implementation or extension of sewer or water systems was a type of project that required minimal technical supervision, and which could be initiated almost immediately, without extensive planning. Some of the largest work relief construction projects from the entire period involved the construction treatment plants built in North Dakota cities and smaller communities.

From both an architectural and visual standpoint, utility systems are easily overlooked. The major portions of a project may remain concealed beneath the earth, as the treatment facilities are usually utilitarian in nature and located in remote areas of a town. Yet, a number of impressive complexes of buildings and structures were constructed, some of which represent engineering significance because of their innovative construction and technological advancements.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR PUBLIC UTILITIES

The following criteria should be applied in order to place Public Utilities on the National Register of Historic Places:

1. The construction of a Public Utility should have been financed through a grant or loan from the federal government, or federal funds should have been utilized for materials, labor, or supervision.

2. Construction should have been substantially completed by the end of 1943.

3. Due to the large number of surviving resources, and because Public Utilities may be considered historically significant for their association with the unprecedented federal response to the Great Depression, the following criteria should also be applied.

   a. A Public Utility may be eligible under National Register Criterion A by representing a particularly important project through the size and scope of the work involved, or by the number of people employed, or the project may represent significant contributions to the particular community by providing modern utilities or sanitation facilities that were previously unavailable;

   or if this criterion is not met, the following criterion should be applied;

   b. A Public Utility should be eligible under National Register Criterion C for incorporating distinct characteristics of a particular style or method of construction or representing the work of masterful engineering advancement or possess high artistic value for its architectural style. This criterion may be met if property is constructed with finely crafted indigenous materials, a distinctive construction method often associated with specific federal work programs such as the Works Progress Administration;

   or if this criterion is not met, the following criterion should be applied:

   c. A Public Utility should represent the only known example of a particular category of resource within this property type, or one of the few remaining buildings associated with a specific work program.

4. A Public Utility that included a number of buildings or structures should retain sufficient elements from the project in order to convey a sense of the original scale and the functional relationships of the various components.

5. A Public Utility should possess integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, and association, and should be without substantial alterations. Original materials and prominent features should remain intact, and any alterations should be modest in scale without impacting or obscuring major facades, elements, or design features. For example, a sewage treatment plant whose original components have been substantially replaced or obscured by new construction may not be considered ineligible. A historically significant Public Utility should also represent new construction within the dates of this context rather than an addition or expansion that incorporates earlier infrastructure.

6. A Public Utility need not retain its original function if historic physical integrity is retained. However, a power plant that now serves as a garage may not be considered eligible if there is a complete loss of historic association. Similarly, a functional plant may not be eligible if it has been substantially enlarged in the modern era and all historic mechanical systems have been replaced.

VII. NAME OF PROPERTY TYPE: TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS

Description

One of the largest groups of projects funded by federal relief programs was the project group involving Transportation Systems. A significant portion of funding by all relief projects was used to build structures related to this property type throughout North Dakota. Their importance actually increased late in the period when attention was focused on defense projects in preparation for World War II. This property type is divided into the following structural types.

A. HIGHWAYS, STREETS, AND SIDEWALK PROJECTS

Highways, street and sidewalk construction accounted for the largest share of federal expenditure during the Great Depression, with nearly half of the WPA funding alone being spent on highways, streets and sidewalk projects. A total of 20,397 miles of highways and roads throughout North Dakota were constructed or improved by the WPA, with hundreds (perhaps thousands) more constructed through the FERA and CWA.

Highway projects varied, depending on the need of the locality for which it was constructed. In some instances, it involved creating a road where none had existed before, but more often it involved improving an existing highway. Improvements may have included widening, straightening, grading and regraveling, finishing with high-type surface materials such as concrete, bituminous, or other hard surface materials, and/or the installation of guard rails and gutters. Some highways projects included the construction of bridges, viaducts or culverts (see following section of Bridges). No records were found indicating which of North Dakota's highways were treated in which ways, although it is suggested that some cross-state highways were paved, at least in part due to funding and labor from programs such as FERA and the WPA. Concrete paving was undertaken on portions of U.S. Highway 10 "The Red Trail". As of 2010, small sections of this highway still retained the original concrete (although patched in some areas). Further research and survey work may determine if additional sections are intact, as well as examples of other highway projects.

Statewide, highway and road projects were undertaken under the blanket sponsorship of the state highway department. Because of the amount of semi-skilled labor that could be mustered for roadwork under WPA work relief guidelines, nearly a third of all construction work nationwide involved road, highway, or street construction work.[197] In turn, nearly a third of that amount was in the form of farm-to-market road improvements, many of which remain in use today in rural parts of North Dakota. With respect to the various states' WPA programs, North Dakota and West Virginia employed the largest percentage of their workers on highway, road, and street projects during the peak Depression years. North Dakota's total represented nearly 70% of its total aggregate work relief employment in terms of both numbers of workers and funded work relief expenditures.

Street projects generally involved improvements such as widening and paving. A number of street projects included the construction of curbs and sidewalks, although the construction of these

[197] WPA (1936). "Report on the Progress of the Works Program; Highway Road and Street Projects."

also occurred independently of street projects. Streets were paved with hard surface material such as macadam, bituminous material, or concrete. Curbs were often concrete, although in some areas of the state, cut stone was used for curbing material. Sidewalks usually were made of concrete, although examples of walkways made of brick or stone may be found. The majority of sidewalks were alongside streets, but some were constructed in parks and other areas.

B. HIGHWAY BRIDGES, VIADUCTS, AND OVERPASSES

Bridge construction in North Dakota during the Great Depression was extensive. The WPA alone built or improved 1,737 bridges and installed or upgraded another 16,760 culverts. The majority of state highway bridges constructed during this period were of reinforced concrete, a material that required more labor than would have steel bridges. Bridges on county highways and in cities and towns were sometimes constructed utilizing stone or other labor-intensive methods of construction. Railroad-roadway grade separations received particular emphasis under PWA in improving the transportation safety of the traveling public. "PWA has aided in eliminating one of the Nation's greatest menaces – the railway grade crossing. Communities and States have applied for PWA aid for 40 projects costing $36,292,483 to eliminate 117 of additional death traps."[198]

C. AIRPORT FACILITIES, RUNWAYS, AIR TERMINALS AND ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDINGS

Federal relief programs, including the WPA and CWA, provided for the development, enlargement and/or improvement of airports throughout the country. Work included construction or improvement of hangars and other buildings; construction or reconstruction of runways; the installation of drainage systems and lighting systems; clearing, excavating and grading work; and airway marking work. Although seen as valuable work, airport projects gained importance near the end of the Great Depression when attention was focused on defense projects in preparation for World War II.[199]

In North Dakota, a modest amount of airport development work was accomplished under the auspices of the FERA, CWA, and WPA programs. Five new airport landing fields were constructed at Portal, Bismarck, Devils Lake, Grand Forks, and Valley City. In total, more than 36,123 linear feet of new runway was built in North Dakota and an additional 12,200 linear feet were approved. A number of taxiways were also constructed, as were aprons in front of hangars. Concrete was used when possible, although a number of landing fields had oiled runways. Aircraft hangars varied in size, few in number, and were basically rectangular with segmental arched roof trusses.

In addition, thirteen airport service buildings were constructed or enlarged and five were renovated. An architecturally distinctive airport administration building was constructed at Grand Forks (J. B. DeRemer, architect), and the building exists today in a good condition of adaptive reuse. Administration buildings were simple, vernacular buildings, rectangular in shape with flat or gable roofs. An outstanding example of a Civil Aeronautics Authority standard design, streamlined Art Moderne air terminal building is found in an impeccable condition of material integrity at the Valley

[198] PWA (1939). *America Builds: The Record of the PWA*. 188.

[199] Ellis L. Armstrong, (ed.). *History of Public Works in the United States; 1776-1976*. Chicago: American Public Works Association, 1976:193-6.

City Airport, although the actual date of the building's completion is believed to be beyond the end date for this context.

SIGNIFICANCE OF TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS

Transportation Systems are historically significant for their association with the social, political, and economic impact of the Great Depression and the subsequent development of the various federal relief programs which were responsible for their construction. Transportation Systems are also significant for providing a major expansion of both the size and quality of the state's highway system. Transportation Systems also provided a major source of work relief. Highway construction, for example, was a project which required minimal supervision, and which could be initiated almost immediately, without extensive planning. Highways may be architecturally significant for incorporating the principles of landscape design in the construction process.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS

The following criteria should be applied in order to place Transportation Systems on the National Register of Historic Places:

1. The construction of a Transportation System should have been financed through a grant or loan from the federal government, or federal funds should have been utilized for materials, labor, or supervision.

2. Construction should have been substantially completed by the end of 1943.

3. Because many Transportation Systems may be considered historically significant for their association with the unprecedented federal response to the Great Depression, the following criteria should also be applied:

   a. A Transportation System should be eligible under National Register Criterion A by providing a particularly important change in the existing transportation pattern. This may be represented by a newly developed farm-to-market road which may have provided year-around connections across routes which were previously impassable for portions of the year, a highway incorporating the principles of landscape design into the construction process, a road system developed for a specific purpose such as providing improved access to the resort areas of the state, or an airport that was newly developed or significantly expanded;

   or if this criterion is not met, the following criteria should be applied:

   b. A Transportation System should be eligible under National Register Criterion C for incorporating the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or represent the work of a master, or possess high artistic values. A highway may be eligible because of a significant landscape design;

   or if this criterion is not met, the following criterion should be applied:

c. A Transportation System may be eligible for listing on the National Register if it represents the only known example in the state of a particular category of resource within this property type, or one of the few remaining projects associated with a specific work program.

4. A Transportation System should possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. A highway should retain the essential features that identify it as such. However, because pavement is an inherently fragile component that is routinely covered over and replaced, original pavement is not a requirement although it would be considered a desired feature. In addition, an airport runway should retain the original length and configuration. Nominated highway segments should also be of sufficient length to convey the feeling and setting of a continuous road. The setting should reflect the general character of the period of significance.

5. A Transportation System consisting of a number of resources, such as an airport with a runway and terminal building, may not be considered eligible unless a sufficient number of components survive from the original facility, enabling interpretation of the historic function of the property.

6. A Transportation System need not retain its original function if historic physical integrity is retained.

G. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

The State of North Dakota

H. SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

The Multiple Property documentation (MPDF) for the context of "Federal Relief Construction in North Dakota, 1931-1943" was developed in order to analyze the broad context of federally assisted construction in the state during the Great Depression. The project benefitted from the helpful examples set by two neighboring states in recent years in obtaining MPDF documentation from 36 CFR 61 qualified architectural historians. Under contract arrangement with the Minnesota Historical Society, architectural historian Rolf T. Anderson (B.A. History-Minnesota) developed a 1993 MPDF for "Federal Relief Construction in Minnesota, 1933-1941". Architectural historian Michelle Dennis (M.S. Historic Preservation-Oregon) was selected by the South Dakota State Historic Preservation Office to develop a 1998 MPDF for "Federal Relief Construction in South Dakota, 1929-1941".

Based on those prior MPDF documents, several relevant regional similarities are apparent, and a number of noteworthy differences from the North Dakota context were revealed as well. Anderson's and Dennis's MPDFs provided excellent regional models for organizing the research and structuring the North Dakota MPDF. As author of the North Dakota MPDF, Steve C. Martens made a concerted effort to conduct original research field work and to consult the relevant original source documents (including several that were identified in Anderson's and Dennis's work) in order to draw objective conclusions about how the scholarly interpretations from those neighboring states relate to the unique circumstances of the North Dakota context.

The Multiple Property listing identifies Depression-era historic architectural resources connected with federal work relief initiatives statewide in North Dakota. The MPDF is based on a 2009-2010 survey of physical features and archival resources made by architectural historian Steve C. Martens, under the auspices of a research grant from the Division of Archaeology and Historic Preservation at the State Historical Society of North Dakota. No prior statewide comprehensive reports on federal relief projects in North Dakota were available, although several related manuscripts in the holdings of SHSND were germane to the interpretation of this context. The initial research investigation was underpinned by related, ongoing projects with which the author is engaged. Those concurrent projects afforded access to useful image files and survey data for an ongoing book manuscript being developed for the Society of Architectural Historians by Ronald Ramsay and Steve Martens. Several recently completed National Register nominations in the state for properties from this time period were further helpful in defining the context and establishing criteria for evaluation of various structural types.

Based on field work conducted in 2000 to 2005, the SAH-supported background research files (which will eventually become publically accessible by donation of research materials to a regional archive) provided background familiarity with extant architectural resources in more than 200 communities in all six planning regions of the state. As a starting point for survey and inventory purposes, a database/spreadsheet was developed enumerating North Dakota properties previously identified as having WPA or PWA participation. Together with a "photo sampler" of Depression-era buildings from the author's SAH research files, this step yielded a list of about 210 properties requiring further examination.

Late in the fall of 2009, follow up reconnaissance field survey trips were made to approximately 85 communities in three regions of the state (southwest, south central, and northeast). Because of a delayed start on the MPDF project, weather and travel conditions did not permit site visits to other parts of the state until after the narrative drafts had been developed. The autumn trip also focused on gathering material for State Parks and State Historic Sites that were to be the subject of 20 new NDCRS site files required as work of this contract. Site files and previously completed research manuscripts in the collections of the State Historical Society were consulted next. Of particular relevance were prior research manuscripts on architectural contexts, state parks and state historic sites, Theodore Roosevelt National Park, the International Peace Garden, and Turtle River State Park. Depression-era architectural resources previously identified in NRHP Multiple Property Submissions for U.S. Post Offices and North Dakota Courthouse buildings were added to the database/spreadsheet.

A beginning resource bibliography was developed, based on the author's prior scholarship and a wide range of prior resource bibliographies. Previously published academic scholarship about the Depression-era in North Dakota was collected, reviewed, and distilled. Published primary and secondary source materials were analyzed and interpreted as they related to the historic context narrative. Background information about architectural design, period styles, and construction methods associated with federal relief work was gathered and interpreted. Information about the Depression-era work of known architects practicing in North Dakota from 1930 to 1945 was especially helpful at this stage. In particular, prior scholarship was identified for architects Gilbert R. Horton, Ritterbush Brothers, Joseph Bell DeRemer, Willam F. Kurke, Theodore B. Wells, Ira Rush, and Edwin W. Molander. Much of the material was made available by staff in the SHSND Division of Archaeology and Historic Preservation from previous files. With the assistance of Lorna Meidinger (architectural historian with the North Dakota State Historic Preservation Office), new unpublished material regarding the career of Molander came to light at the onset of this survey project.

Microfilm records of WPA activity in North Dakota were identified in the collections of the Orin G. Libby Special Collections library at the University of North Dakota. An initial review of a sampling of 15 rolls of microfilm (from the entire set of 170 rolls) was made. Archives at the State Historical Society of North Dakota were examined for federal work-relief materials, but the large majority of original historic resource documents from that time period were inadvertently destroyed a number of years ago. Surprisingly, the Thordsgard Law Library at the University of North Dakota yielded some of the most helpful primary source documents in the form of agency reports from the 1930s and 40s; documents that seem to exist nowhere else on the public record.

Local accounts from the 1930s published in daily and weekly newspapers, particularly the *Grand Forks Herald* (1932-1939), provided an informative local perspective on federal work relief appropriations, project applications, and projects undertaken. Contemporaneous accounts in local newspapers revealed the manner in which events unfolded and were perceived within the state. County histories were similarly surveyed for local accounts of events from the period of this historical context. The database/spreadsheet was updated to include about 296 Depression-era properties that were candidates for further analysis.

Historic photo images and documentation of North Dakota activities of the CCC were assembled from a variety of sources. Principal among them were images and interpretive materials from an exhibit at the National Park Service headquarters in Medora (at the Theodore Roosevelt National Park South Unit). The second main source of historical information about CCC activity in the western Badlands region of the state was generously provided through a series of interviews with life-long Billings County historian Marjorie Neuens Gratton. Ms. Gratton was closely involved with CCC camp units and WPA projects in both the north and south units of Theodore Roosevelt Park, through her husband who was the principal landscape architect working in the Badlands on behalf of the State Historical Society and the National Park Service on federal relief projects from 1934 to 1943. A third source of corroborating material about CCC activity statewide was archival material accessed through the North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies.

A first draft chronology of the period 1929 to 1945 was developed, comparing national events with events in North Dakota relating to the work relief context. These timelines were, in turn, correlated with North Dakota buildings for which the date of work relief projects had been identified. Administrative and procedural parameters within which New Deal federal agencies operated were enriched by the prior scholarship of Anderson and Dennis, but the author endeavored to examine or consult as many of the original source documents as possible in modeling only the approach, and not the specific content or interpretations. For comparative purposes, an attempt was made to identify illustrative examples in all parts of the state. Additional attention was directed to properties on Native American Indian tribal lands (reservation lands), as those properties may relate specifically to the CCC Indian Division and changed relationships under the federal relief programs more broadly.

State Historical Society staff members were very helpful in running a database list from the statewide reconnaissance planning survey and cultural resource survey (NDCRS) site files of architectural resources, generating a list over 4000 properties constructed in the 1930 to 1945 timeframe. The author carefully examined each line of this GIS database run to try and ascertain which projects were the most likely candidates for federal work relief involvement, based on the nature of the building types and their public sponsors. In the end, approximately 200 additional properties for which NDCRS site files exist, were identified and correlated with the author's growing database. This brought the total number of known Depression-era properties in North Dakota to 520 properties that formed the basis for this MPDF. (Several of the properties were campuses, districts, or complexes of related structures.)

Based on historic trends and patterns, a first draft of the narrative context for the project was developed, organized according to seven federal agencies associated with federal relief activity in the state. The context narrative was developed based on the social and economic environment in North Dakota during the first half of the 20th century. Time boundaries were narrowed to the years 1931 to 1943 based on the coordinated response of New Deal federal agencies to the need for work relief in all parts of North Dakota. Special circumstances of federal relief initiatives in a primarily farm-state deserved particular attention. Related contexts were identified based on the chronological period, known involvement of federal agencies with local sponsors, and the body of work by architects and engineers known for work in North Dakota during the Depression years.

Criteria and descriptions for property types were developed and categorized based primarily on functional purpose. Certain prevalent project types (schools, city halls and auditoriums, utility work) quickly became evident as fitting criteria that applied to nearly every community in all parts of the state. A draft narrative was developed for 35 structure types in seven categories of property types based on the author's database and the comparable examples of Anderson and Dennis. Thereafter, a first draft of eligibility requirements and conditions of integrity was developed. This step identified the need to gather additional information about Conservation Structures, Transportation, and Public Utilities, in particular. Follow up research using the digital image collections of various regional archives on *Digital Horizons*, together with online research of internet sites relating to wildlife refuges, the Prairie States Forestry (shelterbelt) project, and similar conservation activities fleshed out many of the missing components. In terms of picturesque Rustic design, published resources about the National Park Service were also helpful.

A goal of having an early draft completed for Sections "E" and "F" of the MPDF was to enable more productive use of the collections of the National Archives (NARA) at College Park and at the related Kansas City regional archive. Pertinent NARA research groups were identified using NARA's online resources. A week-long research trip to the NARA College Park facility was arranged and completed with assistance from a NARA archivist specializing in New Deal materials (Eugene Morris). The search for information at NARA yielded administrative files and indexes for PWA and WPA programs; some records pertaining to CWA, CCC, and NYA; and some especially helpful periodic and final summaries of the New Deal programs, both nationwide and more specifically in North Dakota. Microfilm records of WPA project cards (docket roll list) completed the author's investigation of NARA resources.

A comprehensive, detailed survey was not required under the contract for this project. However, limited fieldwork was necessarily completed in order to identify representative instances of federal relief construction work in the state. Because federal relief programs impacted nearly every community in North Dakota in some respect, a wide variety of property types were identified. Based on the draft criteria and eligibility standards, properties with a high probability of historic or architectural significance (but for which insufficient descriptive or evaluative documentation exists) were identified as needing further investigation. Recommended criteria for eligibility and integrity, connected with local examples for each property type, began with the NPS bulletins. Recommendations on standards for integrity are based on examination of representative properties and the researcher's experienced professional judgment about character defining features.

With the draft narrative, the database/spreadsheet of representative properties, an updated chronology, and all the reference sources in hand, the author returned to compiling the requisite 20 site files. A series of four follow up field trips, one to each part of the state, was planned for May and June of 2010. The purpose of this follow up fieldwork was to examine and photograph additional properties identified under this project. Subsequent to the author's submittal and presentation (to SHPO and the State Review Board) of a comprehensive MPDF in final draft form, three National Register nominations were prepared in support of this MPDF, to further test the evaluative criteria on a variety of structures and property types.

The author, Steve C. Martens; Architect is a 36 CFR 61 qualified architectural historian, with a Master of Architecture (M.Arch II) degree from University of Minnesota (1988), specializing in historic preservation. At the time this MPDF documentation was completed, Steve C. Martens was an Associate Professor of Architecture at North Dakota State University in Fargo, ND. Professor Martens has practiced architecture in North Dakota and Minnesota since 1986, and pursued historic preservation research regionally since 1975.

North Dakota Deputy SHPO Fern Swenson was gracious and helpful in meeting with the consultant several times during the research to help set priorities, and directed him to well-informed contact persons at several other state agencies. SHPO staff members Amy Munson, Lorna Meidinger, Paul Picha, Amy Bleier, and Betty Mertz directed the author to resources he would not likely have discovered otherwise. Park workers at several state parks and historic sites were knowledgeable and helpful, as was Lt. Col. Clark Johnson who assisted with access to resources at National Guard Camp Grafton. The MPDF manuscript benefited from an editorial review by SHPO staff intern Alicia Newell, and from careful reading and review comments from members of the National Register State Review Board.

The research and authorship which are the subject of this National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) have been financed in part with Federal funds from the National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, and administered by the State Historical Society of North Dakota. However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior or the State Historical Society of North Dakota, nor does the mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior or the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

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National Park Service
1849 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20240

"Depression-Era Federal Work Relief Construction in North Dakota, 1931-1943"
selected bibliographic references; primary and secondary research sources

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

"Federal Relief Construction in North Dakota, 1931-1943"

All counties in North Dakota

Name of multiple property listing (if applicable)
"Federal Relief Construction in North Dakota, 1931-1943"

Section number Additional Documentation page AD 1

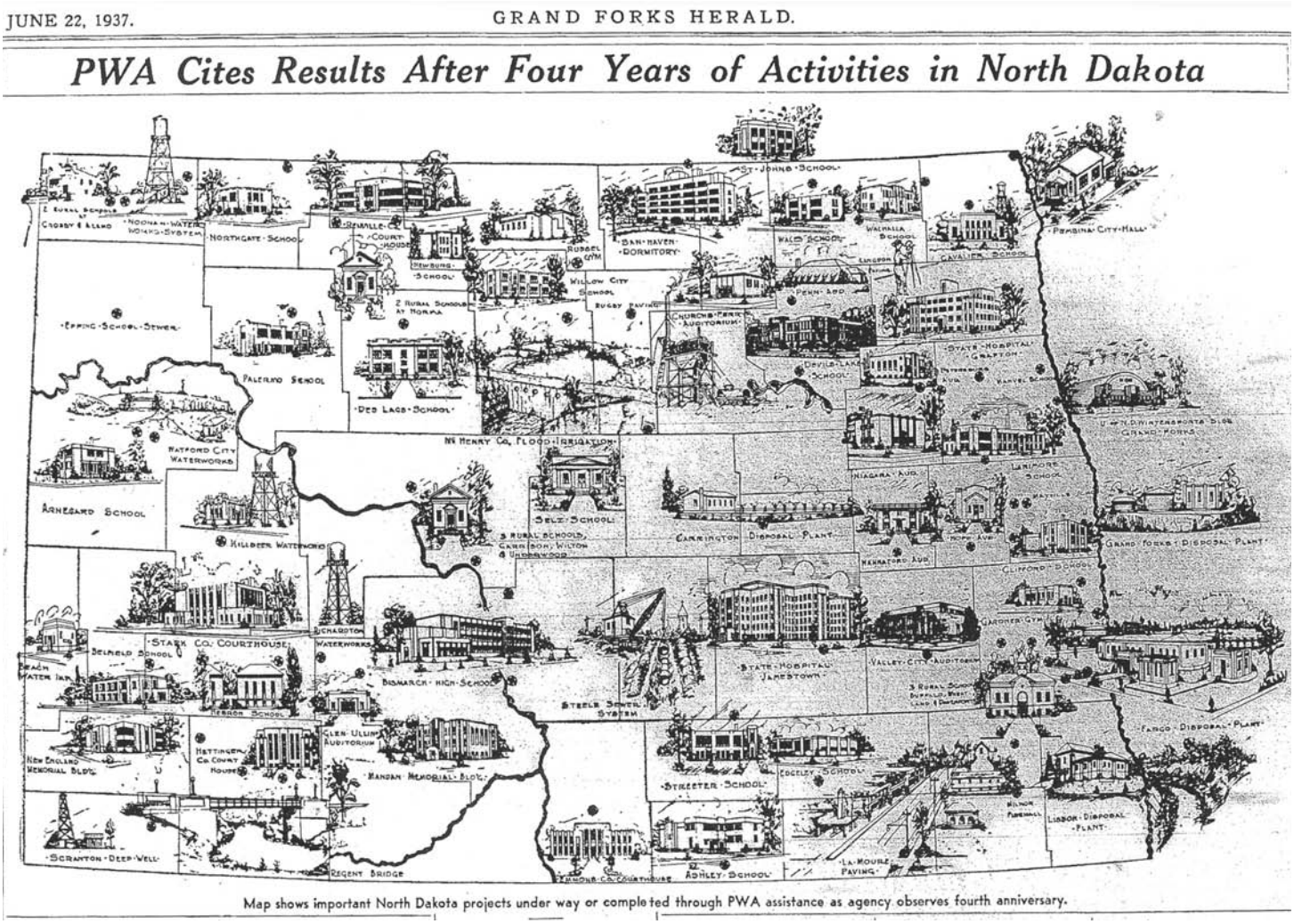


Fig. 1: excerpt from June 22, 1937 *Grand Forks Herald,* "PWA Activity Statewide in North Dakota"

proposing 53,000 acres for irrigation through diversion, as well as construction of a large reservoir in Bowman county. The cost of the program would be approximately $38,000, according to engineers' estimates.

Moodie Reports to President on Millions Expended on WPA Program

Labor Payments Accounted for Three-quarters of Vast Amounts Spent on North Dakota Projects

Activities of the Work Progress Administration in North Dakota are summarized in a report President Roosevelt will carry with him when he departs from Grand Forks after his visit Monday.

This report, giving a comprehensive picture of the WPA accomplishments in North Dakota, was prepared under direction of Tom Moodie, state WPA administrator, who will present it in person to the nation's chief executive.

In its two years of tenure in this state, there has been allocated to North Dakota WPA, through the president, a total of $33,579,850 for all purposes of the state program. To date, $22,766,668 of this has been encumbered and expended.

Mr. Moodie's report points out that of the amount expended, 76.7 per cent went to relief clients for wages, 7.57 per cent went to non-relief clients for wages, and 15.43 per cent was spent for the purchase of materials, rental of equipment and for general administrative purposes.

TOM MOODIE

WPA projects in the state include reconstruction of 3,228 miles of farm-to-market roads; 2,200 miles of city and village streets, hard-surfaced or otherwise improved; some improvement to all municipally owned park property in the state, with 15 new park units added in communities formerly without park facilities.

Eight air fields have been improved; 70 community buildings reconstructed; more than 50 bridges built; 376 water and conservation dams completed, and 37 school houses built. Publicly owned cemeteries were improved in six localities.

The Works Progress Administration program in North Dakota was launched with the appointment of the State Administrator July 5, 1935.

The first project undertaken was opened at Mandan, North Dakota, September 9, 1935. This was a park improvement project, employing 17 men.

INCLUDED 40,000,000 LABOR HOURS.

Approximately 40,000,000 hours of labor have been done on projects in North Dakota under the WPA. For this, workers have received an average of 42½c an hour. This average is for the 24 month period.

DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS BY TYPE OF PROJECT:

Highways, Roads, and Street projects	45 %
Public Building projects	8 %
Recreational Centers (including parks and playgrounds)	6.5 %
Flood Control and Conservation projects (including construction of storage dams)	14.5 %
Public Utility projects	3.34%
All other projects	.54%
Educational and Professional projects	7.81%
Sewing projects	8.1 %
All other projects	6.21%

Sponsors' contributions to the projects operated total $3,301,403. This figure covers expenses for labor and other costs in developing projects, the sum of $336,655 for wages, $1,779,410 for the purchase of materials, and $1,185,338 for equipment rentals and other costs.

The ratio of administrative expenses to the cost of operating the WPA in North Dakota since the program commenced is 4.31% of the total funds which have been expended within the state.

Since WPA projects were placed in operation in September, 1935, 1,580 construction projects have been opened. Of these, 900 have been completed (including 376 water conservation dams), 400 projects have been suspended, and 280 are active as of this date.

THIRTY BLOCKS OF STREETS PAVED.

In the cities, towns, and villages of the state, 30 blocks of streets have been paved, 3,734 blocks have been improved, either by grading, surfacing, or both.

During the extreme drouth of 1936, farmers were employed as drouth relief cases in the construction of 376 dams. These dams were all of the earth-fill type, and ranging in size from small stock-watering dams with a capacity of only a few acre-feet, to a large dam with a 2,780 acre-foot capacity.

Rubble masonry spillways were used exclusively because of the abundance of field rock and cheapness of this construction, as compared with the reinforced concrete spillways.

The sidewalks in the urban communities have been improved to the extent of 255 blocks of concrete construction and 295 blocks of gravel walks.

WPA has built throughout the state 59 new bridges varying in size and construction to 130 feet in length, and from ordinary wood to concrete and steel construction. Bridges of various size and construction have been repaired to the number of 115.

Thirty-seven new school buildings have been constructed, ranging from one-room frame and stucco country schools to large brick and tile or monolithic concrete structures in urban centers. Repairs have been made to 1,208 school buildings.

WPA has built 65 new community or public buildings, and repaired 107. These buildings range in size up to 120 by 200 feet.

IMPROVED ALL MUNICIPAL PARKS.

Park improvements have been made to all the municipally owned park property in the state. In addition to this work many new parks have been built, covering from one block of ground to the extensive Chahinkapa Park at Wahpeton, covering 40 acres, including complete recreational facilities. A total of 102 parks have been improved. Four swimming pools have been constructed in existing and new park projects. Twenty-three new athletic fields have been provided, and added facilities have been given to 20 existing fields.

A total of 221 blocks of water mains and 500 blocks of sewers have been laid. WPA is operating city-wide water and sewer improvement projects and extension projects in practically every city in North Dakota having sewer and water facilities. Two water treatment plants and nine sewage treatment plants have been constructed. Sixty-one wells have been dug in urban communities to provide safe drinking water. Fifteen reservoirs or cisterns have been built in villages having no other water supply for fire protection.

Wood-cutting projects operated during the cold winter weather, when it was difficult to do other work, and 1,536 cords of wood were cut for free distribution to the needy.

The United States Public Health Service, in connection with the state health department, sponsored 13,497 sanitation projects for the elimination of insanitary outhouses.

The women's and professional division of the Works Progress Administration began operations in November, 1935. At this time 3,006 persons are employed in this division, of which 2,196 are women. The largest percentage of these women work on the 113 sewing units operating in fifty counties.

SEWING PROJECTS SUPPLIES NEEDY.

Since February, 1936, a total of 665,000 garments have been completed in the sewing rooms and distributed to the needy. The surplus commodities project operated in this division has distributed since November, 1935, over $2,000,000 worth of supplies to relief clients in this state, including food, clothing, bedding, household equipment, and fuel.

Mending of school text and library books has aided financially-embarrassed school boards and library commissions, with 263,800 books repaired at an average cost of 3½c per book.

The Division of Education provides work for 151 unemployed teachers who have contacted 12,771 persons interested in improving their education. There are vocational guidance classes in more than 30 North Dakota towns for young people between the ages of 16 and 25 years.

Fourteen nursery schools, which care for children from relief homes, have provided healthful playgrounds and made possible for the children careful training and access to nourishing food.

Correspondence courses for CCC enrollees have aided more than 7,000 students through the most extensive course offered them in the United States. All courses are accredited with the University of North Dakota.

Under the educational projects, 1,500 North Dakota persons have been taught to read and write in night schools, qualifying themselves for citizenship.

The Federal Writers' Project has practically completed the North Dakota Guide. The historical data project has collected valuable information, charted locations of nine Indian villages, and located priceless relics for the North Dakota Historical Society.

In the western part of the state, the operation of a ceramics project is pointing the way to utilization of North Dakota clays in the art of making pottery.

DROUTH AREA WORK RATED GREATEST.

Projects are operating for the survey of water resources, for research in North Dakota lignite deposits, for traffic surveys, codification of laws, experimentation in food spoilage, tax adjustments and reclassification of records.

The North Dakota WPA employment program got under way September 9, 1935. By November 1, 1935, 638 persons were employed. By the end of December of that year, as projects were approved in Washington and became available for operation, this number increased to 11,500.

The outstanding achievement of the Employment Division of WPA was demonstrated during the 1936 drouth period when 32,000 drouth-stricken farmers were placed on WPA projects within thirty days, constituting a record which no doubt will stand for a long long time in the employment field in North Dakota.

The winter peak of straight WPA employment, which does not include drouth relief employment, was reached in January, 1936, when 14,000 persons were receiving WPA pay checks.

The month of October, 1936, represented the peak combined employment of farmers and urban clients when the total WPA employment in the state reached 45,300.

The emergency drouth program was completed December 15, 1936. At that time all of the farmers, with the exception of about 5,000, were referred to the Resettlement Administration where they received grants during the winter. The 5,000 retained were in localities where water conservation projects were under construction and in an uncompleted state.

At the present time, WPA wages vary for unskilled labor from $40 a month in 43 counties, to $48.00 a month in 10 counties, with corresponding increases in the intermediate, skilled, and professional and technical classifications.

Liquor Chief is Paid As Much as Governor

SACRAMENTO—(AP)—As a result of a recent pay increase, California's liquor law chief, George M. Stout, now draws $10,000 a year, the same salary as Governor Frank F. Merriam.

Citizenship Applicant Away Off in 1st Guess

SOUTH BEND, IND.—(AP)—Federal Examiner F. M. Symmes said he had asked an applicant for United States citizenship, "Who is the representative in congress from this district?" The man replied, "George Washington."

EXTRA! RCA Victor
LOWEST PRICE CONSOLE WITH THE FAMOUS MAGIC EYE!
If you want a big feature set—at a low price—here it is! Magic Eye gives you silent—speedy—accurate tuning! World-wide performance with tremendous power—amazing selectivity—gorgeously life-like tone!
MODEL 87K
BIG FEATURES!
$87.95
EASY TERMS
PHONE 77
Electric Constructi
410 DeMers Ave., Grand Forks,
BIG TRADE-IN OFFER ON YOUR

Fig. 2: excerpt from 1937 *Grand Forks Herald,* "Thomas Moodie's report to FDR on WPA expenditures"

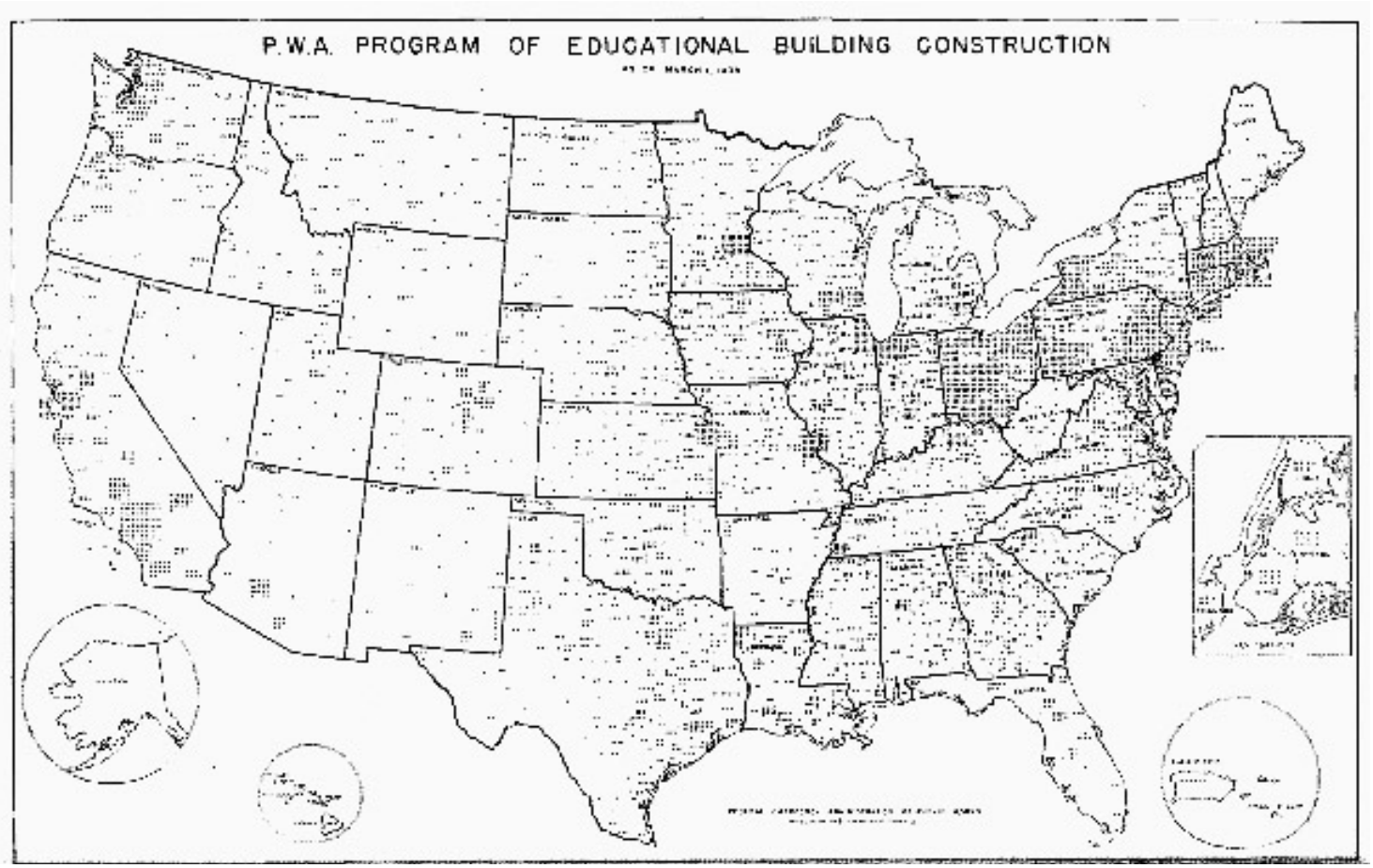


Fig. 3: PWA Educational building projects nationwide

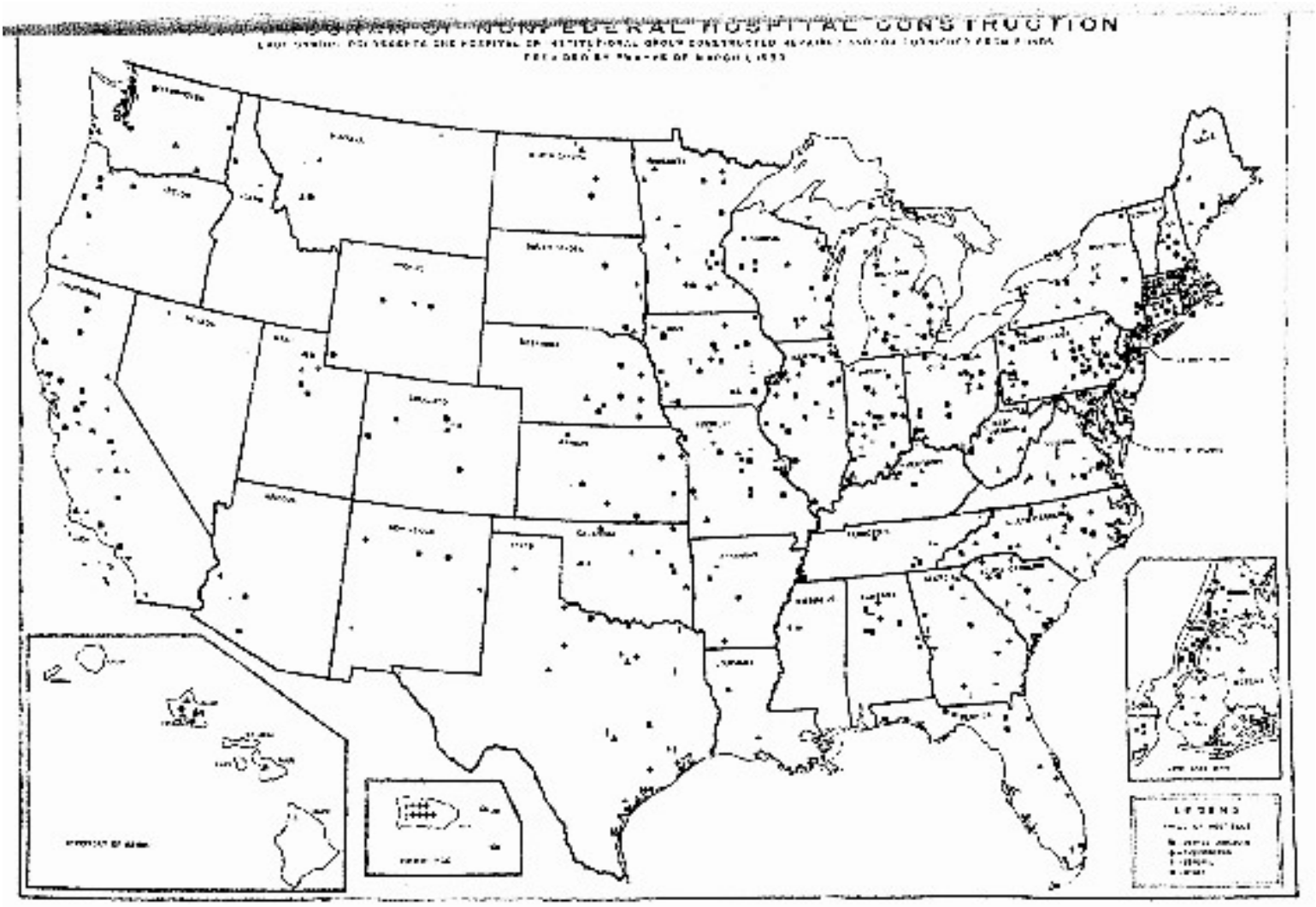


Fig. 4: PWA Hospital construction projects nationwide

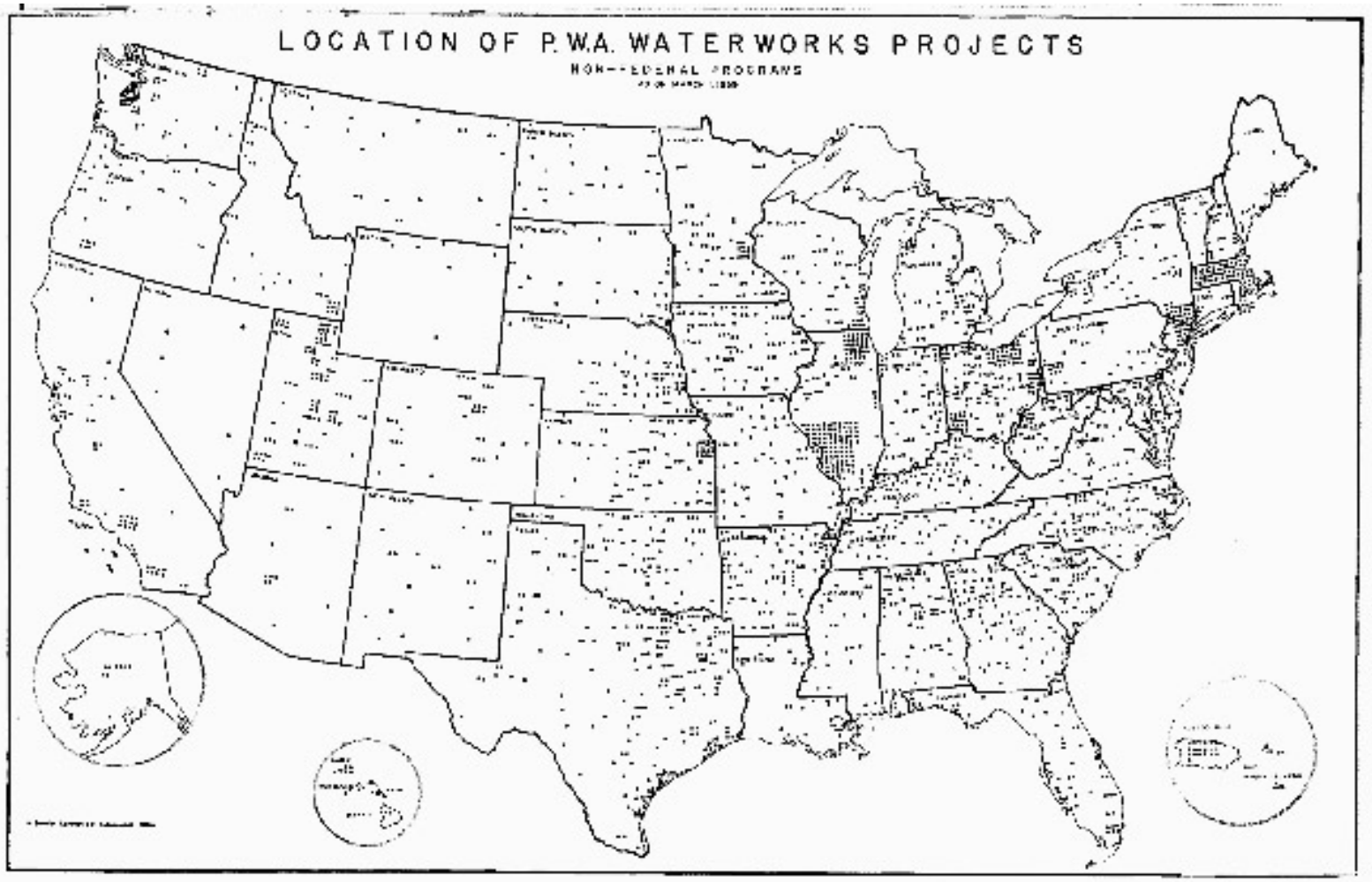


Fig. 5: PWA Waterworks projects nationwide

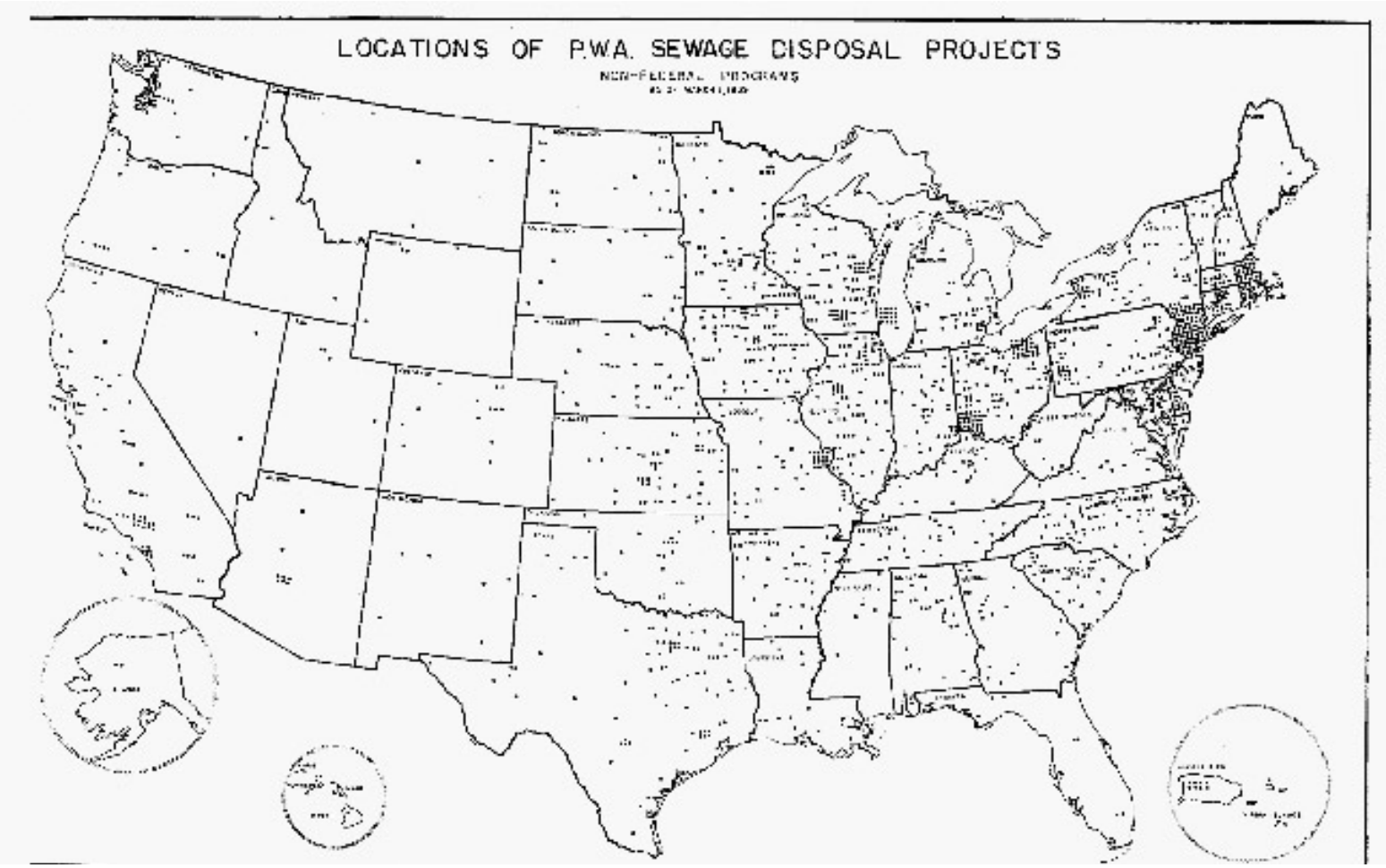


Fig. 6: PWA Sewage disposal projects nationwide

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

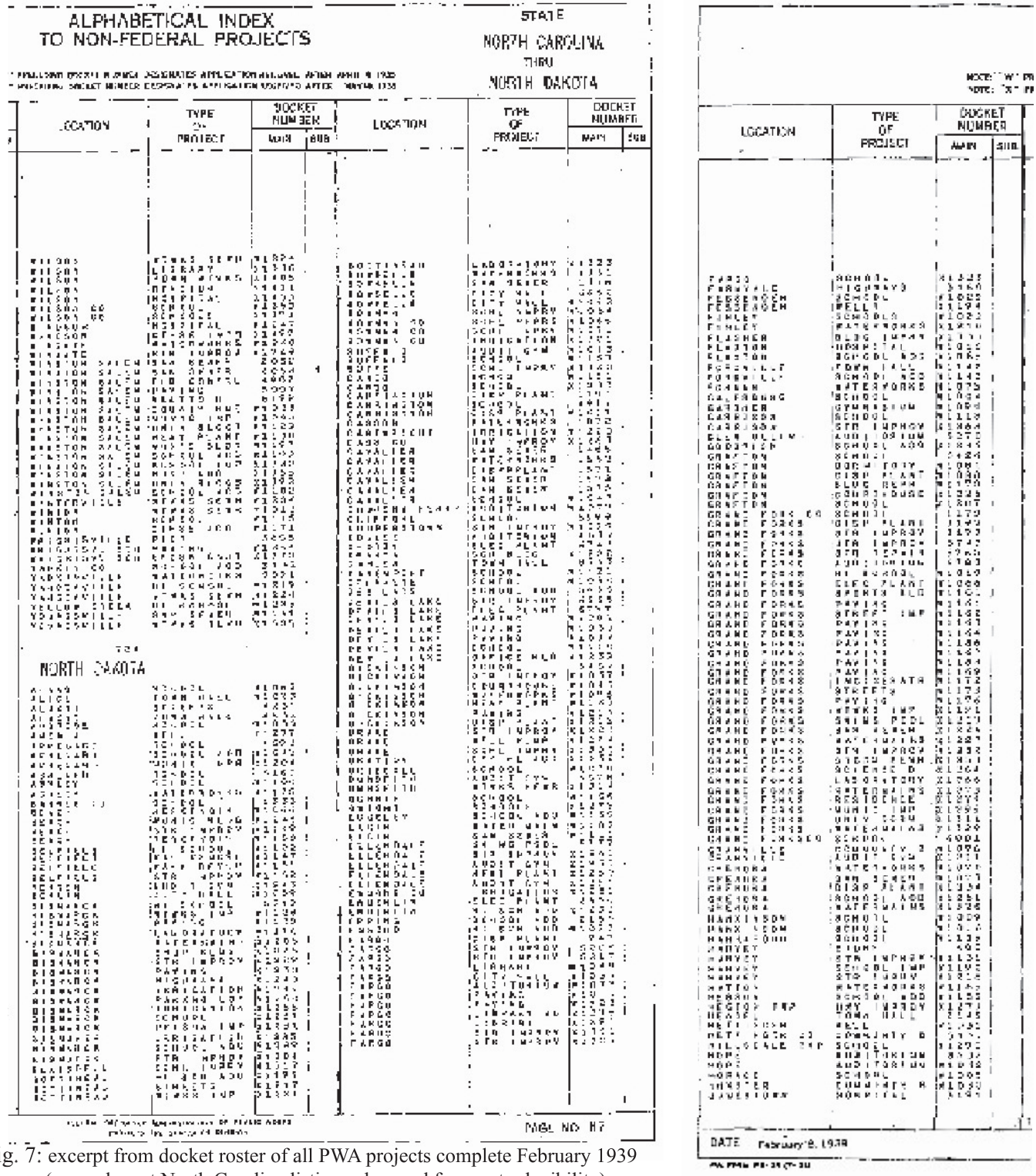
National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

"Federal Relief Construction in North Dakota, 1931-1943"

All counties in North Dakota

Name of multiple property listing (if applicable)
"Federal Relief Construction in North Dakota, 1931-1943"

Section number Additional Documentation page AD 7


ALPHABETICAL INDEX
TO NON-FEDERAL PROJECTS

STATE
NORTH CAROLINA
THRU
NORTH DAKOTA

LOCATION	TYPE OF PROJECT	DOCKET NUMBER MAIN	DOCKET NUMBER SUB

NORTH DAKOTA

LOCATION	TYPE OF PROJECT	DOCKET NUMBER MAIN	DOCKET NUMBER SUB

DATE February 8, 1939

Fig. 7: excerpt from docket roster of all PWA projects complete February 1939 (non-relevant North Carolina listings obscured for greater legibility)

United States Department of the Interior
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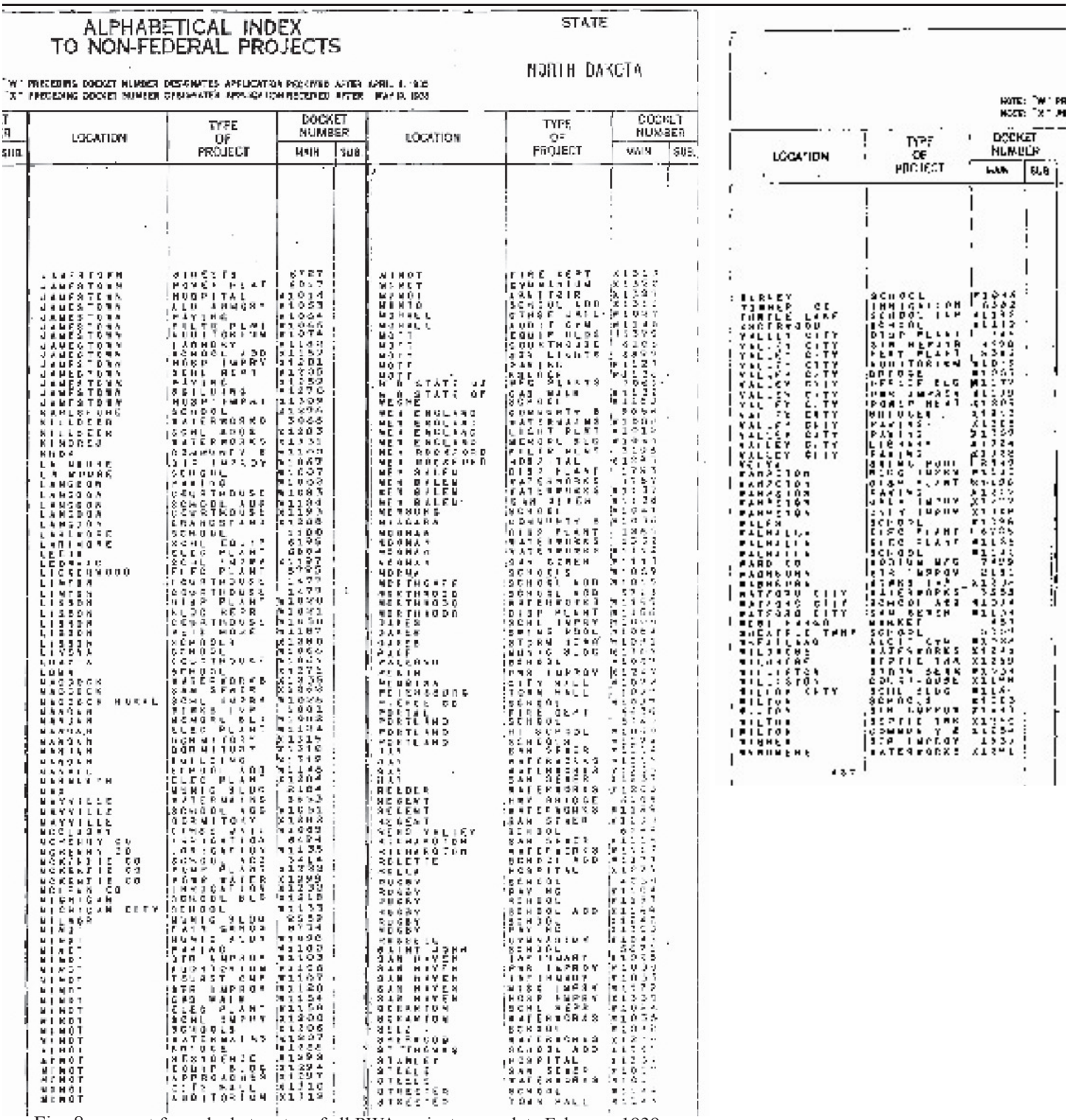
Section number Additional Documentation page AD 8



ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO NON-FEDERAL PROJECTS

STATE NORTH DAKOTA

LOCATION	TYPE OF PROJECT	DOCKET NUMBER MAIN	DOCKET NUMBER SUB
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	

Fig. 9: "Boondoggling", political cartoon intended to ridicule WPA "art & performance" work relief programs reporoduced in Searle F. Charles, *Harry Hopkins: Minister of Relief* (p.123);
the original appeared April 8, 1935 in Philadelphia *Inquirer* as "Anyway -- The Little Fellow's in Line."

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

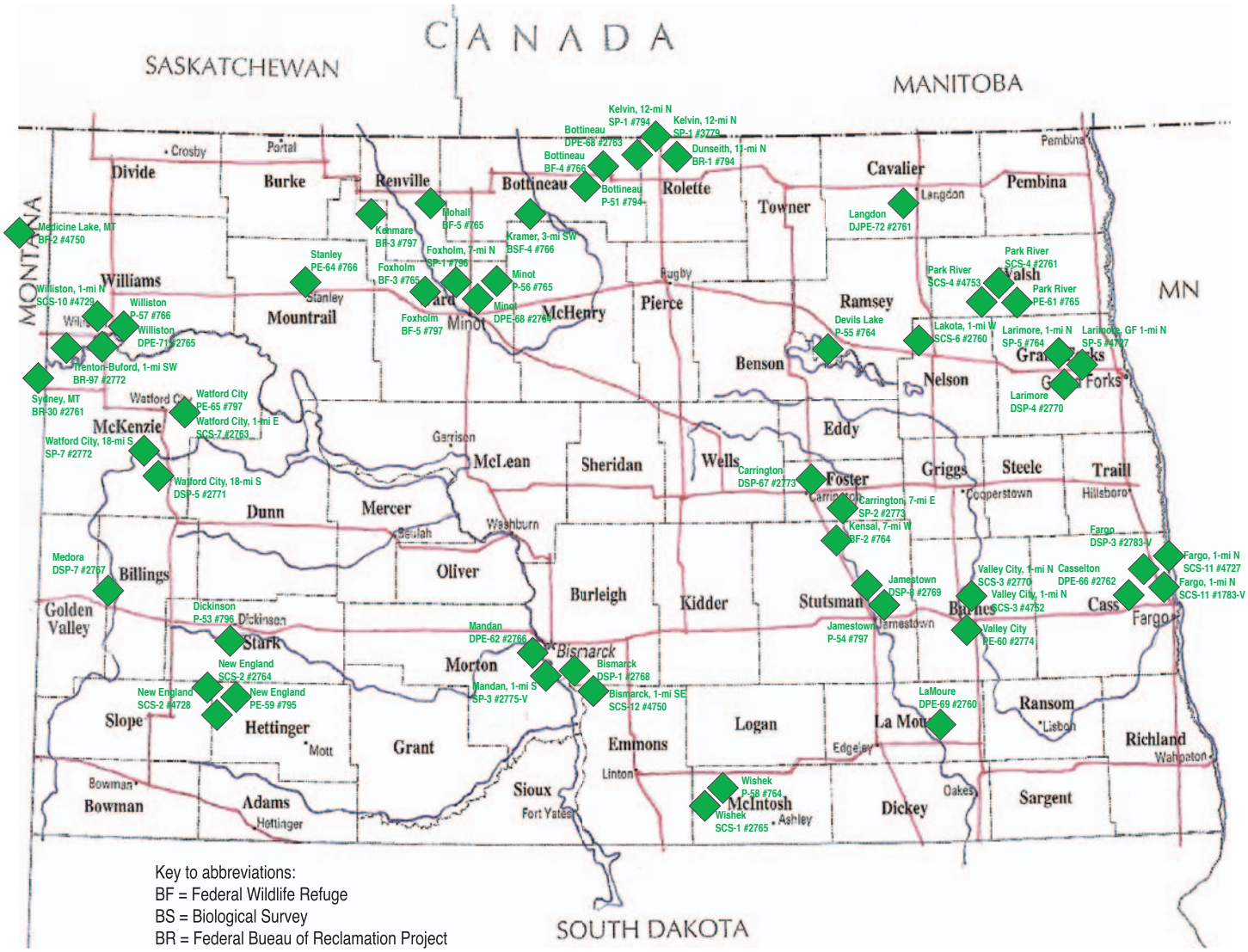
National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

"Federal Relief Construction in North Dakota, 1931-1943"

All counties in North Dakota

Name of multiple property listing (if applicable)
"Federal Relief Construction in North Dakota, 1931-1943"

Section number Additional Documentation page AD 10



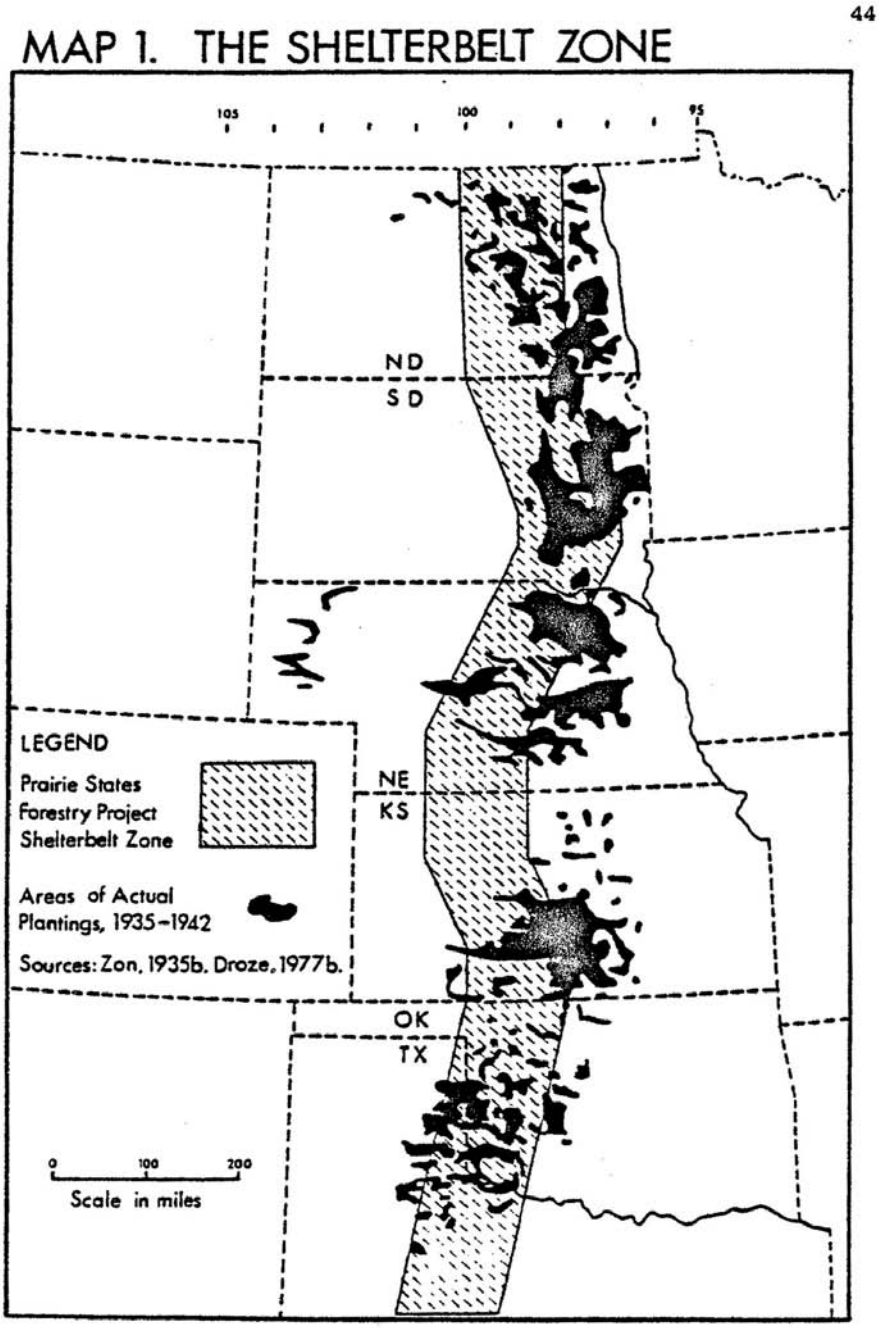
Key to abbreviations:
BF = Federal Wildlife Refuge
BS = Biological Survey
BR = Federal Bueau of Reclamation Project
DPE = Drainage Private Land Erosion
DSP = Department of State Parks
P = Private Forestry or Grassland
PE = Private Land Erosion Control
SP = State Park
SCS = Soil Conservation Service

Compiled from a list by Ted Will, and from the internet CCC Archives web site www.ccclegacy.org/camp_lists.htm

Fig. 10: Locations of CCC Camps in North Dakota (1933-42)

Fig. 11: 1933 Forest Service Map of proposed PSFP Great Plains Shelterbelt planting zone

Map developed by Zon and Bates in 1933 showing the proposed location of shelterbelt planting zone. These visual aids were prepared for use in presenting the idea to President Roosevelt. Courtesy of U.S. Forest Service.



MAP 1. THE SHELTERBELT ZONE
reproduced in Reynolds, Susan Pommering; 1983 thesis

Fig. 12: Close-up detail reference map of PSFP Shelterbelt Zone; from Reynolds: p.44

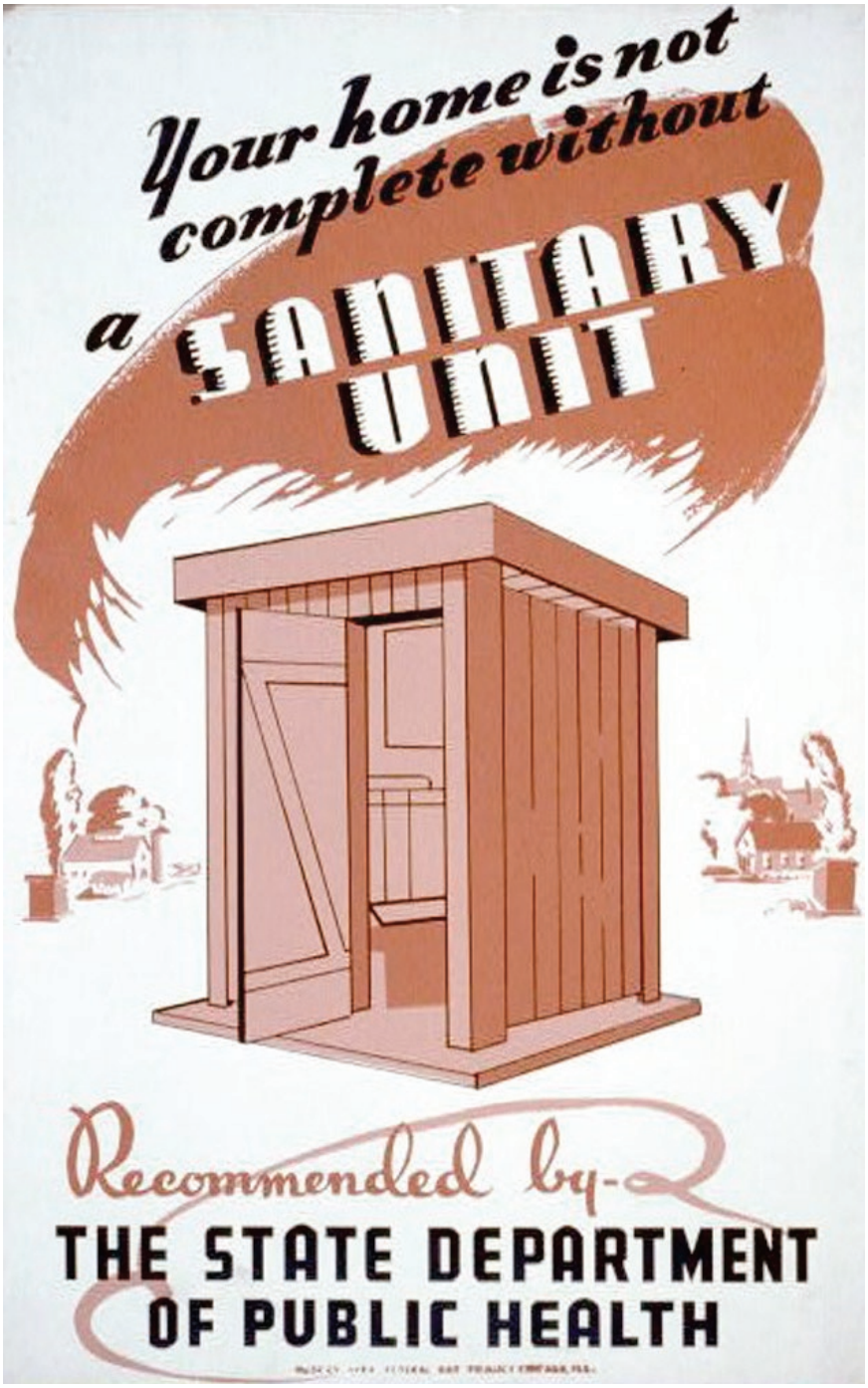


Fig. 12: Poster promoting benefits of modern, WPA-style outhouse privies;
one of two similar posters created by artist John Bczak for the WPA Federal Arts Project
Library of Congress Reproduction Number LC-USZC2-1594 DLC

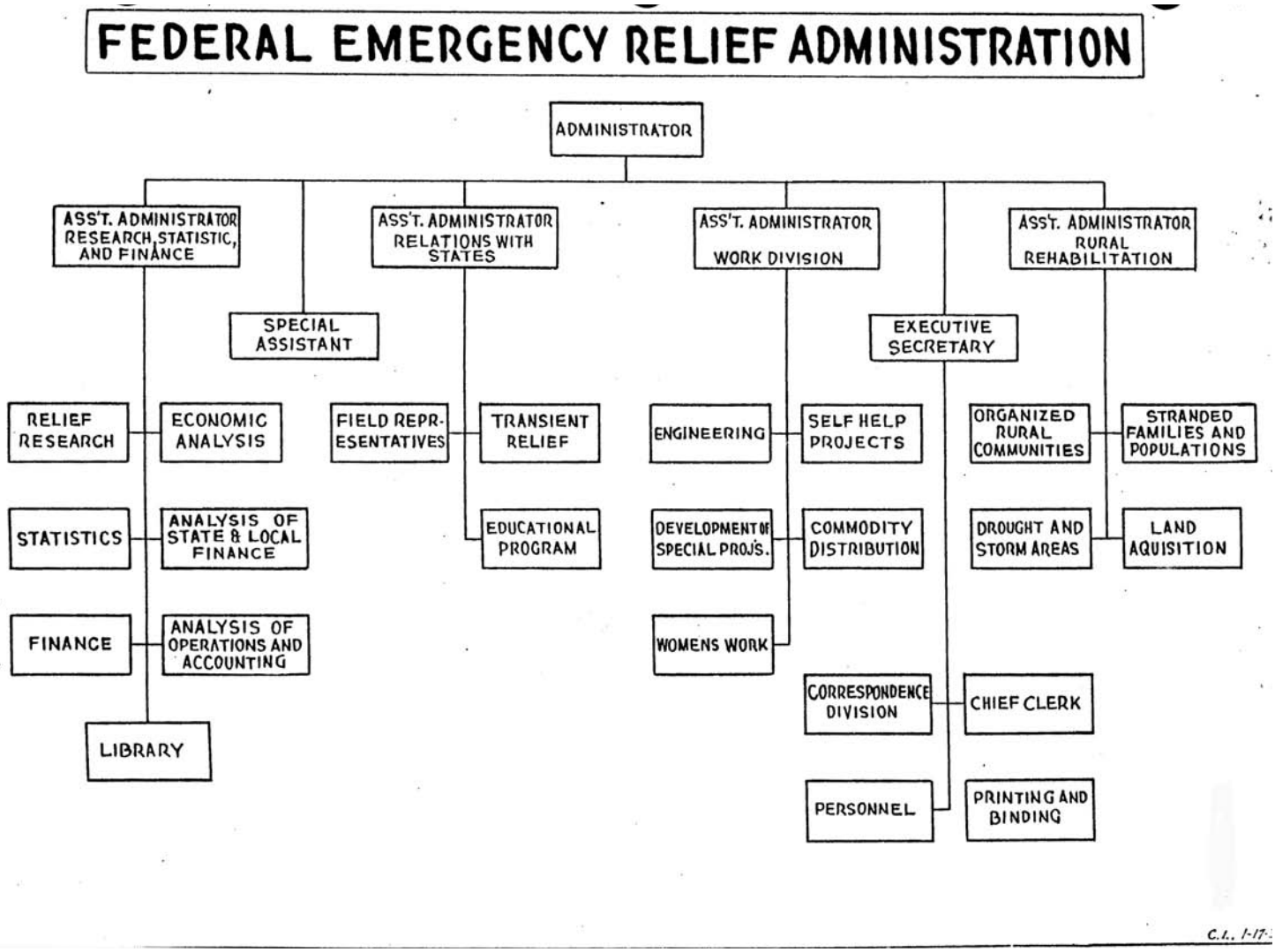


Fig. 14: Organizational Chart of FERA

Fig. 14: PWA Administrative Regions in 1937 (North Dakota is in Region 4)

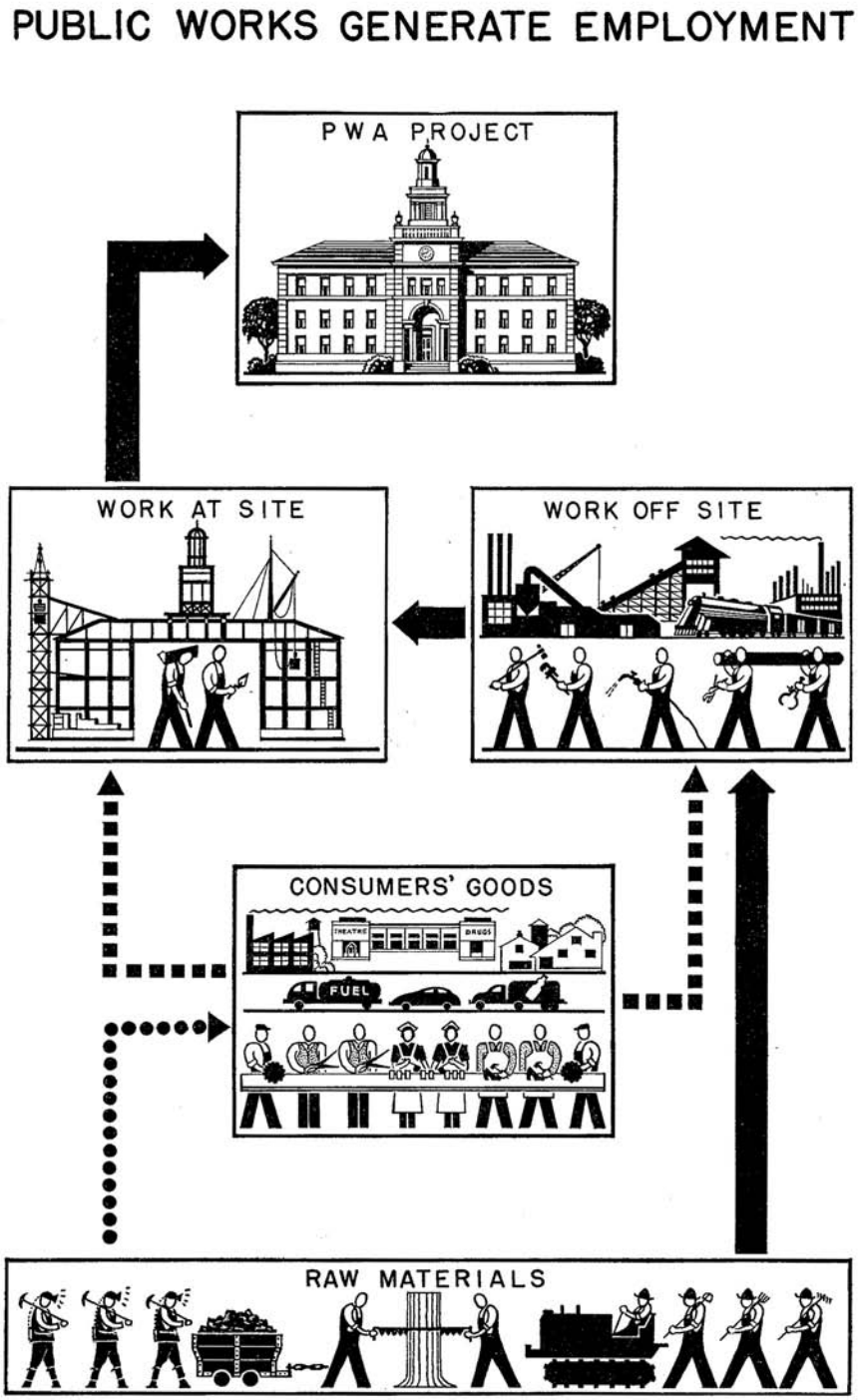


Fig. 16: Promotional Chart of work relief economic benefits from PWA; *America Builds*, (1939): p.5

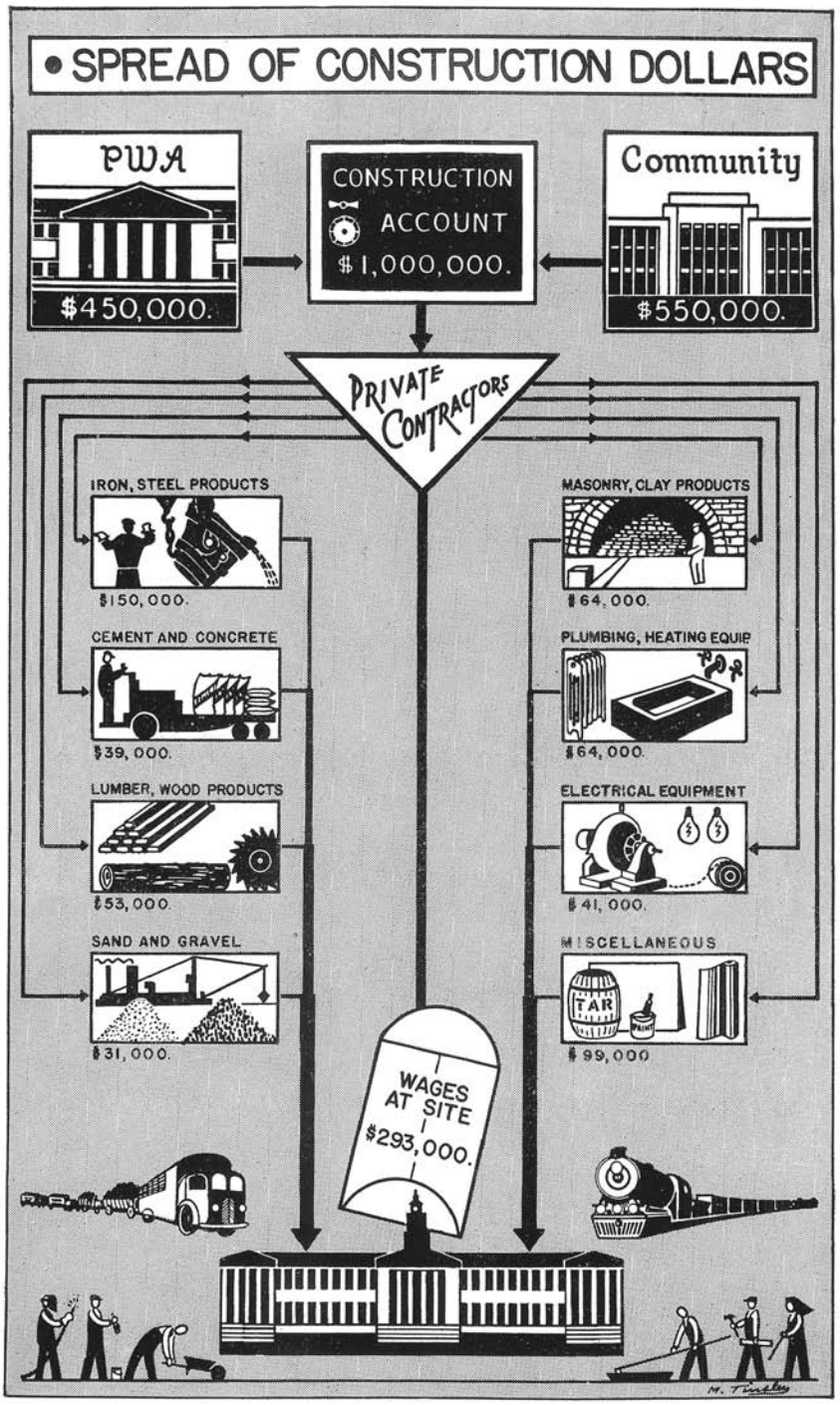
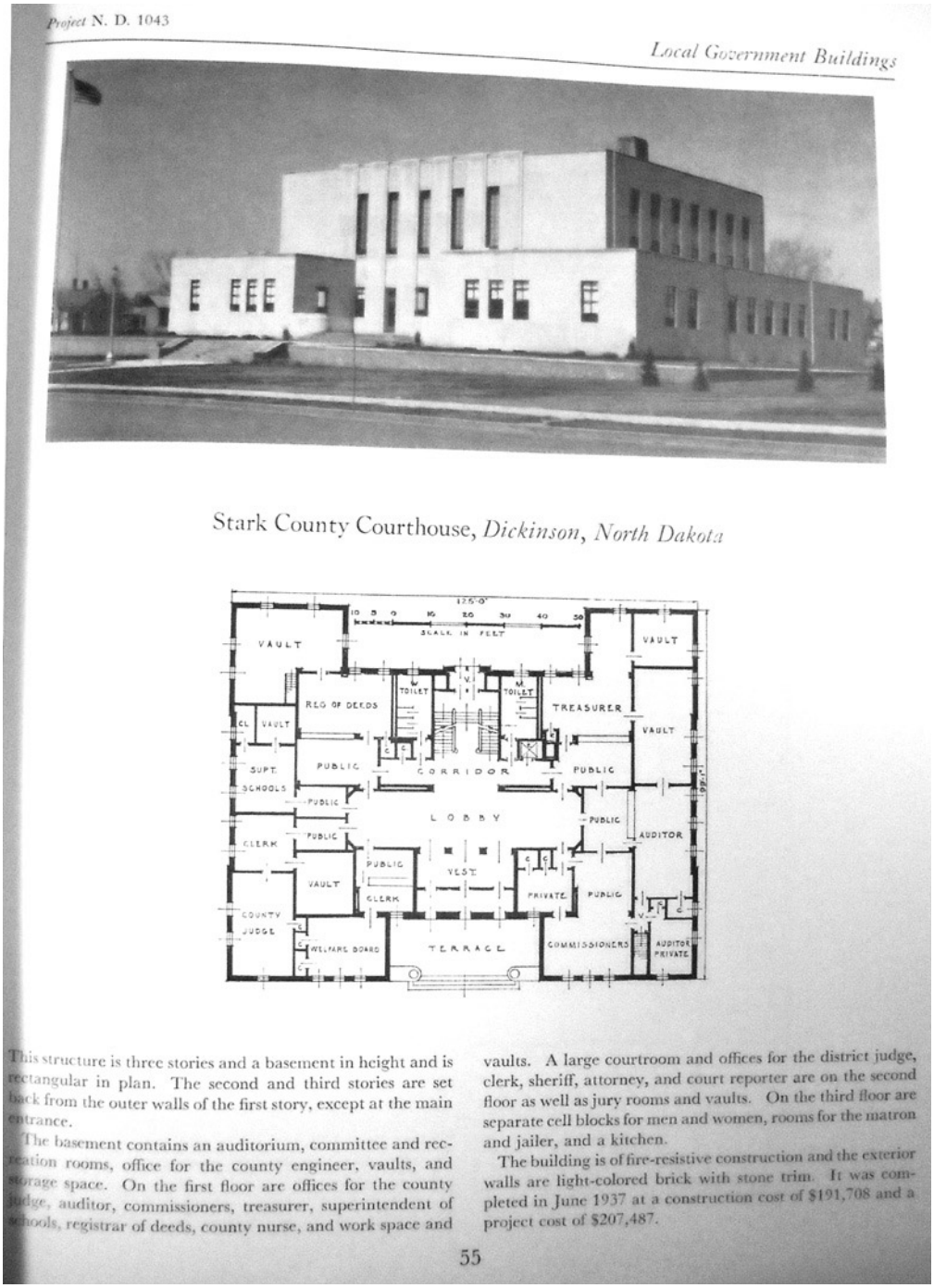


Fig. 17: Promotional Chart of work relief economic benefits from PWA; *America Builds*, (1939): p.29



Project N. D. 1043

Local Government Buildings

Stark County Courthouse, *Dickinson, North Dakota*

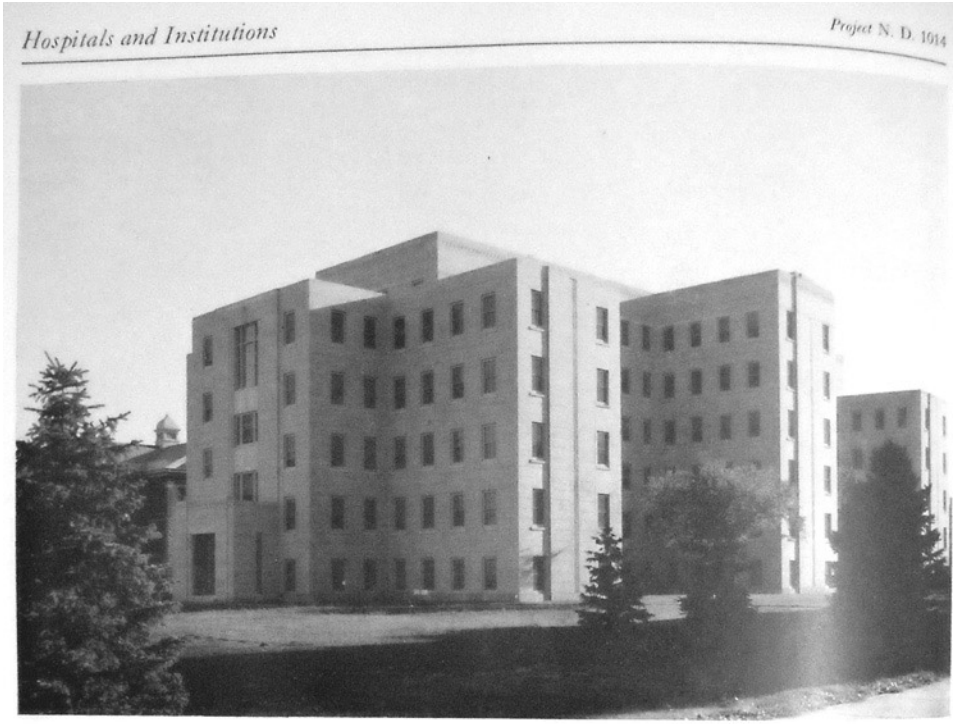
This structure is three stories and a basement in height and is rectangular in plan. The second and third stories are set back from the outer walls of the first story, except at the main entrance.

The basement contains an auditorium, committee and recreation rooms, office for the county engineer, vaults, and storage space. On the first floor are offices for the county judge, auditor, commissioners, treasurer, superintendent of schools, registrar of deeds, county nurse, and work space and vaults. A large courtroom and offices for the district judge, clerk, sheriff, attorney, and court reporter are on the second floor as well as jury rooms and vaults. On the third floor are separate cell blocks for men and women, rooms for the matron and jailer, and a kitchen.

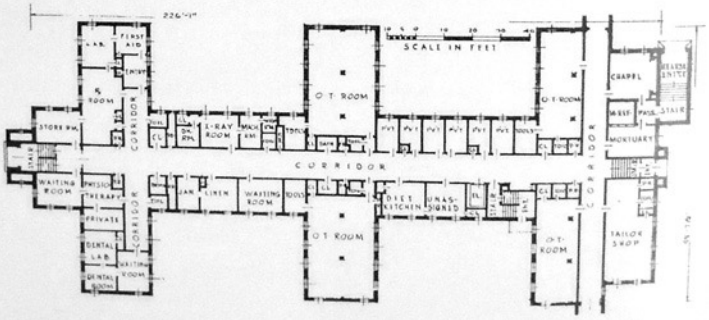
The building is of fire-resistive construction and the exterior walls are light-colored brick with stone trim. It was completed in June 1937 at a construction cost of $191,708 and a project cost of $207,487.

55

Fig. 18: excerpt from PWA retrospective publication by C.W. Short and R.Stanley-Brown *Public Buildings: Architecture Under the Public Works Administration, 1933-39*. (1939): p.55



State Hospital, *Jamestown*, *North Dakota*



This building at Jamestown is a combined medical unit for diagnosis and treatment, and a men's ward for care of the insane. It is an E-shaped structure, 6 stories in height, with a capacity of 410 beds and provides private rooms, wards, consultation rooms, operating rooms, and provisions for complete examination of the mentally disturbed.

Construction is fireproof with concrete foundations, a skeleton steel frame, and exterior walls of face brick trimmed with stone. The building is connected to the powerhouse and to other buildings of the institution by a concrete tunnel. It was completed in November 1936 at a construction cost of $304,626 and a project cost of $320,692.

388

Fig. 19: excerpt from PWA retrospective publication by C.W. Short and R.Stanley-Brown *Public Buildings: Architecture Under the Public Works Administration, 1933-39*. (1939): p.388

ND Depression-Era Work Relief Standing structures inventory(compiled July 2010); (537 structures identified):

Cnty_SITS	County	City	SiteName	ConstrDate/Agency	OtherInfo
32ADX0066	AD		SCORIA LILY RANCH	1936	PAUL S BLISS, CM HALLEN, C A HUBER (ENGINEER)
32BA00045	BA		TRAGER DAM	1936	
32BA00047	BA	NORTH VALLEY CITY	PEAVEY ELEVATOR	1938	
32BA00117	BA		VALLEY CITY HATCHERY	1939	
32BA00164	BA	VALLEY CITY	CITY PARK	1935	PIONEER PARK AMPHITHEATER; ELIGIBLE
32BA00536	BA	VALLEY CITY	FORMER SALVATION ARMY BLDG	1933	ARCHITECT GILBERT HORTON
32BA00713	BA	VALLEY CITY	TELEPHONE EXCHANGE	1937	ND H.S. ACTIVITIES BLDG.
32BA00736	BA	VALLEY CITY	VALLEY CITY ARMORY	1937	GILBERT HORTON, ARCHITECT
32BA00828	BA	VALLEY CITY	VALLEY CITY MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM	1936	OLAF WICK BUILDER; VANHORN RITTERBUSH RECENTLY DISCOVERED PWAP ARTWORK
32BA00911	BA	VALLEY CITY	VALLEY CITY STATE COLLEGE	1933	GARAGE
32BA	BA	VALLEY CITY	MUNICIPAL POWER PLANT BLDG.		WPA RENOVATION INTERIOR EQUIPMENT FEATURES
32BA	BA	VALLEY CITY	VALLEY CITY AIRPORT TERMINAL	1942	
32BA	BA	VALLEY CITY	GREAT WHITE WAY STREET LIGHTING SYSTEM	1938	WESTINGHOUSE
32BA	BA	ROGERS	SCHOOL AUDITORIUM	1938	WPA; GILBERT R HORTON, ARCHITECT
32BE00049	BE		PLAINVIEW SCHOOL #2		
32BE00132	BE	FORT TOTTEN	BUILDING 00020N1 - HOUSE		
32BE00145	BE	ST MICHAEL	SCHOOL?	1932	DEMOLISHED
32BE	BE	MADDOCK	HOSPITAL & CLINIC	1938-40	E.W. MOLANDER
32BI00064	BI		EAST ENTRANCE STATION	1938	WPA RANGER STATION
32BI00821	BI		LITTLE MISSOURI RIVER		
32BK00010	BK				POWDER MAGAZINE
32BK00037	BK		LOSTWOOD HEADQUARTER	1935	TOWER IS ELIGIBLE
32BK00070	BK		BURKE RAMP	1935-42	CCC
32BK00071	BK		HEADQUARTERS RAMP	1940	CCC
32BK00072	BK		ELBOW LAKE RAMP		CCC
32BK00073	BK		KNUDSON LODGE PATROL		CCC RAMP
32BK00074	BK		HELLE SITE CCC RAMP		NOT ELIGIBLE; ALTERED
32BK00076	BK		CROSS ROADS RAMP		CCC
32BK00105	BK	PORTAL	PORTAL BORDER INSPECTION STATION	1932	JAMES A WETMORE; OFFICE OF THE SUPERVISING ARCHITECT

32BKX0983	BK	FLAXTON	CITY HALL	1931	
32BK	BK	FLAXTON	HOSPITAL	1935	
32BKX0985	BK		NORTHGATE CUSTOMS HOUSE		REPLACED BY BLG TO WEST
32BK	BK	LIGNITE	CITY AUDITORIUM	1936	E.W. MOLANDER
32BL00112	BL		9 ST RR UNDERPASS	1939	
32BL00115	BL		LONG LAKE HEADQUARTERS		
32BL00115	BL		LONG LAKE HEADQUARTERS	1936	
32BL00115	BL		LONG LAKE HEADQUARTERS	1938	
32BL00115	BL		LONG LAKE HEADQUARTERS	1938	
32BL00236	BL	BISMARCK	FT LINCOLN	1931	
32BL00236	BL	BISMARCK	FT LINCOLN	1933	
32BL00236	BL	BISMARCK	FT LINCOLN	1935	
32BL00236	BL	BISMARCK	FT LINCOLN	1936	
32BL00236	BL	BISMARCK	FT LINCOLN	1939	
32BL00264	BL	BISMARCK		1942	
32BL00536	BL		LONG LAKE PICNIC	1938	WPA
32BL	BL	BISMARCK	CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL	1934	PWA AND WPA
32BO 0179	BO	SCRANTON	US 12/MILWAUKEE RR BRIDGE	1937	UPDATED 06/07/97
32BO 0880	BO	SCRANTON	SCRANTON WATER TOWER	1935	PWA
32BO 0880	BO	SCRANTON	DEEP WATER WELL		PWA
32BO 0950	BO		CABLE CAR		NOT VERIFIED
32BU00006	BU		LOWER SOURIS DAM 332	1936	LINEAR SHAPE
32BU00007	BU		LOWER SOURIS DAM 341	1936	LINEAR SHAPE
32BU00008	BU		LOWER SOURIS DAM 357	1937	LINEAR SHAPE
32BU00012	BU		LOWER SOURIS DAM 326	1936	SEE 32 MH 49/LINEAR SHAP
32BU00017	BU		LAKE METIGOSHE	1938	WPA; DINING HALL
32BU00017	BU		LAKE METIGOSHE	1935	BUGENHAGEN, HESS, DEETER
32BU00023	BU		LAKE METIGOSHE	1942	
32BU00130	BU		BRIDGE	1940	SAME AS 32 RO00045
32BU00132	BU		BRIDGE	1938	DOT#05-151-26.0
32BU00134	BU		WESTHOPE LAND PORT OF ENTRY (LPOE)	1937	WESTHOPE LPOE, GARAGE
32BU00501	BU	BOTTINEAU	ND SCHOOL OF FORESTRY		
32BU00604	BU	BOTTINEAU	BOTTINEAU CO FAIRGROUND		

32BU00610	BU	BOTTINEAU	MEMORIAL BUILDING	1937	MONUMENT
32BU	BU	RUSSELL	SCHOOL GYMNASIUM	1937	PWA; NO LONGER EXTANT
32BU	BU	NEWBURG	SCHOOL BUILDING	1937	PWA
32BU	BU	WILLOW CITY	SCHOOL BUILDING	1937	PWA
32CS00071	CS	FARGO	OLD FIELD HOUSE	1931	BRASETH & HOUKOM, FARGO ARCHITECTS
32CS00073	CS	FARGO	C.I. NELSON	1939	VAGUELY PRAIRIE STYLE
32CS00228	CS	FARGO	FARGO SPORTS ARENA	1937	WPA MODERNE/WPA/ALTERED
32CS02101	CS	FARGO	ISLAND PARK POOL	1939	WPA/POOL NOW FILLED IN
32CS04463	CS	FARGO	BN RR BRIDGE	1936	
32CS04472	CS	FARGO	RED RIVER BRIDGE	1939	UPDATED 08/24/94
32CS04474	CS	FARGO	RED RIVER	1937	WM O'NEIL AND SONS CO
32CS04506	CS		MAPLE RIVER BRIDGE	1938	ALSO 32RM89
32CS04558	CS	FARGO	81-926.783	1938	
32CS04573	CS	FARGO		1938	JE KRIEG & SONS
32CS05050	CS	FARGO	WDAY TRANSMITTER BLDG	1932	
32CS	CS	FARGO	MANNING MEMORIAL SHELTER	1938	NO FEDERAL FUNDING PAUL W JONES/ROBERT BRUCE HARRIS
32CS	CS	FARGO	EDGEWOOD PARK ENTRANCE GATES	1937	CCC/WPA
32CS	CS	FARGO	OAK GROVE PARK ENTRANCE GATES AND SHELTERHOUSE	1937	CCC/WPA
32CS	CS	FARGO	LINDENWOOD PARK ENTRANCE FEATURES	1938	CCC/WPA
32CS	CS	ARGUSVILLE	SCHOOL ADDITION AND MODIFICATIONS	1939	
32CS	CS	ARTHUR	SCHOOL BUILDING	1938	CONCRETE WPA SCHOOL DEMOLISHED; 1984
32CS	CS	BUFFALO	SCHOOL ADDITIONS	1937	GYMNASIUM
32CS	CS	WHEATLAND	RURAL SCHOOL	1936	PWA
32CS	CS	DAVENPORT	RURAL SCHOOL	1936	PWA
32CS	CS	GARDNER	SCHOOL GYMNASIUM	1936	PWA
32CS	CS	CLIFFORD	SCHOOL BUILDING	1938?	PWA
32CV00102	CV			1938	
32CV00130	CV		BILLINGS LAKE WCS	1939	
32CV00402	CV	LANGDON	LANGDON WATER TREATMENT		
32CV00425	CV	LANGDON	U.S. POST OFFICE	1937	
32CV00402	CV	WALHALLA	SCHOOL BUILDING	1936	PWA
32CV00402	CV	WALES	SCHOOL BUILDING	1935	PWA

32DI00022	DI	OAKES	OAKES POST OFFICE	1935	
32DI00453	DI	OAKES	OAKES SWIMMING POOL	1939	
32DI	DI	ELLENDALE	SWIMMING P0OL	1938	
32DU00963	DU		LAKE ILO DAM	1939	
32DU00965	DU		LAKE ILO HEADQUARTER	1938	
32DU00965	DU		LAKE ILO HEADQUARTER	1937	WPA
32DU00971	DU		DIKE	1934	
32DU00971	DU		CCC DAM LAKE ILO	1934	
32DU00972	DU		LAKE ILO	1939	
32DU00972	DU		LAKE ILO	1939	
32DU00972	DU		LAKE ILO	1939	
32DU00972	DU		LAKE ILO PARK	1939	
32DU00972	DU		LAKE ILO PARK	1939	
32DU00972	DU		LAKE ILO PARK	1939	
32DU01044	DU		HORSE CREEK BRIDGE	1935	
32DU01064	DU		KNIFE RIVER STRINGER		
32DU	DU	KILLDEER	WATERWORKS	1939	PWA
32DU01331	DU		BRIDGE	1940	
32DV00049	DV		AMBROSE BORDER INSPECTION STATION	1932	JAMES A WETMORE, TREASURY; OFFICE OF THE SUPERVISING ARCHITECT
32DV00049	DV		AMBROSE BORDER INSPECTION STATION	1932	OFFICE OF THE SUPERVISING ARCHITECT
32DV00051	DV		LONG DAM	1932	
32DV00054	DV	ALKABO	ALKABO SCHOOL	1934	CWA/WPA; DRAWINGS BY E W MOLANDER; BUILT BY WILLIAM NORDMAN
32DV	DV	NOONAN	CITY AUDITORIUM		PWA/WPA
32DV	DV	COLUMBUS	WAR MEMORIAL AUDITORIUM	1937	WPA
32ED00095	ED	NEW ROCKFORD	NEW ROCKFORD POST OFFICE	1939	WPA ERA MURAL
32ED00111	ED		CAMP FAHOCHA		
	ED	NEW ROCKFORD	HOSPITAL	1936	EXTENSIVELY RENOVATED
32EM00146	EM	LINTON	BRIDGE	1941	RUE CONSTRUCTION CO.
32EM00163	EM	LINTON	SEEMAN PARK	1936	WPA
32EM00375	EM		STOCK SHOW OCTAGONAL EMMONS COUNTY FAIR		
32EM00402	EM	LINTON	LINTON CITY HALL	1938	

32EM00403	EM	LINTON	EMMONS COUNTY COURTHOUSE	1934	BUGENHAGEN, HESS, DEETER
32EM00550	EM	HAGUE	VILLAGE HALL & FIRESTATION	1936	WPA
32EM00608	EM	HAZELTON	US POST OFFICE		
32EM00671	EM	LINTON			CABINETRY SHOP
32EM00717	EM	LINTON	LINTON CITY HALL	1939	
32EM00761	EM	LINTON	HATCHERY		
32EM00825	EM	STRASBURG	U.S. POST OFFICE		
32EM00830	EM	STRASBURG	CITY HALL		
32EM00918	EM		HAZELTON CEMETERY		SHED IN CEMETERY
32EM01070	EM		BEAVER CREEK		
32EM01071	EM		SPRING CREEK		
32FO00005	FO	CARRINGTON	CARRINGTON POST OFFICE	1933	J WETMORE ARCHITECT; REDLINGER & HANSON CONSTRUCTION CO BUILDER
32FO00052	FO	CARRINGTON	BRIDGE	1937	
32GF00017	GF	GRAND FORKS	UND CAMPUS	1940	WITMER ART GALLERY - CAMBRIDGE ST & 5TH AVE
32GF00017	GF	GRAND FORKS	UND CAMPUS	1941	RAY RICHARDS CLUBHOUSE - THEODORE WELLS - 3501 DEMERS AVE
32GF00202	GF	GRAND FORKS	WPA SWIMMING POOL	1941	LIUM AND BURDICK
32GF00278	GF		TURTLE RIVER TRIBUTARY		CCC
32GF00280	GF		WPA BRIDGE		WPA
32GF00295	GF		TURTLE RIVER	1938	CCC
32GF00297	GF		TURTLE RIVER STATE PARK	1940	
32GF00297	GF		TURTLE RIVER STATE PARK	1943	
32GF00297	GF		TURTLE RIVER STATE PARK	1941	
32GF00297	GF		TURTLE RIVER STATE PARK	1940	PICNIC SHELTER
32GF00297	GF		TURTLE RIVER STATE PARK	1940	NOW A PICNIC SHELTER
32GF00297	GF		TURTLE RIVER STATE PARK	1943	
32GF00297	GF		TURTLE RIVER STATE PARK	1940	BATHHOUSE
32GF00297	GF		TURTLE RIVER STATE PARK	1939-40	
32GF00297	GF		TURTLE RIVER STATE PARK	1936	
32GF00297	GF		TURTLE RIVER STATE PARK		STONE CULVERT/CROSSING
32GF00297	GF		TURTLE RIVER STATE PARK	1940	ENTRANCE BUILDING
32GF00435	GF	GRAND FORKS	TRANSIT DEPT		
32GF03144	GF	GRAND FORKS		1942	INDUSTRIAL INCINERATOR

32GF03207	GF	NORTHWOOD	NORTHWOOD WATER TOWER	1938	
32GF	GF	LARIMORE	SCHOOL BUILDING	1936	PWA
32GF	GF	MANVILLE	SCHOOL BUILDING	1936	PWA
32GF	GF	NIAGARA	SCHOOL BUILDING	1937	PWA
32GF	GF	GRAND FORKS	CALVARY & MEMORIAL PRK	1937-38	WPA CEMETERY FEATURES; RAY F WYRICK LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT
32GF03267	GF	GRAND FORKS	BN RR BRIDGE RED RIVER		
32GF03505	GF	GRAND FORKS	GF FAIRGROUNDS WPA STRUCTURES; GRANDSTAND	1937	ARCHITECT THEODORE B WELLS, FEAT 5 IS THE GRANDSTAND
32GF03505	GF	GRAND FORKS	GF FAIRGROUNDS WPA STRUCTURES; ENTRY GATES	1939	ARCHITECT THEODORE B WELLS, FEAT 4 IS THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING
32GF	GF	GRAND FORKS	AIRPORT TERMINAL BUILDING	1941	JOSEPH BELL DEREMER
32GF	GF	GRAND FORKS	CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL AUDITORIUM	1937	WPA; SAMUEL TEEL DEREMER
32GG00164	GG	HANNAFORD	BRIDGE	1937	
32GT00287	GT		BRIDGE	1935	
32GT00288	GT		BRIDGE	1936	
32GT00295	GT		BRIDGE	1938	
32GT00488	GT		TIMBER STRINGER BRIDGE	1939	TIMBER STRINGER BRIDGE
32HT00063	HT	MOTT	HETTINGER COUNTY COURTHOUSE	1934	RITTERBUSH
32HT	HT	MOTT	COMMUNITY AUDITORIUM		WPA; DEMOLISHED
32HT00070	HT		CANNONBALL RIVER		
32HT00166	HT		TIMBER CREEK SCHOOL		
32HT	HT	NEW ENGLAND	MEMORIAL AUDITORIUM	1937	VAN HORN & RITTERBUSH
32KD00047	KD	STEELE	PUMPING STATION		
32KD00053	KD	STEELE	STEELE CITY HALL	1939	GILBERT HORTON
32KD00058	KD	STEELE	STEELE WATER TOWER		
32KD	KD	CRYSTAL SPRINGS	ROADSIDE FOUNTAIN	1935	WPA; ART GEISLER
32KD	KD	TUTTLE	PUBLIC OFFICE BUILDING	1935	WPA; FIRE DAMAGED AND RENOVATED 2010
32LM00211	LM		BRIDGE	1939	
32LO00006	LO	NAPOLEON	LOGAN COUNTY COURTHOUSE		
32ME01109	ME			1935	STEEL STRINGER BRIDGE
32ME01150	ME	BEULAH		1938	
32ME01858	ME	GOLDEN VALLEY		1936	PUMP
32ME01902	ME	HAZEN	JOHN MOSES PARK	1932	
32ME01949	ME	HAZEN	PIONEER PARK RETIREMENT	1932	

32ME02100	ME	ZAP	ZAP PUBLIC SCHOOL		
32ME02134	ME	ZAP	US POST OFFICE		
32ME02138	ME	ZAP	ZAP COMMUNITY CENTER	1936	
32MH00046	MH		DENBIGH EXP FOREST STA	1931-38	CCC STRUCTURES; LOG FACING
32MH00048	MH		LOWER SOURIS DAM 320	1936	LINEAR SHAPE
32MH00049	MH		LOWER SOURIS DAM 326	1936	LINEAR SHAPE/SEE 32 BU12
32MH00050	MH		SAND HILL TOWER	1937	
32MH00051	MH		J CLARK SALYER HDQTR	1935	AMOS B EMGRY
32MH00051	MH		J CLARK SALYER HDQTR	1935	
32MH00051	MH		J CLARK SALYER HDQTR	1938	
32MH00053	MH				AEROMOTOR CHICAGO
32MH00073	MH		BRIDGE 1427	1936	
32MH00073	MH		BRIDGE 1427	1936	
32MH00074	MH		BRIDGES 1433	1936	
32MH00074	MH		BRIDGES 1433	1936	
32MH00096	MH		ST FRANCIS XAVIER CEMETERY	1941	
32MH00132	MH	VELVA	SOO RR; VELVA UNDERPASS	1936	RUE CONSTRUCTION COMPANY BISMARCK & J. R. HAMILTON, MINNEAPOLIS - SOO LINE ENGINEER
32MH00138	MH		MOUSE RIVER		FARGO BRIDGE & IRON CO; ALSO SEE 32WD129 (153-81-12)
32MH00186	MH		DAM 1	1935	CCC
32MH00187	MH		TRAPPER'S SHED	1935	
32ML00136	ML		MAX GRADE SEPARATION WPA BRIDGE	1936	DEMOLISHED 1978
32ML00309	ML		SCHOOL #2		
32ML01124	ML		FARMSTEAD		SCHOOLHOUSE
32MLX0245	ML		SOO LINE OH BRIDGE	1936	141'X 32' HIGHWAY 83
32MLX0636	ML	GARRISON	COUNTRY CLUB	1938	SEVERAL ADDITIONS
32MN00499	MN	STANLEY	GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY UNDERPASS		NRHP LISTED; BRIDGES CONTEXT
32MN00505	MN		SIKES DAM	1934	
32MN	MN	PALERMO	SCHOOL BUILDING	1936	
32MN00694	MN		BRIDGE	1941	
32MN00695	MN		BRIDGE	1935	

32MN00701	MN		SUBHEADQUARTERS RAMP		CCC
32MN00704	MN	NEW TOWN	BUILDING 00007 - HOUSE	1937	MAYERS, MURRAY & PHILLIP
32MN	MN	STANLEY	GN RAILWAY UNDERPASS	1934	PWA
32MN	MN	STANLEY	CITY HALL & FIRESTATION	1941	WPA; E.W. MOLANDER
32MN00775	MN	STANLEY		1933	WOOD CORRAL
32MO00142	MO	FORT LINCOLN PARK	MUSEUM; CCC BUILDINGS	1938	CCC
32MO00142	MO	FORT LINCOLN PARK	CCC BUILDINGS	1938	
32MO00196	MO		MANDAN UNION CEMETERY	1939	
32MO00385	MO		BIG MUDDY CREEK BRIDGE		
32MO00386	MO		SWEET BRIAR CREEK BRIDGE	1932	
32MO00389	MO		LITTLE KNIFE RIVER BRIDGE		
32MO00489	MO	HEBRON	CITY HALL	1933	
32MO00938	MO	MANDAN	WW MEMORIAL BUILDING	1937	NICK RESSLER/ALTERED
32MO01073	MO		SCHMIDT BRIDGE	1936	
32MO01258	MO	NEW SALEM	NEW SALEM BANDSTAND	1939	WPA/CCC
32MO01382	MO		STEEL-STRINGER BRIDGE	1936	STEEL STRINGER BRIDGE
32MT	MT	ASHLEY	SCHOOL BUILDING	1937	WPA
32MT	MT	WISHEK	CITY HALL & FIRESTATION	1935	WPA
32MT	MT	WISHEK	AUDITORIUM	1938	WPA; GILBERT R HORTON
32MT	MT	VENTURIA	TOWN HALL/AUDITORIUM	1937	WPA
32MT	MT	ZEELAND	CITY PARK ENTRANCE GATES		
32MZ00154	MZ		NORTH UNIT CCC STRUCTURES	1934	PICNIC SHELTER
32MZ00154	MZ		NORTH UNIT CCC STRUCTURES	1938	OVERLOOK SHELTER
32MZ00985	MZ		OVERLOOK SHELTER	1937	SHELTER BUILT BY CCC
32MZ01122	MZ		TIMBER CREEK		REPLACED IN 1993
32MZ01274	MZ		CAMP TENDER'S CABIN	1938	
32MZ01476	MZ		RIVERVIEW DISTRICT #4 SCHOOLHOUSE		SURVEYED 1999 IN BAD CONDITION; POSSIBLY DESTROYED FOLLOWUP IS UNDERWAY
32MZ01577	MZ		STONE BRIDGE		
32MZX1028	MZ		RAILROAD BRIDGE 31.0	1934	ORIGINAL BUILT 1914
32MZX1033	MZ		RAILROAD BRIDGE 14.5	1941	ORIGINAL BUILT 1913
32MZ	MZ	ALEXANDER	CITY PARK; ARTESIAN WELL		
32MZ	MZ	ARNEGARD	SCHOOL BUILDING & ADDITIONS	1935	PWA

32NE	NE	PETERSBURG	TOWN HALL AND AUDITORIUM		WPA
32NE00047	NE		GREAT NORTHERN RY		
32NE	NE	LAKOTA	WAR MEMORIAL AUDITORIUM	1938	JOSEPH BELL DEREMER
32NE	NE	MICHIGAN	CEMETERY IMPROVEMENTS	1937	WPA
32NE	NE	LAKOTA	CEMETERY IMPROVEMENTS	1937	WPA
32NE	NE	LAKOTA	BATHOUSES	1938	WPA
32NE	NE	TOLNA	FIREHALL & COMMUNITY BLDG	1937	WPA
32NE	NE	KLOTEN	COMMUNITY BUILDING	1937	WPA
32NE	NE	MCVILLE	COMMUNITY BUILDING	1937	WPA
32OL00130	OL	CENTER	OLIVER COUNTY COURTHOUSE		WPA ERECTED CABIN
32OL00435	OL		PRICE SCHOOL		
32OL00471	OL		CCC-SCS DAM		SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICES - CCC
32OL00534	OL			1942	OUTHOUSE
32PB00061	PB	PEMBINA	U.S. CUSTOM HOUSE	1931	
32PB	PB	PEMBINA	CITY HALL		
32PB	PB	PEMBINA	CRYSTAL SCHOOL	1938	
32PB00076	PB	CAVALIER	DIVISION ST NO	1932	
32PB	PB	CAVALIER	SCHOOL BUILDING	1935	
32PB	PB	WALHALLA	PUBLIC SCHOOL	1933	PWA
32PB	PB	CRYSTAL	PUBLIC SCHOOL		PWA
32PB	PB	NECHE	PUBLIC SCHOOL	1937	PWA
32PI00008	PI	RUGBY	POST OFFICE	1940	
32PI00057	PI	RUGBY	BRIDGE BNSF 142.5	1934	MINNEAPOLIS BRIDGE CO
32PI00542	PI	RUGBY	RUGBY WATER PLANT		
32PI00550	PI	RUGBY	PERSILLA WATTS CEMETERY		NOT VERIFIED
32PI00556	PI	RUGBY			LIVESTOCK SALES
32PI00563	PI	RUGBY	PIERCE COUNTY FAIRGROUND		TICKET BOOTH
32PI00662	PI	RUGBY	ANDERSON FUNERAL HOME	1936	
32PI00773	PI	RUGBY	GEOGRAPHICAL CENTER MONUMENT/CAFÉ	1932	PWA
32PI	PI	SELZ	SCHOOL BUILDING	1937	E.W. MOLANDER
32RI00724	RI	WAHPETON	WAHPETON INDIAN SCHOOL	1936, 1939	GARAGE - STORAGE
32RI00724	RI	WAHPETON	WAHPETON INDIAN SCHOOL	1938	RECREATION BUILDING

32RI00724	RI	WAHPETON	WAHPETON INDIAN SCHOOL	1931	ADMINISTRATION
32RI00724	RI	WAHPETON	WAHPETON INDIAN SCHOOL	1936	CULTURAL CENTER
32RI00724	RI	WAHPETON	WAHPETON INDIAN SCHOOL	1935	FACILITIES HEATING BLDG
32RI00724	RI	WAHPETON	WAHPETON INDIAN SCHOOL	1932	CURTIS SHOP-CRAFTS
32RI00724	RI	WAHPETON	WAHPETON INDIAN SCHOOL	1934	GARAGE - STORAGE
32RI	RI	ABERCROMBIE	PUBLIC SCHOOL BUILDING	1938	WPA
32RI	RI	ABERCROMBIE	WAYSIDE PARK	1936	WPA
32RI00817	RI		GREAT BEND BRIDGE	1939	
32RI	RI	WYNDMERE	CITY PARK IMPROVEMENTS	WPA?	
32RI00824	RI		BRIDGE	1938	
32RI00837	RI		BRIDGE	1936	WARREN PONY TRUSS
32RI00844	RI		BRIDGE	1938	WARREN PONY TRUSS; BRIDGE #39-128-24.0
32RI00850	RI		BRIDGE	1936	
32RM00035	RM		FORT RANSOM STATE HISTORIC	1943	HENRY B. HENRICKSON
32RM00078	RM		SHEYENNE RIVER	1936	WPA
32RM00089	RM		MAPLE RIVER	1938	ALSO 32CS4506; REPLACED IN 1994
32RM00153	RM		BRIDGE	1940	ABANDONED
32RM00406	RM	LISBON	SANDAGER PARK		BANDSTAND
32RM00406	RM	LISBON	SANDAGER PARK		
32RM00415	RM	LISBON	US POST OFFICE	1939	
32RM00430	RM	LISBON	LISBON PUBLIC LIBRARY	1942	
32RM00431	RM	LISBON	RANSOM COUNTY COURTHOUSE	1935	IRA RUSH
32RM00483	RM	LISBON	LISBON JUNIOR HIGH	1938	
32RM00641	RM	LISBON	ND VETERANS' HOME		POWERHOUSE
32RO00010	RO	BELCOURT	TURTLE MOUNTAIN	1936	
32RO00013	RO		DUNSEITH INDIAN DAY SCHOOL	1940	NO DISTINCTION
	RO	BELCOURT	QUONSET TURTLE MOUNTAIN		NO DISTINCTION
32RO00015	RO		COULEE TIMBER		
32RO00018	RO		INTERNATIONAL PEACE GARDEN ROAD LOOP US		CCC BRIDGE CONVERTED
32RO00018	RO		INTERNATIONAL PEACE GARDEN ROAD LOOP US		CCC ROADWAY LOOP
32RO00018	RO		INTERNATIONAL PEACE GARDEN ROAD LOOP US		CCC SMALL CULVERT
32RO00018	RO		INTERNATIONAL PEACE GARDEN ROAD LOOP US		CCC SMALL CULVERT

32RO00018	RO		INTERNATIONAL PEACE GARDEN ROAD LOOP US		CCC STONE/TIMBER BRIDGE
32RO00018	RO		INTERNATIONAL PEACE GARDEN ROAD LOOP US		SMALL CULVERT
32RO00022	RO		INTERNATIONAL PEACE GARDEN ROAD LOOP US		99 - STONE CULVERT
32RO00050	RO		ST JOHN BORDER INSPECTION STATION	1931	JAMES A WETMORE, TREASURY; OFFICE OF THE SUPERVISING ARCHITECT
32RO00064	RO	BELCOURT	BUILDING 00066-0 - HOUSE	1939	
32RO	RO	ST JOHN	SCHOOL BUILDING	1936	PWA/WPA
32RV00136	RV		SHERWOOD BORDER INSPECTION STATION	1937	OFFICE OF THE SUPERVISING ARCHITECT
32RV00216	RV		RIVER GAUGING STATION	1941	
32RV00252	RV		UPPER SOURIS HDQTRS	1935	
32RV00252	RV		UPPER SOURIS HDQTRS	1938	FEATURE = BOAT/PUMP HOUSE
32RV00252	RV		UPPER SOURIS HDQTRS	1935	
32RV00256	RV	MOHALL	RENVILLE COUNTY COURTHOUSE	1936	MOLANDER; SITE UNCHANGED
32RV00276	RV		SHERWOOD WPA DAM	1937	WPA DAM
32RY00023	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	SENTRY BOXES		CCC SENTRY BOXES
32RY00024	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	CAMP GRAFTON	1935	GUARD HOUSE
32RY00030	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	ENTRY GATEPOSTS	1935	
32RY00032	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	CAMP GRAFTON	1940	BATH HOUSE/LATRINE
32RY00035	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	EDWARDS HOUSE	1940	BACKYARD BARBEQUE
32RY00035	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	EDWARDS HOUSE	1940	CCC STONE CHALET
32RY00035	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	EDWARDS HOUSE	1940	CISTERN
32RY00035	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	EDWARDS HOUSE		CCC STONE FENCE
32RY00036	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	KITCHEN/MESS HALL	1941	
32RY00037	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	KITCHEN/MESS HALL	1941	
32RY00038	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	KITCHEN/MESS HALL	1941	
32RY00039	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	KITCHEN/MESS HALL, CAMP GRAFTON	1941	
32RY00040	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	KITCHEN/MESS HALL	1941	
32RY00041	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	POST EXCHANGE	1941	
32RY00045	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	OLD CUSTODIANS RES. CAMP GRAFTON		
32RY00047	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	NEW CUSTODIAN RES. CAMP GRAFTON	1941	FIELD INVESTIGATOR RECOMMENDS NOT ELIGIBLE FOR NRHP
32RY00048	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	BATH HOUSE/ENLISTED MEN'S LATRINE	1940	BATH HOUSE/LATRINE
32RY00049	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	GARAGE & EQUIPMENT	1941	

32RY00050	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	WAREHOUSE	1941	
32RY00051	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	WATER TOWER	1941	
32RY00052	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	GATEPOSTS		GATEPOSTS
32RY00101	RY	PENN	PENN GYMNASIUM		GYMNASIUM/TOWN HALL
32RY00152	RY	CHURCHS FERRY	SCHOOL	1936	E W MOLANDER
32RY00192	RY	DEVILS LAKE	ANDERSON HOUSE	1940	OUTHOUSE
32RY00356	RY	DEVILS LAKE	CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL	1936	MARSHALL AND FISHER
32RY00362	RY	PENN	RAMSEY CO SHOP #4 PENN, ND		
32RY00391	RY			1935	
32RY00450	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	CAMP GRAFTON	1941	FRANK ANDERS
32RY00451	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	CAMP GRAFTON	1941	
32RY00452	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	CAMP GRAFTON	1941	
32RY00453	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	CAMP GRAFTON	1940	
32RY00454	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	CAMP GRAFTON	1940	
32RY00456	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	CAMP GRAFTON	1941	
32RY00457	RY	CAMP GRAFTON	CAMP GRAFTON	1941	
32RY00515	RY	DEVILS LAKE	RESIDENCE		
32RY00523	RY	DEVILS LAKE	MEMORIAL BUILDING AND ARMORY	1934	JOHN MARSHALL
32RY00724	RY	DEVILS LAKE	SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF		LAUNDRY
32RY00724	RY	DEVILS LAKE	SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF		SCHOOL OF THE DEAF
32RY00724	RY	DEVILS LAKE	SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF		SCHOOL OF THE DEAF
32RY00724	RY	DEVILS LAKE	SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF		PLAYHOUSE
32RY00724	RY	DEVILS LAKE	SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF		
32RY00724	RY	DEVILS LAKE	SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF		
32RY00724	RY	DEVILS LAKE	SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF		
32RY00724	RY	DEVILS LAKE	SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF		
32RY00724	RY	DEVILS LAKE	SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF		
32SH00546	SH	DENHOFF	DENHOFF SCHOOL		
32SH00602	SH	GOODRICH	GOODRICH CITY HALL	1934	
32SH00668	SH	MCCLUSKY	SHERIDAN CO COURTHOUSE	1939	IRA RUSH; ARCHITECT
32SI00042	SI		EARTHEN DAM & SPILLWAY		
32SI00084	SI	FORT YATES	STANDING ROCK RESERVATION	1938, 1940	DETERMINED INELIGIBLE; LOST INTEGRITY
32SI00231	SI	FORT YATES	FORMER BIA BUILDING	1931	BIA OFFICE BLDG

32SI00232	SI	FORT YATES		1940	BIA NURSES RESIDENCE; DEMOLISHED 2001
32SK00551	SK	DICKINSON	STARK COUNTY COURTHOUSE	1936	DA=WM. KURKE/BUI=JONASON
32SK00832	SK	LEFOR	HIGHWAY MAINTENANCE BUILDING	1934	
32SK00838	SK	DICKINSON	DICKINSON STATE UNIVERSITY	1931	IRA L RUSH
32SK00838	SK	DICKINSON	DICKINSON STATE UNIVERSITY	1937	
32SK00838	SK	DICKINSON	DICKINSON STATE UNIVERSITY	1941	STONE FENCE
32SK00858	SK		BNRR UNDERPASS		
32SK00860	SK		BULL CREEK		WPA
32SK00866	SK		GREEN RIVER BRIDGE		WARREN PONY TRUSS
32SK00891	SK	RICHARDTON	CENTRAL BEER PARLOR	1933	
32SK00900	SK	RICHARDTON	WPA BANDSTAND	1938	WPA
32SK00916	SK			1934	
32SKX0142	SK	BELFIELD	CITY HALL?	1936	
32SL00112	SL		STEWART LAKE PICNIC		
32SLX0040	SL	MARMARTH			
32SN00171	SN		MIDLAND CONTINENTAL OVERPASS		NO CHANGE NOTED
32SN00315	SN		ARROWWOOD DAM	1937	
32SN00316	SN		JIM DAM	1937	
32SN00317	SN		DEPUY DAM		
32SN00318	SN		RIDEN CHANNEL PLUG		
32SN00340	SN		ARROWWOOD HEADQUARTERS	1935	
32SN00341	SN		SECONDARY PUMPHOUSE	1935	CCC?
32SN00688	SN	JAMESTOWN	ND STATE HOSPITAL	1931	ERNEST R BOYD
32SN00688	SN	JAMESTOWN	ND STATE HOSPITAL	1935	
32SN00688	SN	JAMESTOWN	ND STATE HOSPITAL	1937	PWA; WILLIAM F KURKE
32SN00688	SN	JAMESTOWN	ND STATE HOSPITAL	1938	ERNEST R BOYD
32SN00688	SN	JAMESTOWN	ND STATE HOSPITAL	1940	
32SN00688	SN	JAMESTOWN	ND STATE HOSPITAL	1941	FEATURE 9A
32SN	SN	MEDINA	CITY AUDITORIUM/ COMMUNITY BUILDING	1939	WPA; GILBERT R HORTON
32ST00088	ST	HOPE	AUDITORIUM	1933	WPA
32ST00172	ST		GREENVIEW DAM	1935	WPA PROJECT
32ST00844	ST	FINLEY	STEELE COUNTY COURTHOUSE		

32STX0035	ST			1938	
32TO	TO	CANDO	SCHOOL BUILDING	1937	JOSEPH BELL DEREMER
32TO00041	TO			1938	BRIDGE
32TO	TO	CANDO	WAR MEM BLDG & AUDITORIUM	1938	
32TR00117	TR	PORTLAND	VIKING TOWNSHIP	1939	GYMNASIUM/DORM
32TR00663	TR	CLIFFORD	NORMAN LUTHERAN CHURCH	1935	SCHOOL
32TR00696	TR		RED RIVER	1939	
32TR0	TR	CUMMINGS	RED RIVER VALLEY FARMS	1939	NDRRC GOVERNMENT FARMS; SCATTERED SITES
32TR00706	TR	GALESBURG	BRIDGE	1936	
32TR00707	TR		CALVARY CEMETERY		
32TR00709	TR		BRIDGE	1936	STEEL STRINGER BRIDGE; REPLACED IN 2002
32TR00751	TR			1937	TIMBER STRINGER BRIDGE
32WA00035	WA		BRIDGE	1940	WOOD DECK
32WA00036	WA		BRIDGE	1942	
32WA00043	WA		BRIDGE		
32WA00158	WA		RED RIVER	1939	MN & ND HWY DEPTS
32WA00198	WA	GRAFTON	KOSMATKA FARM	1938	
32WA00201	WA	WALSHVILLE TWP	ZOLA FARM		
32WA00209	WA		BRIDGE	1930	
32WA00249	WA		BRIDGE	1940	STEEL STRINGER BRIDGE; SEE ALSO 32PB203
32WA00417	WA	GRAFTON	GRAFTON CITY HALL	1939	
32WA00464	WA	GRAFTON	GRAFTON STATE SCHOOL	1937	E W MOLANDER
32WA00464	WA	GRAFTON	GRAFTON STATE SCHOOL	1938	THEO B WELLS
32WA00500	WA	GRAFTON	CHASE SCHOOL	1939	
32WA00502	WA	GRAFTON	WALSH COUNTY COURTHOUSE	1940	THO B WELLS
32WA00526	WA	GRAFTON	GRAFTON POST OFFICE	1932	COLONIAL REVIVAL ELEMENT
32WA00531	WA	GRAFTON	CENTRAL SCHOOL	1935	JOHN MARSHALL
32WA00680	WA	GRAFTON	WALSH COUNTY GARAGE		
32WA	WA	PARK RIVER	HIGH SCHOOL AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	1939	JOSEPH BELL DEREMER
32WA00795	WA	PARK RIVER	CITY AUDITORIUM	1939	
	WA	EDINBURG	CITY AUDITORIUM	1939	WPA; COMPATIBLE RENOVATIONS
32WAX0213	WA	EDINBURG	CITY HALL & POST OFFICE	1938	WPA
32WD	WD	BURLINGTON	MEMORIAL PARK AND BURLINGTON HOMES	1938	105+ STRUCTURES; POTENTIAL DISTRICT? RA/NDRFC; RITTERBUSH BROS.

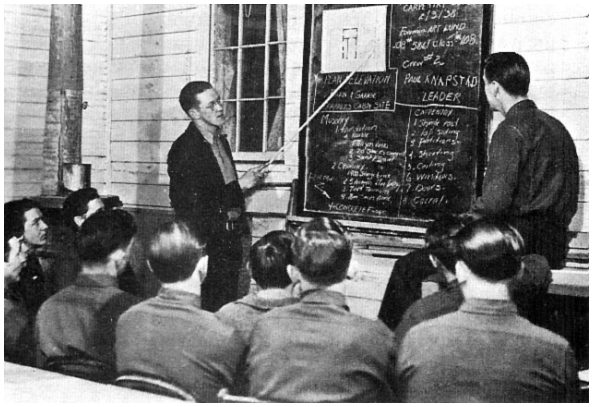
32WD	WD	BURLINGTON	IRRIGATION; WATER CONTROL FEATURES	1938	
32WD00056	WD		BOY SCOUT CAMP		
32WD00060	WD		UPPER SOURIS DAM 83	1936	LINEAR SHAPE
32WD00061	WD		UPPER SOURIS DAM 87	1936	LINEAR SHAPE
32WD00062	WD		UPPER SOURIS DAM 96	1936	
32WD00085	WD		DSL FENCE		
32WD00088	WD		DES LACS HEADQUARTER	1935	
32WD00122	WD	MINOT	SOURIS RIVER BNRR		
32WD00125	WD	MINOT	SOURIS RIVER 2	1939	FED EMERGENCY ADMIN; CONVERTED TO PED. USE
32WD00127	WD		MOUSE RIVER TIMBER		
32WD00129	WD		MOUSE RIVER		FARGO BRIDGE & IRON CO; ALSO SEE 32MH138 (153-80-07)
32WD00348	WD	CARPIO	FIRE STATION/CITY HALL		FIRE STATION/CITY HALL
32WD00413	WD		CCC CAMP MAUREK		3 WORKSHOPS; EXPLOSIVE STORAGE BOX
32WD00468	WD	MINOT	HIGH SCHOOL	1940	COMPATIBLE TO ORIG BLDG
32WD00969	WD	MINOT	CORBETT FIELD		BALL FIELD & STADIUM
32WD00974	WD	MINOT	BN VIADUCT AT MAIN		VIADUCT OVER GN RR
32WD01537	WD		DAM		
32WD01538	WD	KENMARE			
32WD01601	WD		DISTRICT WAREHOUSE	1937	CCC
32WD01602	WD		NIOBE LOADING RAMP		CCC
32WD01603	WD		DAM 4 LOADING RAMP	1938	CCC
32WD01605	WD		RIVER VIEW RAMP		CCC
32WD01606	WD		USR INCINERATOR	1938	AMOS B EMERY
32WD01624	WD		TASKERS COULEE PICNIC SHELTER	1938	CCC
32WD01683	WD		DAM 83 POOL C WCS	1937	
32WD01700	WD	MINOT	MINOT COUNTRY CLUB	1929	EDWIN W MOLANDER, ARCHITECT
32WE	WE	FESSENDEN	WELLS CO. FAIRGROUND; FESTIVAL HALL		WPA; E.W. VANCURA?
32WE	WE	CATHAY	CATHAY SCHOOL		
32WI00833	WI	WHEELOCK	US POST OFFICE		
32WI	WI	ALAMO	RURAL SCHOOL BUILDING	1936	PWA
32WI	WI	EPPING	SCHOOL BUILDING	1936	PWA
32WI	WI	RAY	RAY ATHLETIC FIELD		

32WI00471	WI	RAY	RAY WATER TOWER	1938	
32WI00552	WI	WILLISTON			JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
32WI00579	WI	WILLISTON			ARBOR CRTYPE
32WI00631	WI	WILLISTON			SCREENED PICNIC SHELTER
32WI00768	WI	WILLISTON			SWIMMING POOL BUILDING
32WI00773	WI	WILLISTON			WATER PUMPING PLANT
32WI00833	WI	WHEELOCK	US POST OFFICE		

A. original CCC tent camp at Medora, (1934)

B. CCC company being transported locally by construction work trucks, from Medora train station and camp sites to project sites

C. CCC permanent camp at Medora, (ca. 1936)



D. Educational activity at CCC camp, Mohall, ND (from Lacy; p.41).

Fig. 20: Historic photos of jobsite work conditions at Medora CCC camp, (1934-1939).
Selected images reporoduced from the private collections of Weldon and Marjorie Gratton, Sentinel Butte, ND, except for lower right, "CCC camp at Mohall, ND"; as reproduced in Leslie A. Lacy, *The Soil Soldiers*; p.41.

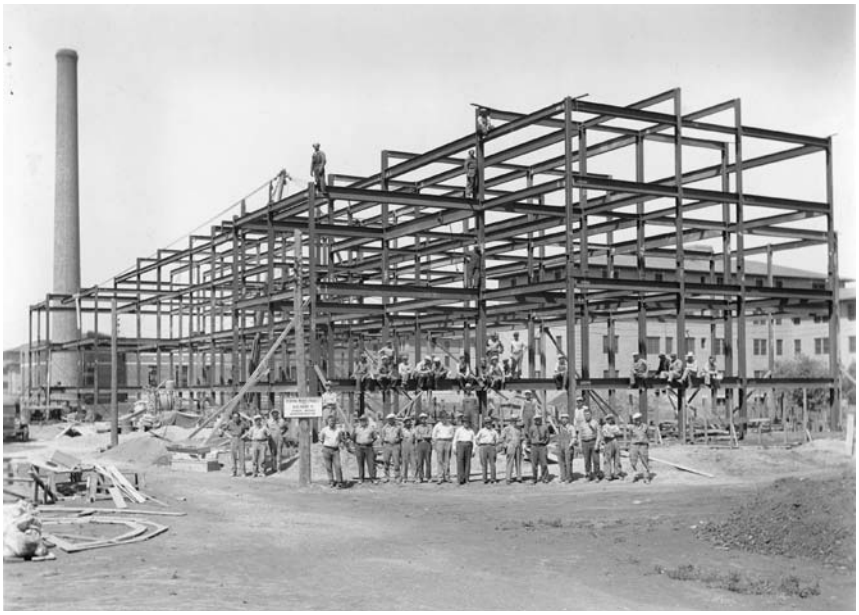


Fig. 21: Historic photos of jobsite work conditions;
top: Dormitory construction at Grafton State School for the Feebleminded (1936), and
lower: Sunnyside Grade School, Minot, ND (1938-39)
Selected images reproduced from papers and records of Edwin W. Molander,
reproduced courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, State Historic Preservation Office

A. Addition to VA Building 1 infirmary, under construction, (PWA 1934)

B. VA Building 1 infirmary under construction; note PWA project office on-site, (1934).

C. VA Building 9 nearing completion; (PWA, ca. 1943)

Fig. 22: Historic photos of jobsite work conditions at Fargo VA Hospital (PWA and WPA projects, 1933-1942). Selected images reproduced from the records of Fargo VA Medical Center Division of Engineering

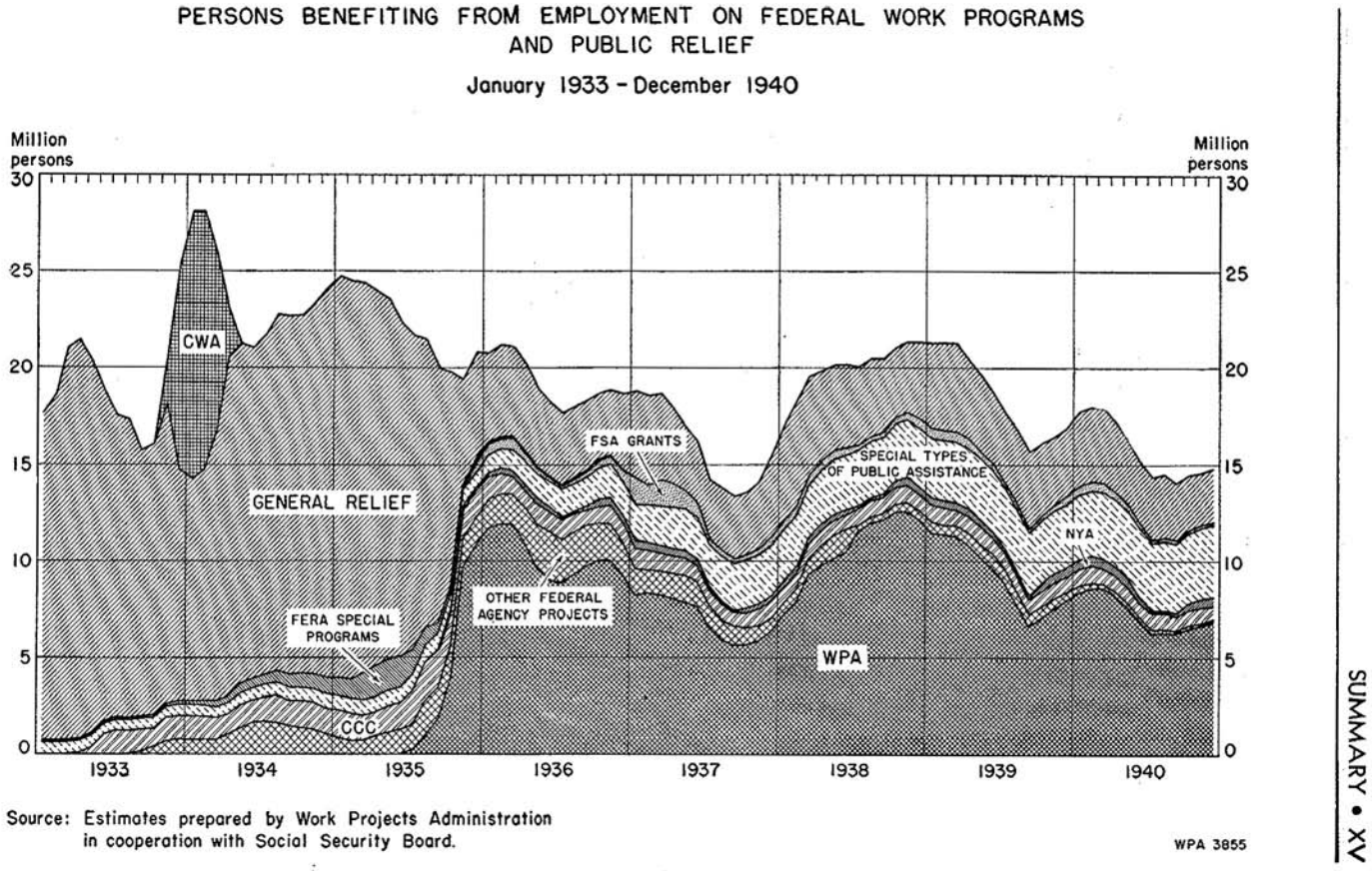


Fig. 23: Summary graph of work relief program results, all programs 1933-1940
(reproduced from Work Projects Administration Division of Research, *Federal Work, Security, and Relief Programs*. (1941).; p.15.

Chronology; "North Dakota Depression-Era Work Relief Construction, 1931-1943" MPDF

Date	*National & international events*		*Events in North Dakota*	*Notable/representative federal relief projects completed in ND*
1928		**1928**		
		July 1928	NPS Director Stephen Mather visits ND Badlands on inspection tour for potential park site	
6 November	FDR elected as Governor of New York. Herbert Hoover elected US President		Non-Partisan League (NPL) realigned from Socialist orientation toward moderate Republican	
1929		**1929**		
1 January	FDR inaugurated as Governor.		First year of 9-year drought on northern Plains	
4 March	Hoover inaugurated as President.		Bank of ND forecloses on 8.3% of farm mortgages	
15 June	Agricultural Marketing Act established Federal Farm Board.			Phelps Wyman, Landscape Architect from Milwaukee submits GNDA recommendation for NPS park in ND Badlands
24 October	'Black Thursday' on Wall Street.			
29 October	'Black Tuesday' with 16.5 million shares sold on Wall Street.			
1930		**1930**		*(1930 projects initiated under the Hoover administration)*
17 June	Smoot—Hawley Act imposed high tariffs on imports.		Conservative IVA candidate George F. Schafer re-elected ND governor	McHenry County WWI War Memorial Building, dedicated at Towner
11 December	Failure of the Bank of the United States.	December 1930	ND State Capitol Bldg. destroyed by fire	
1931		**1931**		*(1931 projects initiated under the Hoover administration)*
17 August	President Hoover forms Organization for Unemployed Relief Reform		US Congress appropriates $15,000 for Denbigh Forestry research station	Planning began for Holabird & Root design of new ND state capitol building (Wm Kurke & J.B. DeRemer associate architects)
September	Japan invaded Manchuria			
18 September	New York state passed State Unemployment Relief Act			Construction begins on Lakota School
21 September	UK abandoned the gold standard	December 1931	Liberal NPL leader Wm. Lemke visits NY Governor FDR in Albany to discuss support	
1932		**1932**		**1932**
22 January	Congress authorized the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC)	March 1932	FDR launched candidacy for president with nomination in ND primary	
27 June – 2 July	Democratic National Convention in Chicago	June 1932	Wheat sold on national market for record low 38-cents a bushel	
	FDR made his famous "New Deal" speech		FDR western states strategy helps him gain popular vote for presidency	
16 July	RFC authorized to lend $300-million to states for relief and given further $1.5-billion for public works			Pembina Post Office & Customs Station Grafton Post Office completed
8 November	FDR elected US President with 22.8-million votes to Hoover's 15.8-million	November 1932	NPL candidate Wm. Langer elected over IVA candidate George F. Shafer for ND governor	

Date	*National & international events*		*Events in North Dakota*	*Notable/representative federal relief projects completed in ND*
1933		**1933**		**1933**
30 January	Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of Germany	January 1933	Governor Langer appointed state Supreme Court Judge A.M. Christianson to chair ND state Emergency Relief Committee	
January - March	Worsening financial panic. 34 states close their banks; 9 others impose tight restrictions			Lakota High School dedicated Carrington Post Office completed
4 March	FDR inaugurated President; unpleasant car ride with Hoover to inaugural	4 March	Gov. Langer proclaimed state bank holiday to prevent farm foreclosures	
5-9 March	FDR called a special session of Congress to meet; on March 9 FDR declared a 4-day national bank holiday			
	THE FIRST HUNDRED DAYS			
9 March	Emergency Banking Relief Act passed in a single day			
12 March	The first of FDR's "Fireside Chats"			
22 March	Beer-Wine Revenue Act			
27 March	Farm Credit Administration created by executive order to consolidate all federal agricultural credt agencies			
31 March	Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) created		CCC headquarters established in Bismarck	
6 April	Black Bill (30-hour week) passed by Congress			Bottineau CCC camp begins Peace Garden work
19 April	US taken off the Gold standard			
12 May	Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) under Henry Wallace; and Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) authorized			Devils Lake & Williston CCC camps established Dickinson & Jamestown CCC camps established
18 May	Tennesee Valley (Authority) Act			
27 May	Federal Securities Act			
13 June	Home Owners Refinancing Act	June 1933	State emergency relief committee began receiving funds from Harry Hopkins' FERA	
16 June	Banking Act			
16 June	Farm Credit Act enabled Farm Credit Administration (FCA) to refinance farm mortgages	June 1933	Harry Hopkins called all state work relief administrators to Washington to promote federally supported relief grant applications	
16 June	National Industrial Recovery Act; Public Works Administration (PWA) established under Harold Ickes			
16 June	Congress adjourned			
	END OF FIRST HUNDRED DAYS			
		July 1933	FERA head Hopkins dispatched Lorena Hickok to report firsthand observations of depressed Great Plains conditions, starting with ND	

Date	*National & international events*		*Events in North Dakota*	*Notable/representative federal relief projects completed in ND*
1933		**1933**		**1933**
12 June – 27 July	London Economic Conference			
5 July	FDR sent message that effectively sabotaged London Economic Conference (see F. Venn)	Oct. to Nov. 1933	Lorena Hickok toured ND and reported dire conditions to Hopkins and Eleanor Roosevelt	
14 July	Nazi Party declared to be the only legal political party in Germany	September 1933	Governor Langer implemented ND wheat embargo	
October	Germany withdrew from League of Nations	October 1933	ND Grasshopper Control Committee implemented using CCC pest control resources	
8 November	Civil Works Administration (CWA) created; ended March 1934			Design work began for Stark County Courthouse; Dickinson (Wm. Kurke, Architect)
1934		**1934**		**1934**
31 January	Farm Mortgage Refinancing Act	March 1, 1934	Hopkins takes federal relief administrative authority away from ND state emergency committee	Fargo VA Building 1 infirmary completed
7 April	Jones-Connally Relief Act extended AAA provisions to barley, rye, cattle commodities	March 15	CWA discontinued in ND; pending projects taken over by FERA (21,000 ND relief workers)	Jamestown McElroy Park Auditorium (PWA) Hettinger County Courthouse at Mott (PWA)
April 1934	Bankhead Act (Cotton Control Act)	April 1934	20% of all North Dakotans receiving federal relief	Devils Lake War Memorial (PWA)
16 April	Johnson-O'Malley Act reforms federal health/education benefits to Native Americans	June 1934	35% to 40% of North Dakotans surviving on relief payments	Emmons County Courthouse at Linton (PWA) Water control features near Burlington (FERA/CWA)
June 1934	US Congress passed Frazier-Lemke Bankruptcy Act	June 1934	Wm. Langer sentenced to federal penetentiary for alleged illegal fundraising; later cleared	Land acquired for Burlington Subsistence Homes project (CWA)
6 June	Securities and Exchange Commssion created	July 17	Gov. Langer removed from office by state Supreme Court due to felony conviction; Lt. Gove. Ole H. Oleson becomes ND Governor	Bismarck Central High School (CWA/PWA) Alkabo School, Divide County dedicated (FERA/CWA); E.W. Molander, architect)
18 June	Wheeler-Howard Indian Reorganization Act	July 24	NPS landscape architect Weldon Gratton arrived in Medora	CCC camp established at Medora to construct T.Roosevelt Memorial Park South Unit
19 June	Silver Purchase Act Taylor Grazing Act	July 1934	SHSND Superintendent Russell Reid initiated requests for federal relief assistance to acquire land & develop state parks & historic sites	CCC camps established at Wishek & Park River CCC park development projects at Bismarck, Jamestown, Larimore, Carrington, Fargo
28 June	National Housing Act enacted; Federal Housing Administration (FHA) established	July 24, 1934	FDR Executive Order created Prairie States Forestry Project (PSFP); Joseph Stoekeler arrived at Denbigh Experimental Forest; August 1934	WWI veterans began CCC work on stone museum building at Ft. Lincoln south of Mandan
22 August	The American Liberty League formed	Sept.-Oct. 1934	NPL leaders support Thomas H. Moodie for Democratic governor candidate, over Langer's wife Lydia	CCC camp SP-7 established near Watford City to begin work on TR North Unit
30 August	US Budget Director Lewis Douglas resigned over FDR's fiscal policies	October 1934	Land for T.Roosevelt Park purchased with National industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) funds	CCC Indian Division organized at Turtle Mountain reservation
October 1934	Bureau of Air Commerce established under authority of Civil Aeronautics Branch to cooperate on aid to airports			Denbigh Experimental Forest Station formed; 5-year long major campaign begun to plant shelterbelts for erosion control (CCC and WPA)
6 November	Congressional mid-term elections gave Democrats an increased majority	November 1934	Thomas Moodie elected ND governor	J. Clark Salyers, II began surveying requirements for wildlife biological survey and refuge system (CCC and Dept of Interior)
11 November	Rev. Charles Coughlin formed National Union for Social Justice	Nov.-Dec.	FERA continued rural direct relief programs	

Date	*National & international events*		*Events in North Dakota*	*Notable/representative federal relief projects completed in ND*
1935		**1935**		**1935**
4 January	FDR's State of the Union message called for broad social reform	2 February	ND State Supreme Court disqualified Moodie as governor due to residency challenge; Lt. Gov. Walter Welford becomes 4th ND governor in 7-months	
8 April	Emergency Relief Appropriations Act appropriated $5-billion for federal relief; FDR created Works Progress Administration (WPA)	April 1935	Thomas Moodie appointed state WPA administrator by FDR	Oakes Post Office Grafton Telephone Exchange Building Hannaford School Auditorium (PWA) Grafton Public School (PWA)
27 April	Soil Conservation Act	May 1935	ND State Planning Board began implementing planning strategies for land use, soil conservation, shelterbelts, irrigation & water	Burlington Subsistence Homesteads Project construction of 35 homes initiated (FERA and RA), through ND RRC using PWA resettlement funds
1 May	Resettlement Administration (RA) formed			
11 May	Rural Electrification Administration (REA) created			Turtle River State Park & Larimore CCC camps CCC Soil Conservation projects at New England, Lakota, Park River
27 May	In a 9-0 decision, the US Supreme Court declared National Recovery Administration (NRA) unconstitutional			Bismarck CCC headquaretsr camp established at old Fort Lincoln (Bismarck)
	SECOND HUNDRED DAYS			Several ND state parks & historic sites dedicated
19 June	FDR asks Congress for increased inheritance and income taxes			CCC forestry projects at Bottineau, Kenmare, Mohall, Foxholm
26 June	National Youth Administration (NYA) created under WPA	July 1935 to June 1942	WPA built 721 bridges & viaducts in ND; 503 new public buildings, 61 building additions, 680 outdoor recreation facilities	Watford City CCC camp and T.Roosevelt Recreation Demonstration Area (North Unit) established
5 July	National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act)			
14 August	Social Security Act			Crystal Springs Roadside Fountain (WPA)
22 August	Public Utility Holding Company Act			
23 August	Banking Act strengthened hand of Federal Reserve Board over regional banks			Grand Forks Lincoln Park Ski Jump ramp Grafton Public School (PWA) Dickinson Public School (PWA)
30 August	Revenue Act (Wealth Tax Act) increased taxes			
31 August	First-Neutrality Act passed			
	END OF SECOND HUNDRED DAYS			
8 September	Huey Long assassinated			
9 November	Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) formed	15 December	FERA rural relief projects discontinued in ND; RA/FSA take over rural relief; WPA provides for Work relief to "employables other than farmers"	
23 December	FDR ordered dissolution of National Recovery Administration (NRA)	December 1935	Wm. Langer ruled innocent of conspiracy and perjury charges	

Date	*National & international events*		*Events in North Dakota*	*Notable/representative federal relief projects completed in ND*
1936		**1936**		**1936**
6 January	US Supreme Court declared AAA to be unconstitutional			Cavalier County Courthouse, Langdon Sunnyside Grade School, Minot (PWA)
17 February	Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) upheld by Supreme Court	February 1936	Pare Lorentz' documentary film *The Plow That Broke the Plains* was released	Grand Forks Fairgrounds Grandstand (WPA) GF UND Winter Sports Building (PWA)
29 February	Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act	April 1936	FDR appoints Great Plains Committee to plan for "more efficient utilization" of GP resources	State Mental Hospital Ward Bldg.; Jamestown (PWA)
7 March	German Troops reoccupied the Rhineland			SanHaven Infirmary (PWA)
May	Italy conquered Ethiopia			Dormitory at State School in Grafton (PWA)
1 June	US Supreme Court reaffirms denial to NY state of the right to fix minimum wages for women and children	October 1936	61,000 North Dakotans employed on WPA projects	Minot Municipal Building (PWA) Stone entry gates at GF Memorial Park cemetery (WPA)
July 1936	Spanish Civil War began			Hebron Public School (PWA)
3 November	FDR re-elected by a landslide, with 27.5-million votes to Alf Landon's 16.7-million	3 November	Independent candidate Wm. Langer re-elected ND Governor over Democrat John Moses and Republican Welford	Minot City Auditorium (PWA) Jamestown Armory Jamestown City Auditorium
		3 November	Wm. Lemke ran for US President under Union party; FDR carried North Dakota	Stark County Courthouse at Dickinson dedicated (FERA/PWA)
1937		**1937**		**1937**
6 January	FDR's annual message to Congress attacked Judicial branch of government			Fairgrounds Auditorium, Fessenden
20 January	FDR's second inaugural address stressed social reform	April 1936 to October 1938	Design and implementation construction work continued at state parks and historic sites under SHSND sponsorship (CCC and WPA projects)	ND Soldiers Home improvements, Lisbon Edgeley Community Building
5 February	FDR proposed a bill to reform the US Supreme Court			Valley City Armory (WPA) Pioneer Park amphitheater Valley City (WPA)
29 March	Supreme Court upheld Washington state minimum wage law	May 1937	Dr. Joseph Stoeckeler published analyisis of Paririe States shelterbelt feasibility	Mandan War Memorial Building (WPA) Fargo Ice Arena (WPA)
12 April	Supreme Court upheld National Labor Relations Act			GF Central High School Auditorium (WPA) Devils Lake High School (PWA)
18 May	Justice Van Devanter announced his retirement from the Supreme Court	22 June	*GF Herald* published report on "Four Years of PWA activity in ND"	Willow City Public School (PWA) Venturia Community Building (WPA)
24 May	Supreme Court upheld Social Security Act			Renville County Courthouse, Mohall
July 1937	Japan invaded mainland China	23 July	Minneapolis grain dealers dropped wheat price by 52-cents/bushel overnight; Langer responded by offering higher price at State Mill & Elevator	GF Calvary Cemetery fieldstone Chapel (WPA) GF UND FERA Radio Broadcast facility
22 July	Senate finally killed the 'court-packing' bill	29 July	FSA assumed ownership of Burlington Homes project	New England War Memorial Building (PWA) Langdon Post Office dedicated
22 July	Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenancy Act created Farm Security Administration (FSA)	29 July	Langer-appointed State Board of Administration dismissed 7 faculty from NDAC; North Central Association immediately withdrew accreditation; faculty restored June 1, 1939 by new Gov. Moses	Scenic overlook shelterhouse completed in T.Roosevelt North Unit (NPS/CCC)
August 1937	Economy stalls; US back into recession	August 1937	WPA administrator T. Moodie reported to FDR on WPA expenditures and work relief success in ND	Work commenced on DeMores Memorial Park, in Medora
November 1937	Special session of US Congress blocked economic economic reform measures	4 October	FDR Presidential entourage visits Devils Lake & Grand Forks by train; GF parade route w/ Langer	GF State Fairgorunds Grandstand dedicated by FDR (WPA)

Date	*National & international events*		*Events in North Dakota*	*Notable/representative federal relief projects completed in ND*
1938		**1938**		**1938**
3 January	FDR's State of the Union promised a special monopoly message to Congress			
16 February	Second Agricultural Adjustment Act			Grafton Municipal Building (PWA)
29 April	FDR asked Congress for an investigation of the concentration of economic power			Steele County Courthouse, Finley (WPA)
27 May	The Revenue Act of 1938 became law without the President's signature, reducing taxes on large corporations	May 1938	13,000 North Dakotans working on WPA projects, 4,000 with CCC, 2500 North Dakota families receiving FSA grants	Lidgerwood School Auditorium (WPA) Rogers School Auditorium Fieldstone Civic Auditorium, Wishek
16 June	Temporary National Economic Committee was set up to investigate monopolies	June 1938	State Board of Higher Education created in North Dakota special election	Construction begun for National Fish Hatchery complex at Valley City
24 June	US Congress passed Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act	June 1938	Ethel Schlasinger's *North Dakota: A Guide to the Northern Prairie State* published by WPA Federal Writer's Project	Substantial progress on Int'l Peace Garden, T.Roosevelt Park, Ft. A. Lincoln, Lake Metigoshe, Turtle River S.P., Ft. Abercrombie, Chateau DeMores
25 June	Fair Labor Standards Act			Hettinger Post Office
25 June	Congress voted $3.75-billion for public works spending	June 1938	NPS/CCC developed 16 new state parks and improved 5 others under Russell Reid initiative	Ransom County Courthouse, Lisbon (WPA)
July	FDR launched purge of conservative Democrats			Valley City Auditorium (PWA); Camp Grafton stonework began (CCC/WPA)
29 September	Munich conference held on Czechoslovakia question	September 1938	ND wheat sold on national markets for 53-cents/ bushel	Red River Valley resettlement farms, Traill County
October	Civil Aeronautics Administration established to implement improvements for commercial and military uses of airports nationwide			140 WPA workers based at Peaceful Valley Ranch in T.Roosevelt South Unit; WPA work at Chateau and DeMores Memorial Park near completion
8 November	Repubicans made gains in mid-term elections	8 November	Gerald Nye defeated Wm. Langer for US senate; broad coalition elected John Moses ND Governor	Work completed at Turtle River State Park (CCC/WPA)
1939		**1939**		**1939**
4 January	FDR's State of the Union focused on foreign affairs	February 1939	75% of Billings County residents received federal relief aid; largely farm drought relief grants	Edinburg City Hall (PWA) Edinburg City Auditorium (PWA/WPA)
16 March	German troops occupied Czechoslovakia			Dickey School Auditorium GF State Fairground stone entry gate (WPA)
3 April	Administrative Reorganization Act			NDSU C.I. Nelson Health Center, Fargo (WPA) Island Park Pool complex, Fargo (WPA)
30 June	Emergency Relief Appropriations Act	July 1939	ND state old-age pension initiative defeated in special election	Lisbon North Sheyene River Bridge Sheridan County Courthouse,McCluskey (PWA)
10 August	Amendment to Social Security Act, extending coverage but postponing increased labor taxes			Medina Auditorium & Community Bldg. (WPA) Steele Auditorium & Community Building (WPA) DeMores Memorial Park dedicated (WPA)
3 September	UK and France declared war on Germany	October 1939	CCC camps at T.Roosevelt South Unit discontinued	New Rockford Post Office Lisbon Post Office

Date	*National & international events*		*Events in North Dakota*	*ND federal relief projects completed*
1940		**1940**		**1940**
12 June	German army entered Paris			New Rockford School Auditorium Towner County Memorial Bldg., Cando (PWA) Rugby US Post Office dedicated
25 June	RFC authorized to finance construction of defense plants			Stone cottage completed at Camp Grafton (later renamedEdwards House) Edmore Auditorium & City Park (WPA)
5 November	FDR re-elected by 27.2-million votes to Wilkie's 22.3-million	5 November	John Moses re-elected ND Governor; Wm. Langer elected to US Senate; FDR failed to carry ND in Presidential election	CCC-ID Trenton-Buford irrigation project and National Fish Hatchery at Valley City completed Walsh County Courthouse, Grafton (WPA)
1941		**1941**		**1941**
6 January	President's annual message emphasized "Four Freedoms"			
11 March	Lend-Lease Act	June 1941	WPA work discontinued at T.Roosevelt North Unit	GF Riverside Park Pool & Bathhouse (WPA)
April-June	Office of Price Administration ; Fair Employment Practices Committee created			Grand Forks Airport Admin. Bldg. (WPA)
15 August	Atlantic Charter signed			
7 December 8 December	Japanese planes attacked Pearl Harbor; Congress declared war against Japan			
11December	Germany declared war on USA			
1942		**1942**		**1942**
12-16 January	War Labor Board; War Production Board created			Prairie States Forestry Project shelterbelt planting activities continued; $600,000 funding
2 October	Anti-Inflation Act			
3 October	Office of Economic Stabilization created			Valley City Airport Terminal (PWA)
1943		**1943**		
22 February	Revenue bill vetoed by FDR			Fargo VA Hospital Bldg. 9 completed
26 June	War Labor Disputes Act passed over FDR's veto			
1944		**1944**		
25 February	Congress overrides FDR veto of 1944 Revenue Act			
28 October	FDR Economic Bill of Rights speech			
7 November	FDR won fourth term with 25.6-million votes to Dewey's 22-million			
1945		**1945**		
12 April	FDR died; Truman became US President			
8 May	VE Day			
14 August	VJ-Day			
6 September	Truman called for a relaunch of New Deal reforms in message to Congress			
8 October	Truman called for Economic Bill of Rights			