

NEW DEAL WORK RELIEF
IN
ADAIR COUNTY, OKLAHOMA

By

LUKE WILLIAMS

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Northeastern State University

Tahlequah, Oklahoma

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Northeastern State University

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Thesis Approved:

Dr. William S. Bryans

Thesis Adviser

Dr. James L. Huston

Dr. Michael F. Logan

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Name: LUKE WILLIAMS

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Abstract:

This work examines the implementation, project output, and effectiveness of President Roosevelt's New Deal work relief programs in Adair County, Oklahoma, during the years 1933 to 1940. Additionally, this work compiles an inventory of the tangible results of work relief, which includes buildings and structures still in existence at the time of this writing and those no longer extant. Historians in the last few decades narrowed their focus of study of work relief from the national level to local levels. In keeping with this trend, this work analyzes New Deal work relief at the county level. No prior historical study of these events in Adair County exists. Upon inauguration as president, Roosevelt implemented his plans for a New Deal for the American people. This plan included the creation of several work relief programs aimed to provide immediate relief to the destitute. These programs provided employment to the needy, and, at the same time, increased national wealth by the creation and improvement of roads, public buildings, community sanitation, and soil conservation methods. This employment provided little more than subsistence level payments, so as to not compete with private employment. Also, work relief proved expensive, and program administrators maintained strict quota limits. Analysis of work relief program enrollments reveals that the percentage of Adair County's labor force enrolled in work relief exceeded percentages at the state and national levels. Compared to other areas, the citizens of Adair County received a fair share of New Deal Work programs. In addition, work relief programs provided long-term improvements within the county. The output of work relief updated the county's road infrastructure, provided new and improved public buildings, improved sanitation, and provided recreational facilities. Although New Deal work relief programs provided relief to a limited number of county inhabitants, these programs, through tangible work output, fostered a psychological uplift during the Depression. These projects permanently altered the county landscape and proved to be lasting reminders of the Roosevelt Administration's initiative to bring a New Deal to Adair County.

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INTRODUCTION

On March 4, 1933, Franklin Delano Roosevelt began his presidency amid unprecedented difficulties. The Great Depression debilitated the nation's industry and financial institutions. By early 1933, general business activity totaled less than 60 percent of the normal level. Unemployment increased daily, and the total unemployed approximated 26 percent of the nation's labor force. Assuming the presidency, Roosevelt acted decisively and quickly to implement plans for his New Deal for the American people. One initiative sought relief for millions of unemployed and destitute citizens nationwide through the creation of work relief programs. New Deal officials designed these programs to provide employment for the needy through the completion of certain public projects, such as construction, road improvement, and soil conservation. Earned wages through these programs usually amounted to slightly more than subsistence level.¹

Analysis of work relief within Adair County shows that these programs provided relief recipients within Adair County a fair share of the New Deal. When expressed simply as numbers, the quota of Adair County relief workers appears miniscule and

¹Harold Underwood Faulkner, *American Economic History*, 5th ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1943), 651; Frank W. Tuttle and Joseph M. Perry, *An Economic History of the United States* (Cincinnati, OH: South-Western Publishing, 1970), 616.

comprises a seemingly insignificant number of the county's total population. Relief programs often employed less than 5 percent of the total county population. However, when expressed as a percentage of the county's total gainful workers, analysis shows that relief workers within Adair County usually received comparable or greater opportunities for employment in New Deal programs than did inhabitants statewide or nationwide.

The Great Depression affected the inhabitants of Adair County differently than in many other areas of the state and nation. This difference resulted from several unique variables. Agriculture employed approximately 63 percent of the county's gainful workers in 1930. This group comprised by far the largest labor force within the county. In the early years of the Great Depression, unemployment in Adair County remained low due to the industriousness of self-sufficient farmers. However, as major drought diminished this advantage, the search for work relief increased as farmers scrambled to find sources of income separate from farming. Also, Native Americans comprised approximately 33 percent of the county population in 1930. Due to the failure of the Indian allotment policy earlier in the twentieth century, many of the county's Indians lived on submarginal land, which exacerbated hardships. Based upon the increased need of these groups, administrators of New Deal programs provided greater work opportunities. Combating the effects of intensifying drought, and the already prevalent condition of poverty, the New Deal provided immediate aid through work relief during this critical period.²

²U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population*, vol. 3, part 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1932), 558, 576.

In addition to providing payroll through work relief, New Deal programs successfully perpetuated the image that Roosevelt and his administration took action to combat unemployment. The President's decisiveness in the implementation of a variety of work relief efforts fostered within Adair County residents a psychological boost against the demoralizing effects of the Depression. The flurry of work relief activity enhanced the belief that New Deal officials sought solutions.

Work relief resulted in numerous benefits to the inhabitants of Adair County. These programs provided a source of income, although be it small, to county residents at a critical time. Payrolls relieved some of the burden that the depressed economy inflicted upon families within the area. Work relief earnings allowed the repayment of debts to local merchants. It also supplemented funds budgeted for groceries during times of drought when garden produce withered. Work relief programs also provided enrollees a chance to learn new skills through hands-on projects. Men learned carpentry, masonry, the operation of heavy machinery, and soil conservation techniques. Women improved their knowledge of home economics and child rearing. Most visibly, New Deal work relief programs altered the county's landscape through updates to infrastructure and the creation of long-term improvements. County citizens benefited from the durable improvements wrought by work projects. Work crews constructed miles of truck trails, roads, and bridges. This activity increased the ease of transportation, especially for farmers hauling produce and livestock from remote areas of the county. Roads, once impassible during wet seasons, became all-weather routes of transportation. Work crews also revamped school facilities throughout the county. For the first time in Adair County's history, students attended school in modern buildings. Sturdy, native-stone

school buildings replaced crowded, antiquated, and dilapidated frame buildings. These tangible results of work relief increased county wealth and provided lasting reminders of the Roosevelt Administration's initiative to bring a New Deal to Adair County.

In the decades following the New Deal, historians produced a number of works examining various aspects of federal work relief programs. These works often included a broad analysis of events at the national level.³ As the number of scholarly works increased, historians narrowed the focus of their study. This change resulted in works which analyzed New Deal relief at the regional, state, and local levels.⁴

³Anthony J. Badger, *FDR: The First Hundred Days* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2008); Ronald Edsforth, *The New Deal: America's Response to the Great Depression* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000); Calvin W. Gower, "The CCC Indian Division: Aid for Depressed Americans, 1933-1942," *Minnesota History* 43 (Spring 1972): 3-13; Michael Hiltzik, *The New Deal: A Modern History* (New York: Free Press, 2011); Harry L. Hopkins, *Spending to Save: The Complete Story of Relief* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1936); William Edward Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963); Betty Lindley and Ernest K. Lindley, *A New Deal for Youth: The Story of the National Youth Administration* (New York: Viking Press, 1938); Lewis Meriam, *Relief and Social Security* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1946); Donald L. Parman, "The Indian and the Civilian Conservation Corps," *Pacific Historical Review* 40 (February 1971): 39-56; Basil Rauch, *The History of the New Deal, 1933-1938* (New York: Creative Age Press, Inc, 1944); Bonnie Fox Schwartz, *The Civil Works Administration, 1933-1934: The Business of Emergency Employment in the New Deal* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984); Jeff Singleton, *The American Dole: Unemployment Relief and the Welfare State in the Great Depression* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2000); Forrest A. Walker, *The Civil Works Administration: An Experiment in Federal Work Relief, 1933-1934* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979).

⁴Marjorie Barton, *Leaning on a Legacy: The WPA in Oklahoma*, ed. Bob Burke (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Heritage Association, 2008); Keith L. Bryant, Jr., "Oklahoma and the New Deal," in *The New Deal: The State and Local Levels*, ed. John Braeman, Robert H. Bremner, and David Brody, vol. 2 (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1975); Roger Biles, *The South and the New Deal* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994); Randal Dean Ice, "Adult Education Programs of the New Deal: The Case of Oklahoma 1933-1942," (Master's thesis, Oklahoma State University, 1997); Timothy A. Posey, "The Impact of the New Deal on the City of Tulsa, Oklahoma:

The decision to analyze history at the local level provides a number of advantages. First, it highlights the importance of the individual. Second, local history is useful as a tool for comparison against national historic trends. This comparison either identifies similarities between national and local events or emphasizes differences between the two due to local variables. The study of local variations proves important to safeguard against the folly of generalizations in history.⁵ Third, the use of local history serves as a means of capturing the attention of the individual. This attraction occurs when historians make connections between events at the local level and those occurring in the larger context. A “sense of history” is gained at the “intersection of the intimate and the historical.”⁶ By using specific examples pertinent to the individual, history becomes relevant and meaningful.

This work continues the trend of analyzing history at the local level. In purpose, it attempts to analyze the implementation, project output, and results of various New Deal work relief programs at the county level, specifically in Adair County, Oklahoma. Additionally, this work strives to record the locations of the tangible output of work relief projects within Adair County. This listing includes buildings and structures still in existence at the time of this writing and those no longer extant. No previous study of the

How Significant Was It?” (Master’s thesis, Oklahoma State University, 1994); Bernard Sternsher, ed., *Hitting Home: The Great Depression in Town and Country* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970); Cecil L. Turner, “Oklahoma’s New Deal: Program and Reaction,” (Master’s thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1963).

⁵Bernard Sternsher, ed., *Hitting Home: The Great Depression in Town and Country* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), 38.

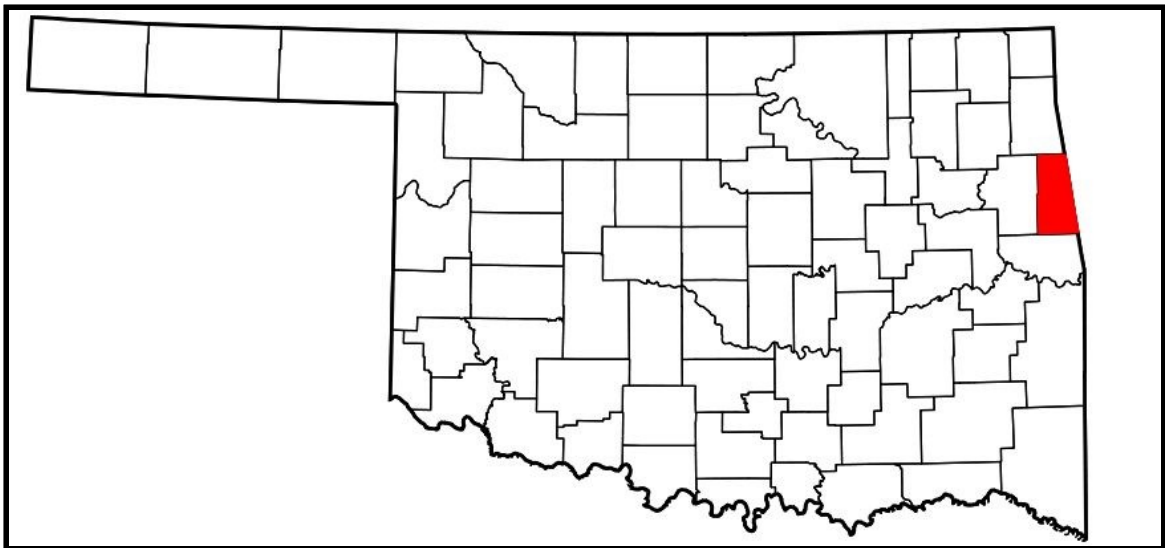
⁶David Glassberg, *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 6.

results of New Deal work relief in Adair County exists. A couple of previous works make only brief and partial record of New Deal projects completed in the county.⁷ This work endeavors to compile the most complete and extensive record of work relief projects within Adair County.

The scope of this work is the New Deal period. It begins with the first work relief programs established by Roosevelt in 1933, and extends to approximately 1940, when New Deal programs faced retrenchment. A brief analysis of the history of relief in the United States and an overview of President Hoover's relief efforts prepare an introduction to the chapters on general relief.

⁷Marjorie Barton, *Leaning on a Legacy: The WPA in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Heritage Association, 2008); Tanya Davis, Barry Thorne, Katja May, and W. David Baird, *Northeastern Oklahoma (Region 3) WPA Properties Nominated to the Oklahoma Landmarks Inventory* (Stillwater, OK: Oklahoma State University Department of History, 1985-1986).

Figure A. Geographic Location of Adair County, Oklahoma.



CHAPTER I

GENERAL WORK RELIEF: FERA & CWA

Unlike much of the nation's urban areas, unemployment caused by the Great Depression took a couple of years to intensify in Adair County, Oklahoma. In 1930, ninety-eight people within the county classified themselves as out of work and looking for a job. Forty additional people claimed to hold jobs, but stated that their employers laid them off without pay. Thus, less than only 3 percent of the able workforce in Adair County claimed to be unemployed. During the same year, approximately 63 percent of the county's gainful workers found employment within agriculture. This large number of agricultural workers found themselves to be more self-reliant than the populace in urban areas. Most farmers produced the foodstuffs needed for their own families' use. However, during years of intensifying drought in Adair County, especially 1934 and 1936, farmers lost this opportunity for resourcefulness. Unable to produce cash and subsistence crops, Adair County farmers turned to the federal government for help. As part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, two early programs tackled the growing problem of unemployment and its accompanying demoralization. These programs included the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), and the Civil

Works Administration (CWA). When compared to program enrollment statewide, the data suggests these programs provided work for a smaller percentage of the labor force within Adair County. This smaller percentage resulted from the actions of program administrators, who closely monitored and limited program quotas. Additionally, Adair County women found practically no opportunities for work relief through these programs. However, by using statistics at the national level, the data comparison validates the argument that Adair County received its fair share of these programs. The percentage of the county labor force enrolled in FERA and CWA closely approximated those at the national level. Most importantly, these federally-funded programs provided assistance to county inhabitants at a critical time. Wages received for labor on work projects supplemented family incomes. Through work relief, the unemployed of Adair County improved roads and bridges, constructed public buildings, and improved community sanitation. These projects provided long-lasting benefits to the citizens of Adair County.¹

History of Relief in the United States

Relief efforts for the poor and needy in the United States resulted from the legacy of Elizabethan Poor Laws and the Puritan work ethic. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, local communities provided relief sparingly to the disabled and needy through “relief in kind.” This assistance included donated food and clothing.

¹U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Unemployment*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931), 819; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931), 576.

Relief in kind emphasized the premise that “charity only encouraged dependency.”² Unemployment, viewed in this ideology, resulted only from laziness or some other character flaw, and, accordingly, should be dealt with carefully and frugally.³

Another form of early aid included work relief. These programs required the destitute to perform certain tasks in lieu of assistance, thus forcing them to earn the aid they received. Aid in the form of work relief occurred as early as 1857 in the United States. Later, during the Panic of 1893, work relief projects frequently utilized physical labor for the completion of useless tasks so as not compete with private employment. Contemporary social worker Josephine Shaw Lowell stated that for work relief “to be a benefit rather than an injury, . . . it . . . must be continuous, hard, and underpaid.”⁴ As with direct relief, the burden of providing work relief rested with local communities.⁵

Following the tradition of providing relief at the local level, Oklahoma officials set up relief procedures within each county. The 1907 Constitution of Oklahoma directed county governments to provide relief for the infirm, aged, and misfortunate. In 1915, the Oklahoma legislature provided a monthly pension of ten dollars for Confederate veterans through a Board of Pension Commissioners. Veterans made application for the pension through county judges. The same year, the legislature directed the counties to provide for

²Bonnie Fox Schwartz, *The Civil Works Administration, 1933-1934: The Business of Emergency Employment in the New Deal* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 4.

³Ibid., 4-5.

⁴Ibid., 7.

⁵Ibid., 4-7; Forrest A. Walker, *The Civil Works Administration: An Experiment in Federal Work Relief, 1933-1934* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1979), 3.

the support of indigent mothers whose husbands were dead, insane, or imprisoned. Each county excise board held the responsibility for levying taxes for the amount needed to support these women and their children.⁶

President Hoover & Volunterism

One of the most influential proponents for local relief included President Herbert Hoover. He favored a relief ideology known as “voluntarism.” Voluntarism postulated that “private relief funded by voluntary contributions was the ‘American way’ to deal with poverty and unemployment.”⁷ Hoover’s ideology of voluntarism, coupled with his speeches in which he seemed to show little regard for the unemployed, caused the President to appear callous and out of touch with the American people.⁸

However, new research proposes that Hoover’s ideology proved inconsistent with statistics gathered by his own administration. Collected data showed that by the close of his presidency, the federal government “financed nearly 60 percent of all relief.”⁹ Contrary to the view which portrayed Hoover as a conservative opposed to federal relief programs, the president more closely resembled a neo-Progressive who guided the way for later New Deal leaders. Hoover approved a federal relief program by signing the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932. This act permanently placed the federal

⁶Oklahoma Constitution, 1907, sec. 17-3; State of Oklahoma, *Session Laws of 1915* (Oklahoma City: State Printing & Publishing Co., 1915), 81-88, 370-373.

⁷Jeff Singleton, *The American Dole: Unemployment Relief and the Welfare State in the Great Depression* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2000), 57.

⁸Ibid., 57-58.

⁹Ibid., 58.

government into the role as a provider of relief, and made possible the later New Deal work programs.¹⁰

Through the early efforts of charity groups, community relief drives, and the self-initiative of area farmers, the inhabitants of Adair County fared better than those in other areas of the country during the early Depression years. The local Red Cross chapter, headed by the wife of Judge Joe Lynch, provided much of the early relief assistance. Also, the American Legion provided limited aid to area war veterans. The Department of the Interior provided clothing for much of the county's needy Indian population. The predominantly rural population of the county produced enough foodstuffs early in the Depression to avoid widespread hunger. In 1932, a Stilwell newspaper reported, "Adair County has many destitute families, but as a whole the people of the county have plenty to eat, but are short on money."¹¹

Early State Relief

To carry the state's population through the remainder of the winter of 1931-1932, the State of Oklahoma made plans to distribute \$400,000 in relief funds to the counties. The relief fund resulted from an extra-cent tax on gasoline levied in 1931. Early in February, a representative from each county in the Second Congressional District met in Muskogee to discuss the allocation of approximately \$50,000 in relief funds for the district. County Judge Joe Lynch represented Adair County's interests. Lynch also served as chairman of Adair County's Relief Committee. Delegates from the more populous counties of Muskogee and Okmulgee recommended dividing the state relief

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹*Adair County Democrat*, February 4, 1932.

funds according to population. However, the delegates from the smaller counties disagreed and they outvoted the other delegates sixteen to four in favor of an equal distribution of relief funds. Following the vote, a Stilwell newspaper reported that Adair County should receive approximately \$6,000.00 in state relief funds. However, the State Commission overruled the delegates' decision and awarded the relief funds according to county population.¹²

Distribution of state relief funds began March 11, 1932 in Adair County. The Second Congressional District's share totaled \$36,234.00, of which Adair County received \$3,051.00. The State Relief Commission stipulated that the aged and infirm should receive funds via donation, but that the unemployed should receive funds through labor whenever possible. In Adair County, Judge Lynch supervised road projects and the county treasurer paid road workers in form of checks.¹³

Early Federal Relief

Federal relief funds for Adair County resulted from President Hoover's approval on July 21, 1932, of the Emergency Relief and Construction Act. The act permitted the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) to provide \$1.8 billion in loans to state and local governments with which to finance public works. The act made an additional \$300 million available to the states for direct relief and work relief. Funds lent by the RFC carried an interest rate of 3 percent. In October, Oklahoma Governor William H. Murray made application to the RFC for relief aid to the counties. The RFC approved relief loans

¹²*Adair County Democrat*, February 11, 1932, March 17, 1932; *The Oklahoman*, February 28, 1932.

¹³*Ibid.*

to Adair County in the amount of \$6,000.00 in connection with Governor Murray's request.¹⁴

Adair County officials proved ill-prepared for the administration and disbursement of federal relief dollars. The County Relief Committee, headed by John A. Goodall, struggled in fifteen days to establish a system by which the unemployed could register with the county for work, be assigned work projects, and receive payroll. During the implementation process, approximately 1,600 individuals registered with the county. When work projects began, the county relief committee received additional applications bringing the total number to approximately 2,000. Due to the large number of applications and the unpreparedness of the relief committee, many project assignments required relief workers to travel some distance from their homes to job sites. During the initial chaos, the relief committee chastised locals in Stilwell for monopolizing the time of relief committee members. They reminded citizens that all the county's unemployed deserved the same consideration. In a front-page article in a Stilwell newspaper, a relief committee spokesman stated, "Every time you ask him [the relief superintendent] an unnecessary question such as when will your check come, or some similar question . . . you only impede and hinder the work that is badly needed by many of the citizens of the county."¹⁵

¹⁴Work Projects Administration, *Final Statistical Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1942), 3-4; Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, *Amend the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932*, 72nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1933, S. Rep. 1222, 2; *The Oklahoman*, October 19, 1932.

¹⁵*Adair County Democrat*, January 5, 1933.

In the following months, Adair County received additional appropriations from the RFC. The appropriations for the months of March and April, 1933, totaled \$13,000. In April, 200 unemployed registered for work relief in Adair County, bringing the total registered to 3,814. This statistic showed an approximate figure of 26 percent of the county population registered for work relief.¹⁶ During the first six months of appropriations from the RFC, the Adair County Relief Commission distributed a monthly payroll of approximately \$6,000. By April 30, 1933, total dispersed payroll equaled \$31,961.10.¹⁷

President Roosevelt & Creation of FERA

During the presidential campaign of 1932, only one real issue captured the attention of the nation – the Depression. Facing the continued hardships of deteriorating economy, the American people opted for Roosevelt’s “New Deal” and implemented a shift of power at the ballot box. In November 1932, Franklin Delano Roosevelt won the presidential election by the largest electoral majority since 1864, 472 votes to 59. Popular votes for Roosevelt totaled 22,800,000 to Hoover’s 15,750,000. Roosevelt carried every state south and west of Pennsylvania. The election in Oklahoma, too, resulted in a landslide majority for Democrats. All seventy-seven counties backed Roosevelt. In Adair County, Roosevelt carried 66 percent of the vote with 3,815 votes

¹⁶*The Oklahoman*, March 9, 1933, May 26, 1933; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931), 558.

¹⁷*The Oklahoman*, May 26, 1933.

against 1,941 votes for Hoover. Only four voting precincts within the county reported more votes for Hoover.¹⁸

On March 21, 1933, seventeen days after Roosevelt's inauguration, the president sent a message to Congress asking for grants to the states for relief work. On May 12th, Congress responded and enacted the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933. Due to the depletion of state and local funds, the bill approved direct federal assistance for two years to the unemployed through a newly created agency, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). The legislation directed the RFC to make available \$500 million in funds to the FERA. The FERA used one-half the fund, \$250 million, for grants to states on a matching basis. The legislation required applying states to match every federal relief dollar three to one. The other half of the FERA allocation formed a discretionary fund for outright grants to states in which emergency situations existed but finances prevented the states from matching funds.¹⁹

¹⁸Harold Underwood Faulkner, *American Economic History*, 5th ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1943), 650; Bernard Sternsher, ed., *Hitting Home: the Great Depression in Town and Country* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), 36; Basil Rauch, *The History of the New Deal: 1933-1938* (New York: Creative Age Press, 1944), 46; William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal: 1932-1940* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1963), 17; Keith L. Bryant, Jr., "Oklahoma and the New Deal" in *The New Deal: The State and Local Levels*, eds. John Braeman, Robert H. Bremner, and David Brody (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1975), 2: 173; *Adair County Democrat*, November 10, 1932. Precincts with a majority vote for Hoover included the following: Baron 2, Bunch 1, Bunch 2, and Lee's Creek 1.

¹⁹Message from the President of the United States, *Unemployment Relief*, 73rd Cong., 1st sess., 1933, H. Doc. 6, 1-2; Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933, Public Law 15, 73rd Cong., 1st sess. (May 12, 1933), printed in *Monthly Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, May 22 through June 30, 1933* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1933), 19-21; Harry L. Hopkins, *Spending to Save: The Complete Story of Relief* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1936), 97.

Operation of FERA

Eight days after the creation of the FERA, Roosevelt selected Harry L. Hopkins as program administrator. Hopkins, a social worker, previously aided relief operations during Roosevelt's governorship of New York. Relatively unknown upon his appointment to the FERA, by Roosevelt's second term, Hopkins became "the most powerful man in the administration."²⁰

Hopkins emphasized that FERA was not a federal program, but a state and local program. The federal government supplied only the funds necessary for relief. Governors of the respective states applied for FERA funds, and state and local governments managed the awarded funds and made monthly reports of disbursements. State and local administrators also determined the eligibility of relief applicants and the appropriate amount given to each individual.²¹

However, FERA required adherence to program guidelines. The program required each local relief agency to employ at least one trained and experienced social worker. FERA also required local relief offices to investigate the need of each applicant. These investigations included a visit to the applicant's home, as well as the completion of a questionnaire which asked information about the applicant's property, bank accounts, and other financial resources. The investigation also included a visit to at least one of the applicant's former employers. Additionally, FERA required local relief agencies to reinvestigate each applicant at least once a month to ensure that non-eligible individuals received no aid. Hopkins justified the investigations by explaining, "It was our duty to

²⁰Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, 120-121.

²¹Work Projects Administration, *Final Statistical Report*, 5-6.

see that this money reached those persons for whom it was intended in maximum amounts, we had continuously to investigate families to see that no one obtained relief who could get along without it.”²²

FERA provided relief within Adair County in various ways. Perhaps the most misunderstood method included work relief. Many individuals believed the FERA existed solely to furnish the unemployed with jobs as a work relief program. However, work projects happened to be only one of the avenues through which FERA administered relief. The primary goal of FERA remained to satisfy “the individual needs of those persons declared in need.”²³ Other methods of FERA relief included grocery orders consisting of a list of acceptable items approved by the local relief office. Local grocers exchanged the order slips for approved items. In some instances, the FERA provided aid in the form of cash.

Cooperation of Adair County Charities

In Adair County, local charities continued to provide assistance in cooperation with FERA. In August 1933, the Stilwell newspaper, *Adair County Democrat*, urged the continuance of Red Cross efforts by stating, “the National Red Cross has been indeed a local affair, and has given people of Adair County more relief than all other agencies put together during the past two or three years.”²⁴ During the summer of 1933, the local Red Cross chapter provided sewing materials allowing local women to manufacture and

²²Ibid., 15-16; Hopkins, *Spending to Save*, 101.

²³*The Emergency Relief Administration Program in Oklahoma, April 1 to December 31, 1934* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Department of Public Relations, 1934), 14.

²⁴*Adair County Democrat*, August 31, 1933.

distribute garments for the needy. Approximately 165 county women worked in this project and received wages distributed by John A. Goodall, County Relief Administrator. This employment of women proved a considerable number at a time when many charity funds in urban areas struggled to maintain aid to locals. These 165 Adair County women represented 3.6 percent of the county's labor force. Through the help of the Red Cross, Adair County inhabitants received various relief items which included the following: 8 car loads of flour; 1 carload of potatoes and beans; 8,400 fruit jars used for home canning; \$2,500 worth of dry goods including overalls, underwear, blankets, and sweaters; and \$40,000 spent for groceries and medicine.²⁵

FERA Unemployment Relief Census

In the autumn of 1933, the FERA conducted a nation-wide census to gain information on relief levels in the United States. Officials compiled the census information into a report and presented it to FERA Administrator Hopkins. The information provided reliable facts on relief for the first time. The results reflected the dire situation in Oklahoma. For the month of October, the census reported that 107,237 Oklahoma families received public unemployment relief. Comparing the results to the population figures from the 1930 federal census, the result showed 17.9 percent of Oklahomans belonged to families who received relief. This percentage totaled well above the national average of 10.3 percent. Of the forty-eight states, Oklahoma ranked sixth highest in the number of individuals on relief. When analyzing the numbers of the

²⁵Ibid.

rural population receiving relief, Oklahoma ranked the third highest state with 20.2 percent.²⁶

The census revealed even greater unemployment relief within Adair County. Approximately 35 percent of the county population belonged to relief families. Further analysis proves valuable by comparing the unemployment relief statistics to the population reported in the 1930 federal census. In 1930, Adair County contained 0.62 percent of the population of Oklahoma. However, in 1933, the county contained 1.21 percent of the state population on relief. In comparison with neighboring counties, only one, Sequoyah, contained a higher relief population than Adair County. However, the unemployment relief level in Adair County totaled much less than the levels in urban counties. Tulsa County's percentage of individuals on unemployment relief exceeded 6 percent, while Oklahoma County's percentage totaled more than 9 percent.²⁷

²⁶Federal Emergency Relief Administration, *Unemployment Relief Census: October 1933: United States Summary* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934), 5-6; Federal Emergency Relief Administration, *Unemployment Relief Census: October 1933: Urban and Rural Areas* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934), 5, 13.

²⁷Federal Emergency Relief Administration, *Unemployment Relief Census: October 1933: Urban and Rural Areas* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934), 176-179; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931), 558.

Table 1.1. Statistics from FERA Unemployment Relief Census, 1933.

Area	Individuals on Relief	Percentage of State
State of Oklahoma	429,005	
Adair County	5,170	1.21%
Neighboring Counties		
Cherokee County	2,123	0.49%
Delaware County	2,481	0.58%
Sequoyah County	9,448	2.20%
Urban Counties		
Oklahoma County	41,020	9.56%
Tulsa County	27,549	6.42%

Source: Calculations based from statistics in Federal Emergency Relief Administration, *Unemployment Relief Census: October 1933: Urban and Rural Areas* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934), 176-179.

Another useful comparison includes that of race. The FERA census also categorized Adair County unemployment relief individuals by race. These races included “White,” “Negro,” and “Other races.” The census reported no African Americans living within Adair County. The “Other races” category included the large minority of Cherokee Indians. Using the FERA census data, tabulations show 76 percent of the county’s unemployment relief individuals as white. Cherokees comprised nearly 24 percent of the relief individuals. Using the 1930 federal census figures for comparison, calculations reveal that whites comprised 67 percent of the county’s population while Cherokees comprised 33 percent. Based on data from the FERA census, a greater percentage of whites within the county received FERA unemployment relief than did Cherokee Indians. However, the unemployment census used statistics obtained through local FERA offices, and did not include data on relief programs provided for the Indians through the Department of the Interior. It is very likely the total number of Indians receiving all methods of relief totaled higher than whites. In 1931, a survey conducted by

representatives of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported that approximately 75 percent of the Indians of Adair County required some form of help.²⁸

Creation & Objectives of CWA

Utilizing the findings from the FERA census, the devastating results of four years of depression became evident to the Roosevelt Administration, and only six months into the operation of FERA, Roosevelt approved the creation another relief program. To combat rampant unemployment, Roosevelt authorized the Civil Works Administration (CWA) by executive order on November 9, 1933. He appointed Harry L. Hopkins as administrator of the program. The CWA received an appropriation of \$400 million with which to finance small, short-term construction projects employing some four million individuals by December 15th. Thus, through the CWA program, the federal government became an employer providing “regular work on public works at regular wages for unemployed persons able and willing to work.”²⁹

Roosevelt and Hopkins envisioned the CWA not as a replacement for FERA, but as a program functioning simultaneously. Hopkins intended to transfer two million persons on FERA work relief rolls to the employment roll of the CWA. In short, the Roosevelt Administration wished to decrease the number of individuals on the relief rolls and instead employ them within the CWA. FERA continued to supply emergency direct relief to the destitute, infirm, drought victims, and transients, while the CWA, as an

²⁸Ibid.; *The Oklahoman*, January 17, 1931.

²⁹Federal Civil Works Administration, *Federal Civil Works Administration: Rules and Regulations No. 1* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1933), 1.

employment program, put to work across the nation the unemployed.³⁰ CWA guidelines approved employment to individuals from the relief rolls and to individuals not registered for relief.³¹

Hopkins explained that a difference between FERA and CWA existed in psychological aspects. With work relief under the FERA, social workers determined each worker's need, thus, workers often felt to be "something of a public ward, with small freedom of choice." However, with employment under the CWA, "the social worker drops out of the picture," and workers spent their pay as they liked. Hopkins continued, "Give a man a dole and you save his body and destroy his spirit. Give him a job and pay him an assured wage, and you save both the body and the spirit."³²

Program Operation

To combat unemployment quickly, CWA administrators called for the implementation of construction projects in less than thirty days. To speed the implementation process, the CWA existed as a decentralized federal operation. Hopkins, as Federal Administrator, appointed state and local CWA administrators. State and local administrators carried the responsibility for approving, planning, implementing, and supervising all CWA projects. To meet the first payroll in two weeks, the CWA utilized

³⁰Ibid., 1-2; Schwartz, *The Civil Works Administration*, 38; *Adair County Democrat*, March 8, 1934.

³¹Singleton, *The American Dole*, 160n1. Singleton states that the CWA program never removed itself from the association with relief. Therefore, he classifies the CWA as work relief instead of public employment.

³²Hopkins, *Spending to Save*, 114.

the Veteran's Administration's system of disbursement. The Veteran's Administration printed all CWA payrolls on United States Treasury checks.³³

The CWA set several basic requirements for proposed projects. Most importantly, the CWA required supervisors to organize projects quickly and complete them efficiently and with rapidity. This requirement ensured that the CWA could meet its goal for the employment of four million individuals. The CWA also required that projects be of "social and economic utility and that they have permanent value."³⁴ Other requirements included that projects be completed on public property and that they contain a cost ratio of 70 to 30 percent. The CWA financed 70 percent for the cost of worker's wages, and the state or local government, as project sponsor, contributed the remaining 30 percent to cover the cost of materials and supplies.³⁵

The CWA determined wages by set rates assigned by region. Included in the southern region, workers employed in Oklahoma received \$0.40 an hour for unskilled labor and \$1.00 an hour for skilled labor. However, for road projects the CWA directed the pay scale to follow those set by state highway departments. The program limited work to eight hours daily with a thirty-hour week, except for administrative positions.

³³Federal Emergency Relief Administration, *Federal Emergency Relief Administration, December 1 to December 31, 1933* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934), 14-15.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 18.

³⁵*Ibid.*; Schwartz, *The Civil Works Administration*, 46.

The CWA required workers to be at least sixteen years of age. Ex-servicemen with dependents received preference for employment.³⁶

Carl Giles, CWA administrator for Oklahoma quickly set up a network of supervision extending to each county. By early December, the CWA office in Adair County began operations and submitted its first applications for work projects to the state administrator. Some of the Adair County CWA staff included John A. Goodall, County Administrator; Jack Swicegood, County Disbursement Officer; R.L. Reese, Board of Trustee President; and Reverend Owens, Employment Director.³⁷

Adair County commissioners and city officials rapidly submitted applications for CWA projects. By early December 1933, approximately twenty applications for county and municipal projects reached the desks of CWA administrators. In addition to new requests, Adair County officials requested the transfer of a number of unfinished FERA projects to the CWA program. The transfer application listed a total of \$16,820.85 in unfinished FERA projects transferred to the CWA during the period of November 16th to November 30th. These projects allocated more than 43,000 man-hours for project completions.³⁸

³⁶ Federal Civil Works Administration, *Rules and Regulations No. 1*, 3-4; Federal Civil Works Administration, *Federal Civil Works Administration, Rules and Regulations No. 10* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1933), 4.

³⁷ *Adair County Democrat*, December 7, 1933.

³⁸ Administrative and Project Files, 1933-1934, Field Office Records, Records of the Civil Works Administration, Record Group 69, Box 784, Reel 10, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland. This National Archives and Records Administration data is microfilmed, but is not available as a publication. Therefore, it has no publication number.

Adair County CWA Activity

The citizens of Adair County benefited from several different types of CWA projects, and work crews completed more than fifty total projects countywide.³⁹ Some of the earliest projects included improvement to State Highway 17 and rural county roads. These projects encompassed work in both the north and south halves of the county. Total federal funds expended on these road projects totaled more than \$28,800. County and municipal dollars provided \$5,800, or nearly 17 percent of the total cost. The CWA allocated more funds for road improvement in southern Adair County, most likely due to the remoteness of that area and because county commissioners made applications to improve roads there. Total federal funds spent in southern Adair County totaled more than \$21,000, with approximately \$3,200, or 15 percent, contributed by the southern county districts. One of these projects included graveling five miles of county road beginning at the Stilwell Horn Road near the John Patterson Place, running south to the community of Lyons, and then to Highway 17. Northern county projects totaled nearly \$13,500 with more than \$2,600, or 19 percent, contributed by the northern commissioner's district. An example of one of these projects included draining, grading, and graveling county roads near Westville. The road crews graded approximately eight miles and graveled two and one-half miles.⁴⁰

³⁹See Appendix A for a list of CWA projects in Adair County.

⁴⁰Administrative and Project Files, 1933-1934, Field Office Records, Records of the Civil Works Administration, Record Group 69, Box 784, Reel 10, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

Figure 1.1. Bridge spanning Ballard Creek east of Watts, Oklahoma and constructed through the efforts of FERA and CWA. Undated photograph. Bridge no longer extant.



Another project included the construction of a bridge spanning Ballard Creek one-quarter of a mile east of Watts in northern Adair County. Began as a FERA project, officials transferred the work to CWA on December 18, 1933. The project included the relocation of a salvaged bridge. During the summer of 1932, workmen constructed a 500-foot bridge across the Illinois River north of Watts. The previous bridge, measuring 200 feet, remained in the old right-of-way until FERA crews salvaged one half and relocated it east of Watts to span Ballard Creek. The CWA budgeted federal dollars for equipment and wages, with local contributions paying for the steel bridge and cement. Mr. J.W. Sloan, owner of nearby Forest Park and site of Lake Frances, donated 200 sacks of concrete for the project.⁴¹ CWA workers excavated for the west bridge pier, but little else materialized before the termination of the CWA work program. On April 1, 1934, the bridge project transferred back to FERA with only 20 percent of the project complete.⁴²

Municipal governments secured street improvement projects through the CWA. Officials from Stilwell, Watts, and Westville made application for these projects. In January 1934, Stilwell applied for \$6,220.07 in federal funds to construct cement road culverts, grade and drain streets, and lower water lines. The project provided work for fifty local men who contributed nearly 12,000 hours of labor.⁴³ CWA crews constructed at least nine culverts designed to channel water from more than 600 acres. Some of the

⁴¹J.W. Sloan's daughter, Frances, became the namesake for Lake Frances, a small lake near Watts constructed in 1930-1931.

⁴²Administrative and Project Files, 1933-1934, Field Office Records, Records of the Civil Works Administration, Record Group 69, Box 784, Reel 10, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

⁴³*Ibid.*; *Adair County Democrat*, January 4, 1934.

construction took place at the street intersections of Second and Chestnut, Second and Pine, First and Poplar, First and Chestnut, and Third and Cedar. The structures on Second Street replaced wooden bridges destroyed by flooding in December 1933. This work reopened the approach of Highway 17 into north Stilwell. City officials originally submitted the project to CWA without local matching funds. However, before granting approval, CWA administrators required the city to furnish the building material used in the construction.⁴⁴

In early December 1933, Watts officials applied for a street improvement project, which included grading, draining, culvert construction, and graveling. Repairs to the city hall and the city park also comprised part of the project. The application requested a total of \$3,203.33 in federal funds. The city matched 16 percent of funds. The project supplied more than 6,000 hours of work for local citizens.⁴⁵

In late November 1933, Westville applied for \$2,852 in federal funds for grading, draining, and graveling city streets and alleys. The application also requested sidewalk repair. Westville contributed \$1,163.50, or 29 percent, of the project costs, which made a total project fund of \$4,015.50.⁴⁶

Other CWA projects in Adair County included the improvement of public lands. This type of work included the construction of small lakes to serve as fishing and recreation areas. The lakes also aided in flood control and prevented soil erosion. One of

⁴⁴Ibid.; *Adair County Democrat*, March 15, 1934.

⁴⁵Administrative and Project Files, 1933-1934, Field Office Records, Records of the Civil Works Administration, Record Group 69, Box 784, Reel 10, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

⁴⁶Ibid.

these projects began under the FERA program, but transferred to CWA on December 6, 1933, with only 40 percent of work finished. Plans called for the completion of a 9.5-acre lake located seven miles southwest of Stilwell on Highway 17. The CWA application budgeted \$2,952.40 for costs with more than 7,000 man-hours. The work crew finished approximately 80 percent of the work before the termination of the CWA program. The project reverted back to FERA.⁴⁷

Another fish and recreation lake took shape three miles west of Westville. Plans called for the improvement of an abandoned lake located at the site. The CWA application asked for \$8,180 in funds and budgeted nearly 14,000 hours of labor for the completion of the project. Work included pulling timber, constructing an earthen dam with concrete core, and excavating for a spillway. To qualify as a CWA project under the classification of improvement of public lands, landowners Frank and Elva Oaks and A.G. and Louise Gibson granted easements to the citizens of Oklahoma for the right to fish and hunt aquatic game, free of charge, on and around the lake.⁴⁸

Another classification of CWA projects included construction and repair of district school facilities. CWA officials approved these projects due to the hardship of smaller school districts to raise the capital needed for improvement projects. In Adair County, seven school districts benefited from CWA projects: Elm Grove, District 36; Maryetta, District 22; Proctor, District 14; Rock Springs (Geneva), District 27; Stilwell,

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

District 25; Watts, District 4; and Zion, District 28.⁴⁹ At Elm Grove, CWA workmen hauled logs to the school site to construct a teacherage near the existing sandstone school building. The project provided 860 work hours. Federal funds totaled \$557.40 with the school district paying \$42.00 for a portion of materials. Work continued on the building until January 1934, when the project exhausted all allocated funds. Through the CWA program, this school district received new teacher's quarters for a cash outlay of approximately 7 percent of the total project cost. A larger school improvement project took place at Watts. In December 1933, the district applied for a school improvement project requiring approximately 1,800 work hours. The project included repairs to the roof, doors, floors, windows, toilets, and steps; painting and grading; and sodding the school yard. Total project costs totaled \$1,086.80, with the school district responsible for \$95.60 in contributed supplies. The CWA completed a school improvement for Proctor School with no contributions from the school district. In January 1934, the district applied for a project totaling \$1,010.50 and calling for more than 2,000 work hours. The project involved the construction of a flint rock fence in front of the grounds, grading and leveling the playground, improving toilets, painting the school building, and refinishing school desks. The CWA completed smaller projects for Maryetta and Zion school districts. The Maryetta project consisted of grading and leveling the school yard, and the

⁴⁹Ibid.; *The Oklahoman*, January 11, 1934, January 17, 1934. The newspaper, *The Oklahoman*, reported the approval of two CWA projects in Adair County not listed in the CWA applications at the National Archives and Records Administration. These two projects included Rock Springs (Geneva), District 27 and Stilwell, District 25. The newspaper stated that Rock Springs received \$646 for school improvement. Stilwell received \$1,139 for school repairs.

Zion project entailed grading and graveling the school road, and painting the frame school building.⁵⁰

CWA Safety Division

In an effort to reduce and prevent work accidents, the CWA established a safety division. CWA Safety Engineer Sidney Williams organized safety departments in each state. James Lynch served as the Muskogee District safety engineer and supervised CWA safety within Adair County. At a cost of seventeen cents per CWA employee, the program included safety and first-aid training. This minimal training cost provided long-term savings. It decreased CWA expenses for medical treatment, disability benefits, and death compensation payments. A Job Safety Inspector worked onsite for each project employing more than ten workers. His duties included maintaining a safe work environment, ensuring workers used proper tools, urging caution when crews used hazardous materials, and administering first aid. As a method to create interest in the safety program, each week the department announced the county with the safest workforce. For the week of January 29, 1934, the Second District named Adair County as the safest CWA crew. The following week it ranked second in safety.⁵¹

Women & CWA

Early in the CWA program, officials earnestly sought more jobs for women. On November 20, 1933, CWA Administrator Harry L. Hopkins met with Eleanor Roosevelt and more than forty other representative women. Hopkins convened the meeting to

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Walker, *The Civil Works Administration*, 74-75; *Adair County Democrat*, March 1, 1934.

obtain ideas on work projects in which women could participate. Encouraging the inclusion of women in the CWA, Eleanor Roosevelt stated, “As a group, women have been neglected in comparison with others, and throughout this depression have had the hardest time of all.”⁵² Calling previous efforts a “complete lack of imagination in the matter of the employment of women,” Hopkins promised a “just and fair provision for women” in the CWA.⁵³

Oklahoma women pressured officials for increases in CWA employment. In January 1934, women representatives from each Oklahoma county met in Lawton, Oklahoma, where they wrote more than 200 resolutions for women’s projects. The women sent the resolutions to both Hopkins and Oklahoma senators and representatives. It is doubtful that more than only a few Adair County women benefited from CWA employment. The CWA office in Adair County hired a number of clerical workers, but other than these few positions, CWA applications for Adair County called for no other positions for women.⁵⁴

Payroll & Program Quotas

To provide relief and infuse local economies with cash, the CWA disbursed weekly payrolls efficiently and quickly. One of the first CWA payrolls in Adair County occurred December 9, 1933. This payroll disbursed approximately \$13,000 in wages to Adair County individuals for work performed on various projects. The *Adair County*

⁵²*New York Times*, November 21, 1933.

⁵³*Ibid.*

⁵⁴*The Oklahoman*, January 16, 1934; Administrative and Project Files, 1933-1934, Field Office Records, Records of the Civil Works Administration, Record Group 69, Box 784, Reel 10, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

Democrat hinted at the providential timing of the payroll by stating, “Old Santa will come to many families of Adair County this coming Saturday in the form of a government check enclosed in a C.W.A. envelope.”⁵⁵ The first CWA payroll proved crucial to the nation’s unemployed during the winter of 1933-1934. These funds allowed enrollees to purchase groceries and other items from local merchants. The *Chicago Daily Times* attributed the injection of CWA cash as the impetus leading to increases in Christmas sales. Many large retailers reported greater sales during this time than the previous year. Although depressed economic conditions in Adair County during the winter of 1933-1934 failed to equal those in many urban areas of the nation, the stimulus from CWA payrolls provided a boost to local business within Adair County.⁵⁶

The number of men employed by the CWA in Adair County varied throughout the program. In November 1933, Hopkins announced that 3 million of the 4 million jobs provided by the CWA would be distributed according to state population. Hopkins set Oklahoma’s employment quota at 101,000, a figure providing employment for approximately 12 percent of the state’s labor force. In 1930, the federal census enumerated 14,756 people within Adair County, which totaled 0.62% of the state population. Using this percentage, the CWA allocation of jobs for Adair County totaled 626. However, this figure proves higher than the actual quota of jobs maintained by CWA in the county. By Christmas 1933, 450 men worked on CWA projects in Adair County, which encompassed nearly 10 percent of the county’s gainful workers. The average weekly payroll per CWA worker totaled \$9.81. The CWA quota remained

⁵⁵*Adair County Democrat*, December 7, 1933.

⁵⁶*Chicago Daily Times*, December 11, 1933, cited in Schwartz, *The Civil Works Administration*, 190.

steady for Adair County through January 1934. At that time, the program employed 458 county men at a payroll of \$4,665. These men received an average payroll of \$10.19. Adair County's quota decreased during the first week of the new year. The CWA reported 393 workers in Adair County at a weekly payroll of \$3,339.24. This enrollment comprised approximately 9 percent of the county's work force. During the same week, the CWA employed 76,334 Oklahoman statewide, which totaled 9 percent of the state's labor force. During the week of January 8th, county CWA employees numbered 507, or 11 percent of the county's gainful workers. These men earned a payroll of \$6,093, with the average paycheck totaling \$12.00. At this time, John A. Goodall, Adair County CWA Administrator, announced that the quota for the county stood at 500. This pay period reflected the highest rate of employment in the county during the CWA program, but the quota still failed to reach the number required by the county population. The same week, the number of CWA assignments statewide totaled 94,768, or 11 percent of the state's work force. Thus, the statistics show that the percentage of Adair County's labor force employed through the CWA program closely approximated the state and national levels. Percentage discrepancies proved very small. During January 1934, 8.61 percent of the Adair County's labor force found employment through CWA, compared with 8.66 percent nationwide.⁵⁷

⁵⁷*The Oklahoman*, December 17, 1933, December 28, 1933, January 5, 1934, January 10, 1934, January 17, 1934; *Adair County Democrat*, January 18, 1934; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population*, vol. 5 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1933), 10, 37, 50; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Unemployment*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931), 819.

As with most New Deal programs, the CWA exceeded its budget, creating a need for additional funds. In addition to the original appropriation of \$400 million, FERA transferred an additional amount of nearly \$89 million to the CWA program in early 1934. On February 15, 1934, Roosevelt signed an executive order which approved a Congressional appropriation of \$950 million, of which \$450 million went to the CWA.⁵⁸

Program Criticism & Retrenchment

However, individuals in the Treasury Department and the Bureau of the Budget opposed the public employment program because of its enormous expense. These officials pressured Roosevelt for a continued commitment to a balanced budget. Thus, Roosevelt intended the February CWA appropriation for phasing out the program. The Roosevelt Administration believed that industrial activity would increase and improve economic conditions during the spring and summer of 1934.⁵⁹

During the demobilization of the CWA, Hopkins employed several means of stretching federal dollars. One method included the stagger system. This work schedule called for men to work thirty hours then lay off thirty hours, allowing another worker to gain a week of work. Previously, Oklahoma CWA Administrator Carl Giles stated he would not implement the stagger system because “federal authorities had expressly forbidden” its use on CWA projects.⁶⁰ One month later, Giles announced that Hopkins

⁵⁸Hopkins, *Spending to Save*, 117; Walker, *The Civil Works Administration*, 58; Schwartz, *The Civil Works Administration*, 227; *New York Times*, February 18, 1934; Communication from the President of the United States, *Request for Additional Appropriation of \$950,000,000 for Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 and to Continue Civil Works Program*, 73rd Cong., 2nd sess., 1934, H. Doc. 231, 1-2.

⁵⁹Singleton, *The American Dole*, 132; Schwartz, *The Civil Works Administration*, 227-228; Walker, *The Civil Works Administration*, 152.

⁶⁰*The Oklahoman*, December 9, 1933.

approved the implementation of the stagger system instead of reducing the number of weekly hours each employee worked. In January 1934, Hopkins announced a decrease in the weekly work hours for CWA employees working in towns with populations less than 2,500. The next month, Hopkins announced reduced quotas for the states. Oklahoma's new quota of CWA workers totaled 66,000. The cut resulted in a mid-February quota of 400 men for Adair County.⁶¹

Allocation of CWA Projects in Adair County

Based strictly on population, Adair County's share of CWA funds proved smaller than that of all its neighboring Oklahoma counties except one. Statewide, Oklahoma received nearly \$18 million in CWA funds from the federal government. During the six-month program, Adair County officials submitted CWA applications for projects totaling more than \$90,000. Following the cancellation and revision of a number of projects, the final aggregate showed that the CWA spent \$65,255 in wages, materials, and equipment in Adair County. Of this total, federal funds equaled \$61,191. County and local governments contributed a total of \$4,064, or 6 percent of funds. These contributory funds never equaled the approximately 30 percent CWA administrators urged from local governments. Adair County's share of state CWA funds totaled approximately 0.34 percent. Of the surrounding Oklahoma counties, only Sequoyah County to the south received a smaller percentage of CWA wealth, based on population, than Adair County.

⁶¹Ibid.; *The Oklahoman*, January 11, 1934, January 13, 1934, February 22, 1934.

However, Adair County failed to meet Sequoyah County’s percentage of local funds matched by federal dollars.⁶²

Table 1.2. Statistics from CWA Funding.

County	Percentage of State Population	Percentage of State CWA Funding	Percentage Difference	Percentage of County/City Contributions
Adair	0.62%	0.34%	0.27%	6.23%
Cherokee	0.73%	0.49%	0.24%	7.25%
Delaware	0.64%	0.55%	0.09%	5.77%
Sequoyah	0.81%	0.52%	0.30%	7.06%

Source: Calculations based from statistics in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931), 558, 559, 563; *The Oklahoman*, September 27, 1934.

Implementation of Second FERA

On April 1, 1934, the CWA phased out of existence, and administrator Hopkins transferred all unfinished projects to the works division of the FERA. Control of these projects rested with state and local governments. This “Second FERA” once again required case worker investigations of needy applicants and used income tests to gauge need. These procedures stood out in striking contrast to the previous issuance of real paychecks by the CWA.⁶³

Private industry failed to absorb the former employees of the CWA. The Roosevelt Administration hoped eventually to eliminate the national dole, but depressed economic conditions still persisted. Mass numbers of former CWA employees returned to the FERA relief rolls. Prior to the CWA program, approximately 35 percent of Adair

⁶²U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931), 558, 559, 563; *The Oklahoman*, September 27, 1934.

⁶³*New York Times*, April 1, 1934; Schwartz, *The Civil Works Administration*, 239-240; Singleton, *The American Dole*, 139-140.

County's population received some type of relief through FERA. One year later, following the completion of the CWA program, county FERA officials reported the same percentage of individuals on relief.⁶⁴

The Roosevelt Administration devised a three-part plan for the second phase of FERA aimed at reducing the number of Americans on relief. The plan called for the cooperation of the Department of Agriculture to teach farmers to become self-sufficient. The plan also included help for inhabitants living in areas supported by only a single industry. A works division also provided relief for the unemployed. Relief workers began by completing unfinished CWA projects, but soon began new projects approved through FERA. The quality of workmanship on projects completed under the second phase of FERA improved greatly. During the first phase some projects resembled "make-work," or crudely-constructed projects that provided little permanent benefit. During the Second FERA workers applied skills learned during CWA construction.⁶⁵

Program Requirements

The work division of the FERA imposed much stricter rules. The program allowed eligibility to only one person in each family. FERA rules limited approved workers to a twenty-four-hour work week and provided a minimum wage scale of thirty cents per hour. FERA administrators stressed that the works division did not provide employment, but that the program existed as a means of providing relief through work

⁶⁴Singleton, *The American Dole*, 137-138; Federal Emergency Relief Administration, *Unemployment Relief Census: October 1933: Urban and Rural Areas* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934), 176-179; *The Emergency Relief Administration Program in Oklahoma: April 1 to December 31, 1934* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Department of Public Relations, 1934), 20.

⁶⁵Schwartz, *The Civil Works Administration*, 239; Singleton, *The American Dole*, 140.

projects. Therefore, social workers ultimately determined each family's need and approved work assignments. The FERA existed to see that "sufficient relief was given to prevent physical suffering and to maintain minimum living standards."⁶⁶ In addition, grocery orders under the Second FERA imposed new restrictions. Approved items included hot cereals only, such as oatmeal, rice, and hominy; meat retailing fourteen cents a pound or less; and vegetables retailing six cents a pound or less.⁶⁷

Oklahoma Emergency Relief Administration

Carl Giles, State FERA Administrator, quickly implemented the revised FERA program in Oklahoma under the name Oklahoma Emergency Relief Administration (OERA). Setting up communication with county administrators, Giles disclosed that \$250,000 in work relief appropriations would be carried over from the CWA program. Total appropriations for all work relief in Oklahoma during the month of April totaled \$1,750,000. Giles set a state quota of 26,800 relief jobs for the first week of April 1934, of which Adair County received only 100. Additionally, the assistant engineer for the Muskogee district announced that FERA would cover only the cost of labor for projects. He stated that counties or local government would be responsible for construction material expenses.⁶⁸

⁶⁶Schwartz, *The Civil Works Administration*, 241; Work Projects Administration, *Final Statistical Report*, 17.

⁶⁷*Adair County Democrat*, May 17, 1934.

⁶⁸*The Oklahoman*, March 25, 1934, April 2, 1934; *Adair County Democrat*, March 15, 1934, April 3, 1934.

Distribution of Relief

The percentage of individuals receiving relief in Adair County remained fairly steady throughout the year of 1934. During the week of August 13th, 934 families received commodities in Adair County. These families comprised 5,026 individuals who benefited from direct relief during that week. During the same week, 113 heads of families benefited from work relief. These individuals comprised only 2 percent of the county's labor force. More individuals that week received direct relief in the form of checks. Nearly 200 heads of families, comprising 1,006 individuals received these checks. This group totaled nearly 7 percent of the county population. With the inclusion of assistance provided to six transients, the data for this week reflects that 6,623 family members benefited from FERA relief directly or through the works division. These individuals represented nearly 45 percent of the total population of Adair County. This calculation is misleading because some of these individuals benefited from more than one type of relief. The Oklahoma Emergency Relief Administration reported the county's highest caseload of relief for the year of 1934 in October at 35 percent. At the end of the year, the relief rate in Adair County stood only 5 percent lower. The relief figure statewide averaged 30.5 percent. During the first fifteen months following the CWA, the FERA program employed approximately two million individuals, or 4 percent of the nation's labor force. Within Adair County, the FERA employment figure lagged 1.6 percent behind that of the national figure.⁶⁹

⁶⁹*Adair County Democrat*, August 23, 1934; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Unemployment*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931), 819; *The Emergency Relief Administration Program in Oklahoma*, 20, 21; Hopkins, *Spending to Save*, 165; U.S. Bureau of the Census,

Adair County FERA Activity

The FERA Works Division began in Adair County with sixty-five men assigned to work relief for completion of unfinished CWA projects in the southern part of the county. These projects included two large road projects: improvement on the Lee's Creek road and a grading and graveling project near Lyons adjoining Highway 17. The county FERA administrator utilized the full quota of 100 men by April 9th.⁷⁰

During this time, Adair County FERA crews completed a number of other projects. Crews finished at least four other road projects that remained incomplete at the termination of the CWA program. FERA workman also finished four other CWA projects: the teacher's quarters at the Elm Grove School, school house improvements at Rock Springs (Geneva), the construction of a fish and recreational lake near Lyons, and a bridge over Ballard Creek east of Watts. New road projects initiated through FERA entailed the construction of a stone overpass in Stilwell where Highway 51 crossed the Kansas City Southern Railroad tracks, a road graveling east of Westville, street graveling at Watts, road improvement from Proctor to Chewey, and the improvement of the road to Lake Frances near Watts. A large construction project involved the fabrication of a cobblestone school building for the Freewater School in District 15 near the community of Titanic. The completed school building replaced a frame building which burned in 1933.⁷¹

Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population, vol. 5 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1933), 10, 37.

⁷⁰*Adair County Democrat*, April 5, 1934.

⁷¹Administrative and Project Files, 1933-1934, Field Office Records, Records of the Civil Works Administration, Record Group 69, Box 784, Reel 10, National Archives

Women & FERA

The FERA in Adair County provided a very limited number of work relief positions for women. In October, sewing rooms opened in Stilwell, Watts, and Westville, which employed women in the creation and refurbishment of garments. FERA made this type of work relief available to all needy women regardless of sewing proficiency. FERA officials stressed the point that output should “be secondary to improvement in knowledge, skills, and understanding.”⁷² As with other work relief, FERA made sewing-room employment temporary and returned women to regular work as soon as possible. Some of the garments created in FERA sewing rooms included work shirts, pajamas, dresses, slips, blouses and skirts. The women in the Adair County sewing room also made quilts for distribution to the needy. FERA provided the materials for the quilts, which consisted of 6 bales of cotton and 600 yards of sheeting. In Stilwell, Wren Fletcher donated workspace located in the two second-floor rooms of the Fletcher building.⁷³

Allocation of FERA Projects in Adair County

By the conclusion of 1934, FERA work relief recipients carried out projects in Adair County costing \$30,505.91. The following table reveals the allocation of these funds by project type:

and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland; *Adair County Democrat*, July 5, 1934, August 23, 1934, August 30, 1934, October 4, 1934, March 21, 1935, May 16, 1935.

⁷²Federal Emergency Relief Administration, *Work-Relief Sewing Rooms* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934), 1.

⁷³*Ibid.*; *Adair County Democrat*, October 25, 1934.

Table 1.3. Distribution of FERA Work Relief Projects, Adair County, Oklahoma.

Category:	Number of Projects:	Expenditure:
Roads, Streets, & Highways	17	\$11,327
Public Buildings	14	\$5,076
Bridges	2	\$1,572
Sewers & Sanitation	2	\$2,636
Municipal Utilities	2	\$180
Playgrounds & Pools	1	\$2,830
Waterways & Flood Control	1	\$187
Public Parks & Soil Erosion	1	\$81
Other: clothing, goods, etc.	17	\$6,616
Total	57	\$30,505

Source: *The Emergency Relief Administration Program in Oklahoma: April 1 to December 31, 1934* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Department of Public Relations, 1934), 43-48.

During the period of the Second FERA in 1934, the greatest majority, or 37 percent, of work relief projects in Adair County consisted of constructing or repair of highways, county roads, or city streets. The next largest category included miscellaneous FERA activities such as distribution of clothing and food to the needy, public health projects, and housing projects. This category totaled nearly 22 percent of all FERA expenditures in Adair County during 1934. The third largest category at almost 17 percent encompassed the construction or repair of public buildings.⁷⁴

Program Retrenchment

In late 1934, the Roosevelt Administration again vacillated in its methodology for relief administration. Roosevelt continued his effort to rid the federal government of the burden of providing relief. He intended to relinquish this responsibility by transferring recipients of relief back to the states.⁷⁵ In January 1935, Roosevelt publically voiced his

⁷⁴*The Emergency Relief Administration Program in Oklahoma: April 1 to December 31, 1934* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Department of Public Relations, 1934), 43-48.

⁷⁵Singleton, *The American Dole*, 157.

opinion that “continued dependence upon relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fiber.” Roosevelt stated further, “To dole out relief in this way is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit. . . . It is in violation of the traditions of America.”⁷⁶

Effectiveness & Benefits

Mixed results accompanied the expiration of the FERA and CWA programs in Adair County. Due to restricted quotas set by program administrators, the number of county work relief enrollees remained a slightly smaller percentage of the county’s labor force than the statewide percentage. The county relief office constantly dealt with the problem of too many applications and too few work assignments. Additionally, these programs offered almost no work relief opportunities for the women of Adair County. Surprisingly, charities, such as the local Red Cross chapter, provided greater employment to women in Adair County than did the FERA and CWA programs. Unlike many urban cities with exhausted local charity funds, the citizens of Adair County continued community aid drives with success until at least late 1933. Compared to national levels, the percentage of FERA and CWA work assignments within Adair County proved fairly equivalent. The inhabitants of Adair County fared just as well as the populace of most areas nationwide in terms of obtaining work relief through the FERA and CWA programs. Although these programs paid only subsistence wages, the funds supplemented family income at a critical time.

⁷⁶Ibid., 159.

The greatest benefit resulting from these programs included the updates to infrastructure. FERA and CWA work relief crews constructed and improved miles of county roads and bridges. Public buildings, such as district schoolhouses, received needed modernization. FERA and CWA projects also included the construction of small lakes to serve recreational purposes. This work produced lasting benefits to the citizens of the county and increased their standards of living. Through the FERA and CWA programs, the unemployed of Adair County experienced federal work relief for the first time. As drought conditions intensified, Oklahomans beseeched federal officials for additional work relief. The FERA and CWA programs proved valuable precedents to the creation of the most extensive work relief program of the Great Depression.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL WORK RELIEF: WPA

Early in 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced that the federal government should anticipate a termination of its distribution of relief. At this time, he approved yet another shift in the administration of work relief. Roosevelt favored the implementation of a two-part program. First, he envisioned a social security program to provide matching grants to states. This program shifted the burden of providing for the nation's approximately 1.5 million "unemployables" to the individual states. For the additional 3.5 million "employables" currently out of work, Roosevelt favored the creation of a work program to reduce the number of these individuals currently on federal relief through FERA. An additional reason Roosevelt favored the creation of another work program stemmed from the public outcry at the termination of the CWA program. Vast numbers of Americans asked for the continuation of CWA or a similar program. For a solution to these problems, Roosevelt authorized the creation of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). This program proved to be the most extensive and expensive work relief program of the New Deal. The output of Adair County WPA projects far surpassed previous work relief efforts. The WPA program provided employment for a much larger percentage of the county labor force as compared to state and national labor

forces. Additionally, the WPA provided increased opportunities for women to participate in work relief. Projects completed during this program significantly improved the infrastructure of Adair County. The WPA improved miles of roads and bridges, which provided farmers easier means of shipping produce and livestock to nearby markets. For the first time, school children of Adair County attended classes in modern school buildings constructed by WPA laborers. This work provided a supplement to the incomes of many needy families throughout the county. At the same time, these workers learned new skills through hands-on training at work sites.¹

Creation & Objectives of WPA

On May 6, 1935, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order No. 7034 which established the Works Progress Administration (WPA). He named Harry L. Hopkins as National WPA Administrator. The WPA proved to be the largest and most comprehensive program of the New Deal, and cost more than \$10 billion dollars during the program's eight-year existence. Congress first approved appropriations for the program through the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935. Each year thereafter, the WPA received funds through additional appropriations.²

The WPA existed as a hybrid which combined aspects from the previous programs of FERA and CWA. The WPA's primary purpose included the employment of

¹House Committee on Appropriations, *Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935*, 74th Cong., 1st sess., 1935, H. Rep. 15, 2; Bonnie Fox Schwartz, *The Civil Works Administration, 1933-1934: The Business of Emergency Employment in the New Deal* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 252-253; Jeff Singleton, *The American Dole: Unemployment Relief and the Welfare State in the Great Depression* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 148; *The Oklahoman*, January 16, 1934, January 25, 1934.

²*Final Report on the WPA Program, 1935-1943* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1946), 7, 98.

needy workers in small useful projects. While providing employment, the WPA produced improvements of lasting value, such as public roads and buildings.

Program Operation

Like the CWA, the WPA operated within a decentralized organizational structure. Work project implementation began at the local level. City and county governments submitted formal applications for projects to district WPA offices. The responsibility for completion of engineering plans and specifications rested with the project sponsors at the city or county level. Applications proceeded to state WPA offices and then finally to Washington, D.C. for final approval by the President. Also like CWA, the WPA issued outright federal grants. The WPA, however, expected project sponsors to share in the cost. Prior to 1940, the WPA set no specific percentage level required for sponsor contributions. In 1940, the program required total sponsor contributions to be 25 percent statewide.³

In June 1935, Oklahoma officials prepared for the implementation of the new WPA work relief program. General W.S. Key became state administrator. Key served until 1937, when he resigned his duties and Ron Stephens succeeded him. Key divided Oklahoma into nine districts. This organization placed Adair County into District #1, along with the neighboring counties of Delaware and Cherokee. Tulsa became the headquarters for District #1. Sequoyah County, to the south, comprised part of District

³Ibid., 7-9; Singleton, *The American Dole*, 160n1.

#2 with headquarters at McAlester in Pittsburg County. Key named Cy Avery, former chairman of the State Highway Commission, as administrator of District #1.⁴

Program Requirements

Eligibility requirements for WPA employment proved stricter than those for CWA. WPA rules stipulated that 90 percent of workers should be hired from relief rolls. The WPA mandated that only one individual per family could apply. Most often the WPA deemed the head of the family the best applicant. As with FERA work relief, needy individuals applied for WPA work through local public welfare agencies. These agencies administered the means test, which validated each applicant's financial status and subsequent need. The WPA enforced age requirements as well. The program accepted no one younger than age sixteen. In 1938, the age limit increased to eighteen. However, the WPA did not set wage limitations as did the CWA. WPA officials hoped to make wages higher than previous relief compensation, but low enough as not to compete with private employment. The WPA implemented a wage scheme that utilized a number of factors in determining pay, such as degree of skill, geographic region, and degree of urbanization. An average unskilled WPA worker in rural Oklahoma earned approximately \$21.00 per month, while a skilled worker earned \$38.00.⁵

⁴ Works Progress Administration, *Accomplishments of Works Progress Administration for Oklahoma, July 1, 1935 to March 1, 1937* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1937), 13; *The Oklahoman*, June 28, 1935, May 8, 1937. Later the WPA reorganized Oklahoma's WPA districts. The Tulsa District later gained Sequoyah County. See *The Oklahoman*, July 17, 1939.

⁵Schwartz, *The Civil Works Administration*, 257; *Final Report on the WPA Program*, 15-18, 23.

WPA Projects in Adair County

Adair County officials acted quickly to take advantage of the opportunity for WPA aid. During the transition period between the FERA and WPA, John A. Goodall, Adair County Relief Administrator, urged local officials to submit applications promptly for WPA projects. Goodall stated, “This is one chance in a lifetime for us to secure without great cost to us, valuable public improvements.”⁶

Some of the first WPA projects within Adair County included the construction of several low-water dams. The dams served to protect against flooding and soil erosion. WPA work crews often built these smaller dams on private property. However, the land owner granted an easement which permitted perpetual public access to the dammed waters, usually for the purposes of fishing or swimming. In July 1935, the Oklahoma Fish and Game Commission made application for WPA funds for the construction of fish hatcheries, ponds, and the damming of streams. The application called for \$44,879 for Adair County, with which to employ 220 men. By late 1935, WPA crews began construction of two of these dams on Caney Creek near Stilwell. The WPA constructed the largest of these dams near the community of Rabbit Trap. Upon completion in May 1936, this dam measured fifteen feet in height and created a lake several acres in size. In July 1936, Cy Avery, District WPA Administrator, along with other WPA officials, toured District #1 to view various WPA projects. Their caravan of automobiles stopped at the Rabbit Trap Dam for inspection. By early 1937, WPA crews completed six low-water dams within Adair County. These dams included the two on Caney Creek and one

⁶*Adair County Democrat*, July 18, 1935.

Figure 2.1. Low-water dam constructed by WPA labor in 1936 four miles south of Watts.



Figure 2.2. Low-water dam constructed by WPA labor in 1936 four miles south of Watts.



each at Spring Branch, Rabbit Trap, Lydia Lee, and Early Bee. By the close of the WPA program, crews finished at least ten dams in Adair County which included additional structures at Piney, Wright's Chapel, near Green School, and near Strawberry Springs.⁷

Another early WPA effort in Adair County included a county-wide sanitation program. In early August 1935, President Roosevelt approved more than \$2 million dollars for sanitation programs throughout Oklahoma. The allocation of this money for Adair County totaled \$10,535. Through the cooperation of the WPA and the Oklahoma State Department of Health, the program implemented projects aimed at the prevention and control of communicable diseases such as typhoid fever. A major part of the program included the construction of sanitary privies. WPA crews constructed these toilets free of charge to any Adair County individual who provided the necessary materials, which cost approximately five to ten dollars. In September, fifteen Adair County men began this work under the supervision of WPA Foreman Cliff Paden. By June 1937, WPA crews installed a total of 429 sanitary toilets in Adair County. Although many families requested the construction of sanitary toilets, more families did not. As late as 1940, more than 37 percent of all Adair County farmhouses contained no toilet facilities, neither indoor nor outdoor.⁸

⁷*Final Report on the WPA Program*, 53; *The Oklahoman*, July 14, 1935; *Adair County Democrat*, March 12, 1936, May 7, 1936; Works Progress Administration, *Accomplishments of Works Progress Administration*, 70; *Westville Record*, April 5, 1940, March 20, 1942.

⁸*The Oklahoman*, August 7, 1935; *Adair County Democrat*, September 12, 1935, September 26, 1935, June 18, 1937; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Housing*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 290.

One type of WPA activity that encompassed perhaps the greatest number of projects in Adair County included the construction and improvement of district school buildings.⁹ During the years 1935 to 1941, the WPA constructed at least twenty-one entirely new school buildings within the county. In addition to new buildings, the WPA also completed school improvement projects in most all the county's forty-one school districts. Each of the three largest towns in Adair County—Stilwell, Watts, and Westville—received new WPA school buildings or additions to existing buildings. One of the earliest schools constructed by WPA labor included the Rock Branch School in far northern Adair County. Crews constructed a one-room building of native stone, which they completed in June 1936. The building cost \$2,600.84, with the WPA providing federal funds in the amount of \$2,386.31 for labor. The Rock Branch School District contributed building supplies in the amount of \$214.53, or 8 percent of the total cost. Following the completion of the modern stone building, Adair County School Superintendent George M. Hagan praised the WPA project. “Instead of a small irregular attendance,” he stated, “the building is already filled. Courage, ambition, and morale is restored.”¹⁰

Another school built early in the WPA program included a native-stone high school building at Westville. Built during 1936, the building differed from all other school buildings the WPA constructed in Adair County in that it reflected Mission-style

⁹See Appendix B for a list of WPA projects undertaken at Adair County district schools.

¹⁰George M. Hagan to Ron Stephens, March 5, 1938, United States Community Appraisal Report, Adair County, Oklahoma, Government Documents, Edmon Low Library, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma; *Adair County Democrat*, June 4, 1936.

architecture. The building contained eight classrooms, offices, library and study hall, auditorium, and restrooms. The project cost \$66,248.73. Federal funds totaled \$42,947.82, and the school district matched \$23,300.91 in funds, or 35 percent of the total cost. The WPA employed an average of 100 men during the nine-month construction. The project included the preparation of stone from a quarry three miles from Westville. School officials held a dedication ceremony for the new building at the beginning of the 1937-1938 school year. The program included speeches by Congressman John C. Nichols, State WPA Administrator Ron Stephens, District WPA Administrator Cy Avery, and former Congressman W.W. Hastings.¹¹

Three months later, another district in Adair County dedicated a new high-school building built by WPA. In 1937, Union Grade District I-30, now known as Cave Springs, opened a new native-stone building containing five classrooms, office, and library. The project cost \$11,407.43, of which federal funds through the WPA totaled \$7,814.92. The school district matched \$3,592.51, or 31 percent of the total cost. The project application called for the employment of 105 men on the project.¹²

In February 1939, WPA crews began construction work at Watts School. The WPA approved the district for a two-story, four-room addition on the west end of the

¹¹George M. Hagan to Ron Stephens, March 4, 1938, United States Community Appraisal Report, Adair County, Oklahoma, Government Documents, Edmon Low Library, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma; *Adair County Democrat*, June 4, 1936; *Westville Record*, September 17, 1937.

¹²*Adair County Democrat*, December 17, 1937, March 17, 1938; George M. Hagan to Ron Stephens, March 4, 1938, United States Community Appraisal Report, Adair County, Oklahoma, Government Documents, Edmon Low Library, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma; Works Progress Administration Project Index, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 69, Publication T-935, Reel 54, Government Documents, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

high school building. The project also included grading and landscaping the school grounds. The project application asked for \$6,999.00 in federal funds. The school district matched \$3,200.00, or 36 percent of total funds. The project called for the employment of 56 local men to complete 17,376 hours of work. During construction, however, a county newspaper reported current enrollment on the project at only 36 men.¹³

Stilwell officials encountered numerous delays and setbacks during their efforts to obtain a WPA project for their city school. In September 1935, city officials finalized plans for a two-story addition to the south end of the existing high school building to house a home economics and vocational agriculture department. To fund the school's portion of the project costs, the school board proposed the passage of a five-mill building fund levy. However, implementation of the building project failed to materialize. In May 1936, Stilwell school officials again pressured administrators for a WPA project. This time the school board favored the construction of an entirely new building. Board members Abe L. Allison and Walter Fleming traveled to Tulsa to meet with WPA District Administrator Cy Avery concerning the project. They discussed the construction of a native-stone building to cost approximately \$60,000.00. Avery explained that Stilwell citizens must pass a bond issue of \$9,000.00, or approximately 15 percent of the project costs. However, due to outstanding indebtedness of the Stilwell School District, state law allowed Stilwell citizens to vote bonds for only a little more than \$4,000.00, not

¹³ Works Progress Administration Project Index, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 69, Publication T-935, Reel 54, Government Documents, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; *Westville Record*, February 10, 1939.

enough to gain WPA approval.¹⁴ The Stilwell newspaper reported the setback under a bleak headline which read “New School Building Is Only A Dream.”¹⁵

Many citizens believed that Stilwell’s inability to secure a WPA project resulted from the intentional oversight of WPA District Administrator Cy Avery. Some Stilwell citizens favored the redistricting of Adair County within the WPA administration. They asked that Stilwell be removed from District #1 headquartered in Tulsa and be added to District #2, which operated from McAlester. Concurrent with the city’s trouble in obtaining a project, Stilwell citizens became cognizant of, and followed the construction progress of, the large WPA high school in Westville. This news only added to the frustration in Stilwell. Stilwell citizens believed Cy Avery intentionally held up plans for Stilwell WPA projects. Their reasoning stemmed from an incident in 1934 when Cy Avery ran for Oklahoma governor. Avery made a campaign stop in Stilwell, but only fifteen people assembled to hear him speak. Additionally, Avery received very few votes from Stilwell during the election. Believing Avery wanted to settle the score with Stilwell, the local newspaper reported, “So that’s one reason why dear Uncle Cy is sore at Adair County. We injured his supreme vanity. And he’s not forgiving us poor hill-billies. Hell no, let them hill-billies in Adair County go without a WPA project unless they’re republicans.” The article added, “He’s the boy who RUNS things in this part of the country. If Cy doesn’t like you, you don’t get NOTHIN’.”¹⁶

¹⁴*Adair County Democrat*, September 5, 1935, June 4, 1936.

¹⁵*Adair County Democrat*, June 4, 1936.

¹⁶*Adair County Democrat*, October 22, 1936.

The disapproval of Stilwell citizens concerning WPA administration proved to be meaningless criticism, for Stilwell eventually received a large allocation of the county's WPA projects. The Stilwell School District received two WPA projects. During the summer of 1937, WPA crews repaired both the high school and grade school buildings. The projects included reroofing both buildings and re-plastering the classrooms. The WPA employed approximately forty to fifty men on the projects. In 1941, WPA crews constructed an entirely new native-stone school building at Stilwell. The WPA project application listed a total cost of \$59,589, with federal funds of \$39,465 for labor. The school district provided funds of \$20,124, or nearly 34 percent of the costs. The project called for the employment of approximately 100 men on the project for a completion of 111,902 hours of labor. When completed, the new building contained nine classrooms, library, offices, and restrooms.¹⁷

WPA crews constructed new buildings and built additions for at least twenty-three school districts throughout Adair County. The majority consisted of one-room, two-room, and four-room buildings. In addition to new construction, the WPA made repairs and improvements to schools in most all of Adair County's forty-one school districts. These improvements included repairing windows and doors, painting, constructing rock fences on school grounds, building stone enclosures for privies, drilling water wells, and building storm cellars. The WPA program resulted in the modernization of school facilities throughout Adair County. Sturdy and comfortable buildings replaced

¹⁷*Adair County Democrat*, April 8, 1937, September 24, 1937; *Westville Record*, July 4, 1941; Works Progress Administration Project Index, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 69, Publication T-935, Reel 54, Government Documents, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

dilapidated and inadequate school buildings. For the first time in the history of Adair County, the majority of school children attended classes in modern buildings.¹⁸

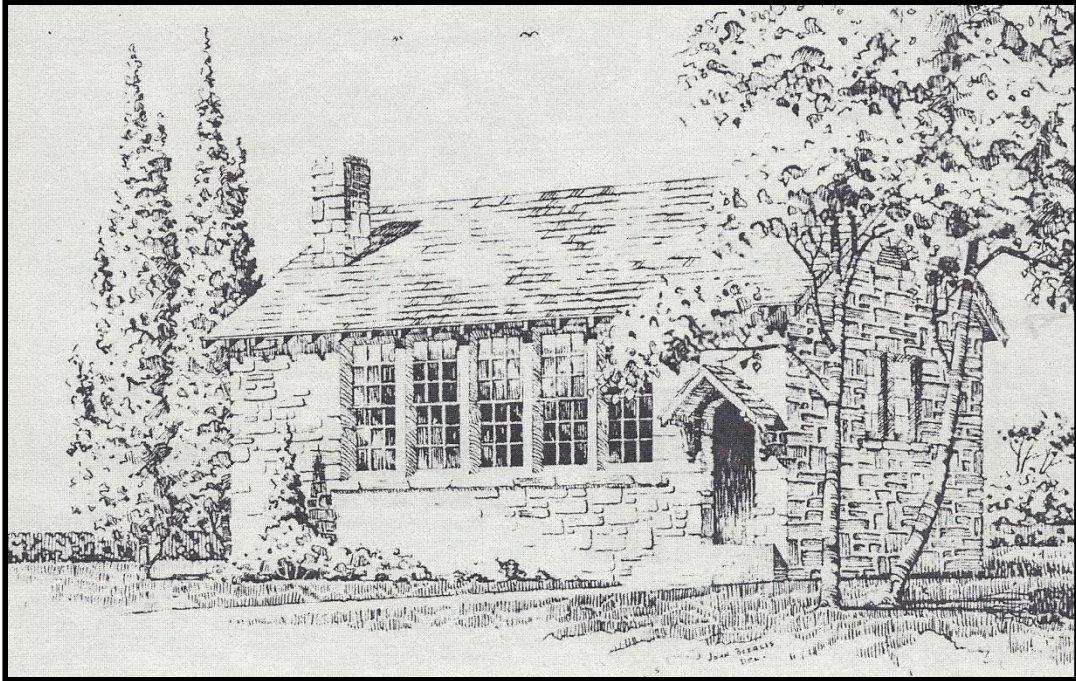
Table 2.1. Adair County Schools Receiving WPA Buildings or Additions (Excludes Repair and Remodeling Projects).

District:	School Name:	Construction:
1	Skelly	1937-1938
2	Proctor Ford (Lewis)	1939
2	Rock Branch	1936
4	Watts (four-room addition)	1939
5	Taylor	1938
5	Ward	1939
8	Morris	1940
11	Westville	1936
12	Green	1938
13	Christie	1939-1940
14	Proctor (two-room addition)	1936
16	Baron	1938
17	Union Hill	
19	East Peavine	1939
19	West Peavine	1938
22	Maryetta	1939
23	Pilgrim's Rest	
25	Stilwell	1941
27	Ewing Chapel (one-room addition)	1938
I-30	Union Graded (Cave Springs)	1937 & 1940
34	Whitmire	
35	Rabbit Trap	1939
37	Starr	1938

Source: Works Progress Administration Project Index, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 69, Publication T-935, Reel 54, Publication T-936, Reel 11, Publication T-937, Reel 13, Government Documents, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; *Adair County Democrat*, 1935-1941; *Westville Record*, 1935-1941.

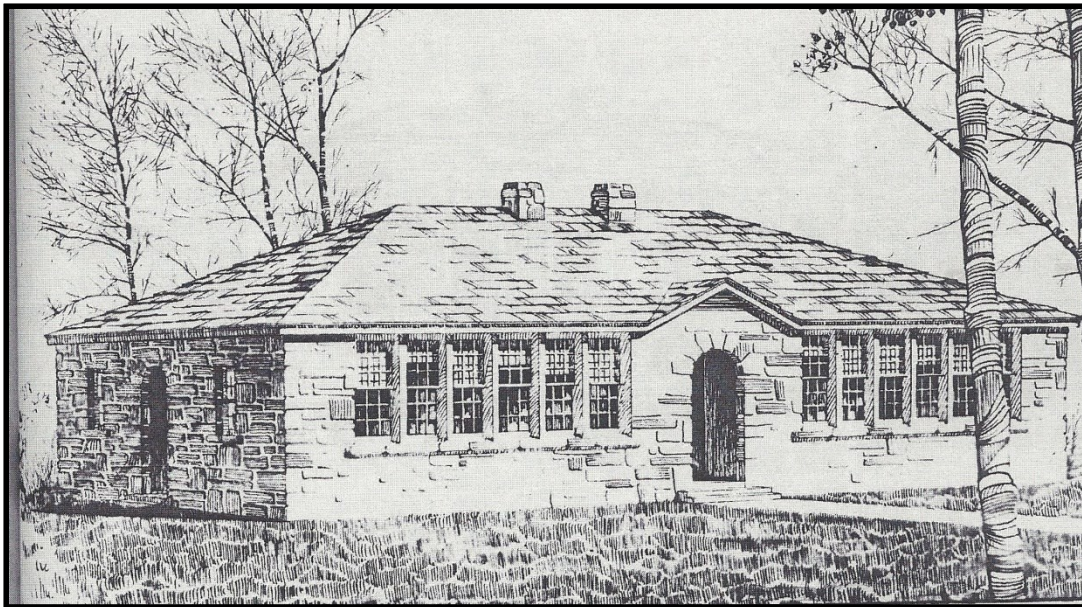
¹⁸Works Progress Administration Project Index, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 69, Publication T-935, Reel 54, Publication T-936, Reel 11, Publication T-937, Reel 13, Government Documents, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; *Adair County Democrat*, 1935-1941; *Westville Record*, 1935-1941. See Appendix B for list of WPA activity at district schools.

Figure 2.3. Architectural plan for a one-room school building. WPA labor constructed several schools of this plan in Adair County.



Source: Oklahoma Department of Public Instruction, *School Buildings: Mineature Plans and Perspectives* (Oklahoma City, OK: Division of Schoolhouse Planning, 1937). See plan number 1EA1.

Figure 2.4. Architectural plan for a four-room school building. WPA labor constructed several schools of this plan in Adair County.



Source: Oklahoma Department of Public Instruction, *School Buildings: Mineature Plans and Perspectives* (Oklahoma City, OK: Division of Schoolhouse Planning, 1937). See plan number 4EO4.

Figure 2.5. Christie School building of frame construction prior to New Deal.



Source: Personal photograph collection of Burlan Woods, Westville, Oklahoma. Photograph used by permission.

Figure 2.6. Modern, four-room, native-stone school building constructed at Christie by WPA labor in 1939.



Figure 2.7. Ward School building of frame construction prior to New Deal.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Society, Stilwell, Oklahoma.

Figure 2.8. Modern, two-room flagstone school building constructed at Ward by WPA labor in 1939.



Source: Personal photograph collection of Burlan Woods, Westville, Oklahoma. Photograph used by permission.

The largest type of WPA project within Adair County in terms of expense included the improvement of county roads through the farm-to-market road program. WPA crews contributed more hours of labor to these projects than any other type. The County Engineer and a WPA engineer developed work units and submitted plans for road projects. Often, the WPA granted approval for these projects on a county-wide basis. These projects improved county roads by widening them to standard grades. They also improved drainage with the construction of numerous cement and native-stone culverts and bridges. The improvements allowed local farmers to transport farm produce and livestock to markets more easily. By March 1936, a district WPA administrator reported the monthly employment of 500 men on 60 miles of farm-to-market roads in Adair County. An example of a countywide road project includes one approved in March 1940, which allocated federal funds in the amount of \$123,752. The road improvement included 31,000 cubic yards of excavating, 13,525 acres of clearing and grubbing, 20,000 square yards of sodding and filling, 5,000 square yards of riprapping, 33,000 cubic yards of surfacing and graveling, and constructing 400 masonry drainage ditch checks. The project application called for the employment of 214 men for the completion of 333,528 hours of road work.¹⁹

One of these farm-to-market roads included a segment of construction from the community of Chance in northern Adair County to the community of Chewey. As early

¹⁹Work Projects Administration and Ron Stephens, *Final Report of the Oklahoma Work Projects Administration*, Government Documents, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; *Adair County Democrat*, March 12, 1936; *Westville Record*, March 29, 1940, May 3, 1940; Works Progress Administration Project Index, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 69, Publication T-937, Reel 13, Government Documents, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

as May 1935, landowners along the route granted right-of-way easements. In April 1936, a newspaper reported that WPA crews made slow progress on the project. The terrain necessitated the construction of numerous cement and native-stone culverts for drainage. WPA crews hauled the necessary stone from Oil Springs, a community approximately five miles from the road construction. Subsequent WPA projects continued the work near Chance. In September 1940, the WPA expended \$6,077 for the grading and construction of concrete culverts a mile and a half west of Chance. In March 1941, crews started additional work south and west of Chance totaling \$12,315. The project included the erection of permanent structures allowing passage during any weather.²⁰

WPA road crews improved county roads in nearly all areas of the county. Today, motorists still utilize many of the concrete and native-stone bridges and culverts constructed by WPA labor. These structures display the WPA name and date of construction. Other examples of projects in the northern half of Adair County included a road improvement project from the community of Proctor to U.S. Highway 59. A WPA crew of 65 men began this project in December 1939, under the direction of Foreman C.L. Pulliam. Another project included the construction of native-stone bridges and culverts for the road leading north from the community of Chance and running northeast to the community of Watts. Road projects in the southern half of Adair County included road and culvert improvement south of Bunch. WPA crews also constructed

²⁰*Adair County Democrat*, May 9, 1935, April 30, 1936; *Westville Record*, September 6, 1940, March 21, 1940.

Figure 2.9. Bridge constructed in 1939 by WPA labor 1.4 miles north of Chance in northern Adair County.



Figure 2.10. Bridge constructed in 1939 by WPA labor 0.7 miles north of Chance in northern Adair County.



Figure 2.11. Culvert constructed in 1939 by WPA labor two miles west of Chance in northern Adair County.



Figure 2.12. Culvert constructed in 1941 by WPA labor near Horn School in southern Adair County.



native-stone culverts on the county road leading west from Horn School and built bridges for U.S. Highway 59 and State Highway 51.²¹

By early 1940, WPA crews completed 115.44 miles of new roads within Adair County. Crews improved many additional miles of existing roads. To drain these roads adequately, WPA enrollees constructed 404 concrete and native-stone culverts with a combined length of 10,383 feet. Crews built six bridges, two of steel and four of stone masonry. The combined footage of these bridges totaled 326 feet. The total cost of these projects by 1940 is unknown. However, by early 1938, expenditures for Adair County farm-to-market road projects totaled \$229,531.32.²²

WPA crews also provided labor for municipal street projects. In April 1939, the WPA approved a Stilwell street project totaling \$36,224, of which federal funds provided \$27,127 for labor costs. The city provided \$9,097 for materials. The project called for the construction of 56 culverts, 5,240 feet of curb and gutter construction, and graveling of 16,740 feet of city streets. Construction began in July with crews completing the first curbs and gutters on the block west of the county courthouse. The workman cut and laid large sandstones to form the gutters. In November, the city applied for the continuation of the project for the winter. The WPA approved the plan and provided an additional

²¹*Adair County Democrat*, September 3, 1936.

²²*Westville Record*, April 5, 1940; Ora Y. Gordon to Ron Stephens, March 4, 1938, United States Community Appraisal Report, Adair County, Oklahoma, Government Documents, Edmon Low Library, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

\$22,436 in federal funds. The city matched an additional \$6,948. The project provided work for 80 local men during the next six months.²³

Town citizens also benefitted from the improvement and construction of public buildings. In November 1935, the WPA approved \$2,884 for the repair and completion of a native-stone community building in Watts. Work began by March 1936. Workman also improved the grounds as part of the project. Stilwell citizens benefitted most from WPA aid for public buildings. In November 1937, the WPA approved the construction of a native-stone building to serve as Stilwell City Hall. The project included the demolition of the existing building. Construction plans included rooms for city offices, fire station, city auditorium, and city jail. To implement the project, city officials called for the passage of \$4,900 in city bonds to raise the necessary funds to match federal dollars. On January 28, 1938, citizens of Stilwell approved the bond issuance with a vote of 121 to 36. Demolition of the old city hall building began in late February, and by October, WPA crews completed construction of the building. The total cost of the project approximated \$46,000.²⁴

²³*Westville Record*, April 7, 1939; *Stilwell Democrat-Journal*, April 14, 1939, July 28, 1939, November 17, 1939, November 24, 1939, December 8, 1939; Works Progress Administration Project Index, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 69, Publication T-937, Reel 13, Archives Department, State Archives and Records Management, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

²⁴Works Progress Administration Project Index, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 69, Publication T-935, Reel 54, Archives Department, State Archives and Records Management, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; C.M. Daniels to Ron Stephens, March 4, 1938, United States Community Appraisal Report, Adair County, Oklahoma, Government Documents, Edmon Low Library, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma; *Adair County Democrat*, March 16, 1936, December 17, 1937, December 24, 1937, February 2, 1938, February 10, 1938; *Stilwell Democrat-Journal*, January 13, 1939; *The Oklahoman*, September 25, 1938.

Figure 2.13. Stilwell City Hall constructed in 1938 by WPA labor. Building no longer extant.

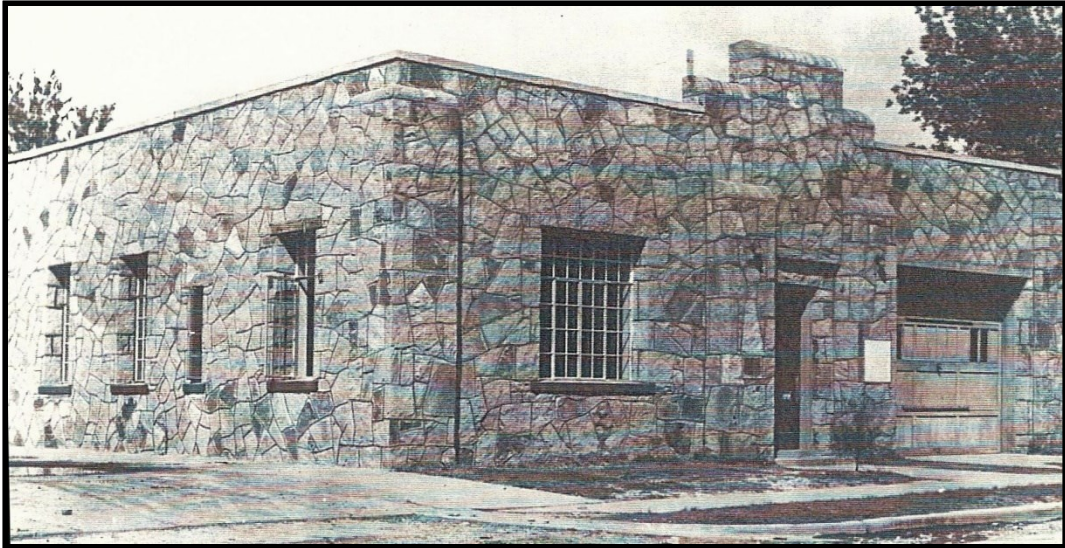


Figure 2.14. Cornerstone from Stilwell City Hall constructed in 1938 by WPA labor.



Stilwell officials also obtained WPA aid for the construction of a new sewage disposal plant. In November 1939, the WPA approved a project cost of \$17,189, of which federal funds totaled \$11,519. The project included the construction of a disposal plant and installation of plant equipment. The project required the City of Stilwell to acquire the disposal plant site prior to expending any federal funds. The project began in October 1940 and employed approximately fifty men.²⁵

Women & WPA

Compared to prior New Deal programs, the WPA provided improved work relief opportunities for women in Adair County. The WPA continued the use of the sewing room as the primary means of employment for women. In Adair County, sewing rooms operated in Baron, Bunch, Stilwell, Watts, and Westville. Employed women made garments and bedding for distribution to the needy within the county. However, less than four months into operation, State WPA Administrator W.S. Key ordered the closure of five of the county's sewing rooms as part of a relief curtailment program. Two months later, a women's work center opened in the county courthouse employing approximately thirty women. The center provided a wider range of activities for women than the previous sewing rooms. In addition to sewing, women participated in cooking, canning, and lessons in home sanitation and home welfare. The women received \$21.00 for seventeen days' work. Another center opened in Westville in the upstairs rooms of the People's Bank, but later moved to the Baker building. By June, the WPA employed twenty-nine women in Adair County; nineteen in Stilwell and ten in Westville. This

²⁵Works Progress Administration Project Index, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 69, Publication T-937, Reel 13, Archives Department, State Archives and Records Management, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; *The Oklahoman*, October 7, 1940.

number of women comprised approximately only 0.66 percent of the county's labor force. However, this small percentage of women's employment showed improvement from previous work relief programs. The number of women employed in Adair County remained low. By July 1939, the WPA employed only twenty-four women. Although staffed minimally, by April 1940, sewing rooms in Adair County produced 8,268 men's garments and 8,245 women's garments for distribution to needy families.²⁶

Another WPA project providing employment for Adair County women included the preparation of lunches for school children. In December 1937, the WPA approved \$2,750 in payroll to employ mostly women for the preparation of hot lunches for undernourished school children at Stilwell School. In November 1938, the WPA approved a similar project countywide with an appropriation of \$5,993. In addition to the preparation of school lunches, the project also employed women to preserve donated foodstuffs for school lunch programs. The WPA organized five canning-gardening units within the county. Each unit canned and dried foodstuffs for use by local schools. By April 1940, women employed by the WPA prepared and served 58,863 hot lunches to Adair County school children. During 1941, women employed by the WPA canned a total of 15,530 quarts of food for school lunches. In addition, these women dried 32,667 pounds of food. The amount of food preserved from each unit totaled the following:²⁷

²⁶*The Oklahoman*, March 14, 1936; *Adair County Democrat*, March 12, 1936, May 7, 1936, June 25, 1936; *Stilwell Democrat-Journal*, July 7, 1939; *Westville Record*, April 5, 1940, October 3, 1941.

²⁷Works Progress Administration Project Index, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 69, Publication T-935, Reel 54, Publication T-936, Reel 11, Archives Department, State Archives and Records Management, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; *Westville Record*, April 5, 1940, January 31, 1941, July 25, 1941, October 24, 1941.

Table 2.2. WPA Canning-Gardening Unit Productivity, 1941.

Unit	Quarts of Food Canned	Pounds of Food Dried
Christie	2,772	9,360
Peavine	3,788	8,580
Stilwell	3,551	7,807
Watts	3,661	4,800
Westville	1,758	2,120
Total	15,530	32,667

Source: *Westville Record*, October 24, 1941.

Professional Labor & WPA

The WPA also provided work relief opportunities for unemployed clerical, technical, and professional workers. Recognizing the need of this group, President Roosevelt and WPA Administrator Harry L. Hopkins included work projects for artists, writers, architects, musicians, and other unemployed professionals. Hopkins stated, “Notwithstanding the almost immeasurable benefits that will accrue to the public from the physical labors of the unemployed, . . . I have come to the belief that the greatest contributions . . . are these less tangible ones made by our professional and service workers.”²⁸

The WPA sponsored Federal Project No. 1. The project’s goal included the employment of professional workers in various programs, which included the Federal Art Project, the Federal Theatre Project, the Federal Music Project, the Federal Writers’ Project, and the Historical Records Survey. Contrary to the importance WPA administrators attributed to service projects, Federal Project No. 1 received less than 2 percent of the initial budget for the WPA. During the peak of WPA employment, which

²⁸Harry L. Hopkins, *Spending to Save: The Complete Story of Relief* (New York: W.W. Norton Publishers & Company, Inc., 1936), 173-174.

totaled more than 3.3 million workers in November 1938, Federal Project No. 1 employed only tens of thousands.²⁹

In December 1935, W.S. Key, State WPA Administrator, appointed Muskogee historian Grant Foreman as director of a project hiring unemployed professional workers. Foreman devised plans to implement the Indian-Pioneer History Project for Oklahoma. The program's main goal included transcribing and categorizing oral histories from aging Native Americans and other Oklahoma pioneers. Foreman appointed at least four district supervisors for the project, who directed the work of numerous field workers. The field workers sought Native Americans able to provide useful historical information concerning living and dead Indian pioneers, tribal customs, folklore and legends, Indian removal, the Civil War, trading villages, and early Indian burial grounds. Project employees also questioned other early Oklahoma settlers concerning pre-statehood events, early communities, businesses, and cultural aspects of pioneer life.³⁰

By March 1937, the WPA Indian-Pioneer History Project employed more than sixty field workers, of which at least three included unemployed workers from Adair County. That year, Adair County field workers included William J. B. Bigby, Ernest F. Dodson, and Gus Hummingbird. Later, field workers included Jesse S. Bell and Alfred E. Hicks. Chauncey O. Moore served as the district supervisor. Field workers traveled throughout the rural areas of Adair County and collected numerous interviews and

²⁹*Final Report on The WPA Project, 1935-1943*, 63; Michael Hiltzik, *The New Deal: A Modern History* (New York: Free Press, 2011), 287.

³⁰Works Progress Administration, *The Manual of Indian-Pioneer History Project for Oklahoma: WPA Project S-149*, January 1937, Box 3, Folder 1, Indian-Pioneer History Project, Grant Foreman Collection, Archives and Manuscripts Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

transcribed cemetery monuments. Bigby and Hummingbird completed the most oral interviews and cemetery surveys in Adair County. These men occasionally interviewed and surveyed cemeteries collaboratively.³¹

Another area of work within Federal Project No. 1 consisted of the Historical Records Survey. Through this program, the WPA employed clerical and professional workers to assist state, county, and local government offices in locating, arranging, and cataloguing historical records. These workers also compiled lists of useful historical records for future publication in hopes of aiding historical research. Beginning in 1936, the WPA sponsored one of these projects at the Adair County Courthouse. Adair County resident John A. Alberty drew floor plans of the courthouse and noted the size, location, and furnishings of the county offices. For each office, Alberty catalogued associated files and paperwork. Upon completion of the project, a type-written report, comprising more than 200 pages, described the current condition of courthouse records and provided a complete inventory of available county documents.³²

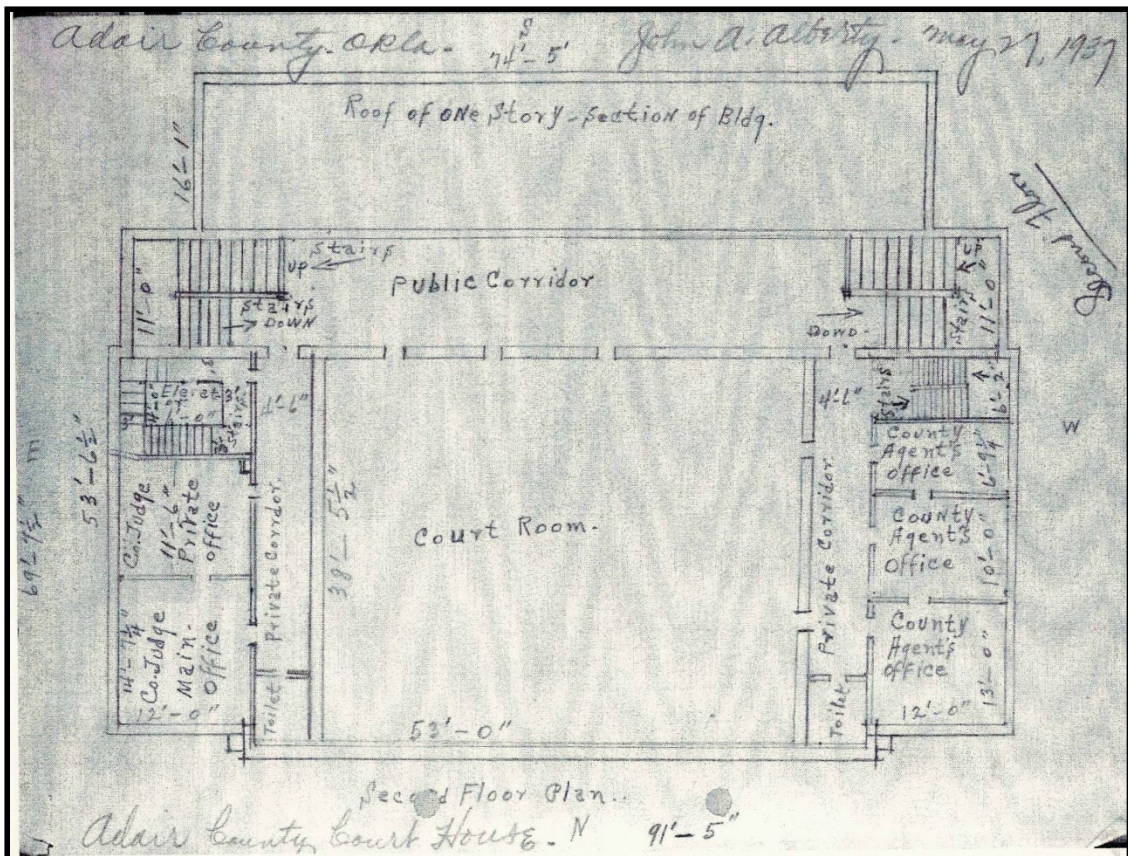
Program Quotas

The quota of WPA workers within Adair County varied based on perceived need. In contrast to the CWA, which provided jobs based on population, the WPA selected individuals for work relief based on their need as determined by county relief agencies.

³¹Ibid.

³²*Final Report on the WPA Program*, 67; Volumes Form, WPA Historical Records Survey, MS 21-1-3, Box 1, Folder 1-5, Archives Department, State Archives and Records Management, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Inventory Drafts, WPA Historical Records Survey, MS 21-1-5, Box 1, Folder 1-1, Archives Department, State Archives and Records Management, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Figure 2.15. Floor plan of Adair County Courthouse drawn as part of the WPA's Historical Records Survey. May 1937.



Source: Adair County Building Forms, Works Progress Administration County Inventory Forms, MS 21-1-3, Folder 1-15, Archives Department, State Archives and Records Management, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

However, work quotas proved unpredictable due to fluctuations in WPA appropriations. By late October 1935, Oklahoma WPA workers totaled 22,683. Striving to meet the original quota of 3.5 million WPA workers nationwide by December, WPA administrators increased work roll totals. By November 2nd, the number of Oklahoma WPA workers increased to 29,866, or 3.6 percent of the state's gainful workers. In striking contrast, by the close of the year 1935, the WPA employed 791 individuals within Adair County. This number comprised approximately 17 percent of the labor force, and more than 5 percent of the county population. However, it is likely that although the WPA maintained these workers on the rolls, the program worked them in groups at different times. Thus, the percentage of county laborers receiving aid in any one week measured significantly less. During the period from the implementation of the WPA program in Adair County on October 1, 1935 to February 1, 1936, WPA payrolls totaled \$40,340.81. The payroll calculated 208,109 hours worked during these four months by 734 workers. Thus, the average payroll received during this time totaled \$54.96. Workers receiving this payroll comprised approximately 16 percent of the labor force and 5 percent of the population of Adair County.³³

WPA employment numbers varied during the year 1936. In April, a Stilwell newspaper reported the immediate suspension of all WPA projects until further notice. The cutback left approximately 100 WPA workers in Adair County to finish existing projects. By June, the WPA cancelled the suspension and administrators reached the

³³*Adair County Democrat*, March 5, 1936; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Unemployment*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931), 819; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population*, vol. 5 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1933), 50.

total quota of workers in Adair County. At that time, 384 individuals worked on WPA assignments countywide. These works employed nearly 9 percent of the labor force and 2 percent of the total county population. By the next month, the number of WPA workers statewide included 55,036 individuals, or 7 percent of the state's labor force.³⁴

The number of WPA workers in Adair County increased during the late summer of 1936 due to worsening drought conditions. In August, the WPA prepared to increase WPA rolls to absorb needy farmers. However, the increase in quota proved but a minimal help to destitute farmers. A Stilwell newspaper reported that the WPA approved a small project employing sixty-five drought-stricken locals. The newspaper article remarked, "The WPA scheduled in some parts of the state to provide work for drought-destitute farmers, but is doing little here."³⁵ A number of farmers joined WPA work relief at this time, but it proved to be the first time many of these residents accepted relief. By December 1936, the WPA employed approximately 700 men on sixteen different projects countywide. However, the WPA worked no more than 350 of these men at any one time. This number of workers comprised approximately 8 percent of the county labor force and 2 percent of the total population.³⁶

³⁴*New York Times*, November 3, 1935, November 10, 1935, July 24, 1936; *Adair County Democrat*, June 11, 1936; Oklahoma State Planning Board, *Preliminary Report on State Planning: Facts and Findings Pertaining to Physical, Social and Economic Conditions Which Are Essential to Comprehensive State Planning For Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1936), 291; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Population*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1942), 845; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Population*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 4.

³⁵*Adair County Democrat*, August 13, 1936.

³⁶*Adair County Democrat*, August 6, 1936, August 13, 1936, December 3, 1936; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Population*,

By the close of the year 1937, the state-wide quota of WPA workers remained very close to the original quota at the implementation of the program. In December, the WPA announced the increase of 6,500 new WPA jobs for Oklahoma, revising the state's total quota back to 50,000. Of these new jobs, Adair County received only fourteen.³⁷

By June 1939, the quota of WPA workers within Adair County remained much the same as in previous years. By mid-year, 363 men and 24 women in Adair County found employment through WPA work relief. However, at the same time, an additional 201 men and 12 women qualified for WPA jobs in Adair County, but remained unemployed while awaiting assignment. At this time, the number of Adair County individuals employed by WPA accounted for nearly 9 percent of the county's labor force, or 3 percent of the total county population. At the same time, however, the WPA employment comprised only 6 percent of the state's total labor force. Thus, the statistics reveal that the inhabitants of Adair County consistently received a greater percentage of WPA work assignments compared to state and national figures.³⁸

Effectiveness & Benefits

Although the WPA program undertook the most extensive work relief program in Adair County during the New Deal, the results fell far short of stimulating the local

vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 845; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Population*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1942), 863.

³⁷*The Oklahoman*, December 30, 1937.

³⁸*Stilwell Democrat-Journal*, July 7, 1939; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Population*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1942), 845; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Population*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 3, 4.

economy and ending depressed economic conditions. As late as 1938, the county contained 1,290 unemployed individuals seeking work. This number totaled approximately 29 percent of the county's labor force. Conditions improved during the next two years. By 1940, approximately 8 percent of the labor force remained unemployed and seeking work.³⁹

Though the WPA failed to substantially offset the unemployment crises of the Great Depression, statistics prove that the WPA employed a greater percentage of the Adair County labor force than work forces at the Oklahoma and national levels. By the close of 1935, the percentage gainful workers from Adair County employed by WPA totaled more than 13 percent higher than the state number. In 1939, WPA employment in Adair County, expressed as a percentage of the labor force, totaled 3 percent higher than the figure for the labor force nationwide. These substantial differences in employment percentages resulted from the perceived need of the citizens of Adair County. The devastating drought years of 1934 and 1936 created an increased need for work relief within the county. As a result, Adair County benefited from higher employment percentages.

The WPA program produced numerous benefits within Adair County. The payrolls received by those enrolled in work relief helped ease the burden brought by tough economic times. Additionally, enrollees learned valuable work skills through hands-on training. Many WPA laborers learned construction, masonry, and soil

³⁹ *Adair County Democrat*, January 21, 1938; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Population*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 845.

conservation techniques. Women also benefited from learning skills such as home economics. The greatest legacy of the WPA program in Adair County includes the extensive improvements to county roads and bridges. Prior to this work, many rural roads throughout the county proved impassible during wet seasons. WPA farm-to-market road projects provided farmers improved transportation routes to market. WPA crews also extensively overhauled and modernized school facilities in Adair County. Sturdy, native-stone school buildings replaced crowded, inadequate, and dilapidated frame school buildings. City governments also acquired new or remodeled buildings. WPA projects permanently altered the county landscape. The tangible results of WPA work relief increased county wealth and proved to be lasting reminders of the Roosevelt Administration's initiative to bring a New Deal to Adair County.

CHAPTER III

WORK RELIEF FOR YOUTH: CCC & NYA

As the economy deteriorated during the Great Depression, the youth of the United States soon comprised the largest unemployed group in the labor force. In Autumn 1933, approximately 13 percent of all rural Oklahomans ages 18 to 24 belonged to families receiving unemployment relief. By late 1937, only 56 of every 100 young men ages 20 to 24 worked fulltime. During this period, youth ages 16 to 24 comprised one-third of the nation's unemployed. This high rate of unemployment resulted from the reluctance of employers during times of economic hardship to hire and train young people when it proved more cost effective to hire older and experienced laborers. To combat unemployment among young people and the demoralization that accompanied it, President Franklin D. Roosevelt included relief programs for youth in his New Deal. Two of these programs included the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration. Youth from Adair County, Oklahoma took part in both of these programs. Due to minimal numbers enrolled, as intended by New Deal administrators, these programs never solved the problem of unemployment among Adair County youths. However, the percentage of Adair County's work force aided by these programs slightly exceeded the percentage employed nationwide. The relief wages earned by the young

people helped relieve some of the burden that the depressed economy inflicted upon families within the area. These popular programs effectively provided evidence that administrators of the New Deal sympathized with the nation's unemployed and destitute youth. Through participation in work relief, Adair County youth helped create tangible and long-lasting improvements. These improvements included county roads, schools and other public buildings, and implementation of soil conservation techniques.¹

One of the goals of Roosevelt's New Deal included bringing immediate relief to the numerous unemployed young men throughout the United States. Thus, one of Roosevelt's earliest New Deal programs included the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Roosevelt understood that the program would not solve the nation's unemployment problem by itself, but that it was a primary step to combat the emergency situation.²

Creation & Objectives of CCC

On March 21, 1933, Roosevelt sent a message to Congress urging the creation of a civilian conservation corp. The President envisioned the program providing temporary employment to some 250,000 young men in simple work such as forestry, soil conservation, and flood control. An added benefit of the program included the preservation of natural resources, thus "creating future national wealth."³ In his previous

¹Federal Emergency Relief Administration, *Unemployment Relief Census: October 1933: Urban and Rural Areas* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934), 84-85; Betty Lindley and Ernest K. Lindley, *A New Deal for Youth: The Story of the National Youth Administration* (New York: The Viking Press, 1938), 8-9.

²Message from the President of the United States, *Unemployment Relief*, 73rd Cong., 1st sess., 1933, H. Doc. 6, 2.

³Ibid.

role as governor of New York, Roosevelt developed a similar program to safeguard the state's natural resources. Later, during his presidency, Roosevelt drew upon this experience and created the CCC, a project of special interest. Most importantly, the President understood that most unemployed Americans desired to earn an honest living through work. By the creation of the CCC, Roosevelt hoped to "eliminate to some extent at least the threat that enforced idleness brings to spiritual and moral stability."⁴ After a debate of eight days, Congress approved Roosevelt's plan and passed the Reforestation Relief Act. The President signed the bill on March 31st, and the CCC program began operation the first week of April. The program originated under the official name of Emergency Conservation Work (ECW), but later, it changed to the common name used by the majority of Americans – the Civilian Conservation Corps. Although the CCC existed as its own agency, four departments of the United States Government supervised and operated the program. The Department of Labor selected applicants with the cooperation of local relief and welfare agencies, while the Department of War operated the camps and fulfilled all administration and supply functions. The Department of the Interior and Department of Agriculture planned and supervised the conservation projects. By executive order, Roosevelt selected Robert Fechner as director of the CCC program and allocated \$10 million in funds. Only twelve days after the program's creation, the first work camp opened in Virginia.⁵

⁴Michael Hiltzik, *The New Deal: A Modern History* (New York: Free Press, 2011), 66; Message from the President of the United States, *Unemployment Relief*, 73rd Cong., 1st sess., 1933, H. Doc. 6, 1-2.

⁵Hiltzik, *The New Deal*, 66-68; Anthony J. Badger, *FDR: The First Hundred Days* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2008), 56; *Activities of the Civilian Conservation Corps: July 1, 1938-June 30, 1939* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office,

Program Operation

Program operation changed somewhat during the CCC's nine-year existence. The CCC originally limited enrollment to a six-month period for single men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. The program paid workers thirty dollars per month plus provided boarding, meals, health services, and educational and recreational opportunities. Twenty-five dollars of each enrollee's payroll went directly home to his family. The enrollee retained five dollars of his monthly pay for his own personal use within the camp and with merchants in nearby towns. Later, the CCC revised these amounts by paying twenty-two dollars to the family and eight dollars to the enrollee. The program also implemented a savings account in later years to ensure that each enrollee left the program with cash money.⁶

The CCC operated eighty-eight camps within the state of Oklahoma during the years 1933-1942, although not all these camps functioned at the same time. During the year 1936, the program operated forty-nine camps statewide. Crews from fifteen of these camps worked on the construction of parks. Seven camps existed for the purpose of carrying out forestry projects. The majority of camp crews in Oklahoma at this time, twenty-five, worked on soil conservation projects. Army post camps comprised seven of

1940), 2, 25, 50, 68; Robert Fechner, *Objectives and Results of the Civilian Conservation Corps Program* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1938), 4, 6.

⁶Fechner, *Objectives and Results*, 6; OGR State Broadcast, Number Five-A, Civilian Conservation Corps Administration Files, Office of Government Reports, 1939-1940, MS 22-3, Box FF, Folder 1-24, Archives Department, State Archives and Records Management, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

the Oklahoma camps. Of the forty-nine camps in 1936, the CCC designated five as camps for veterans and five for African Americans.⁷

Adair County CCC Activity

In April 1935, Adair County Extension Agent, J.S. Knox, and the vocational agriculture teacher at Stilwell High School, began an effort to hasten the acquisition of a CCC camp for Adair County. Their petition for a camp resulted from learning that the federal government allotted the Second Congressional District of Oklahoma money for the establishment of four soil conservation CCC camps. Knox urged the farmers of Adair County to join his proposal in united action. He argued, ““With thousands of our most fertile acres gradually washing away and nothing being done to check it, it will be only a few years until our soils will be so poor that no one can farm them with any profit.””⁸

Adair County officials proved unsuccessful in securing a CCC camp early in the program’s operation, but a number of the county’s youth served in camps in nearby counties. One of the camps designated for park construction included Company 2806 near Spavinaw in Mayes County. This camp constructed Spavinaw Lake State Park through CCC project SP-23. In May 1936, sixty young men from Adair County left Stilwell bound for the Spavinaw CCC camp. Each of the county’s three commissioners chose twenty applicants for possible selection. After the arrival of the men at Spavinaw,

⁷Reid A. Holland, “Life in Oklahoma’s Civilian Conservation Corps,” *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 48 (Spring 1970): 227; *A Compendium of Maps and Charts Pertaining to State Planning in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma State Planning Board, 1936), 162.

⁸*Adair County Democrat*, April 18, 1935.

the CCC selected only thirty, the quota set for Adair County. The remaining men returned home to wait until the following enrollment period to try for selection.⁹

Another camp in which many Adair County men worked included Company 2807, also known as Camp Searcy, located two miles northwest of Wagoner in Wagoner County. This camp operated under project number SCS-16 and it implemented soil conservation projects throughout the area. This camp continued to receive Adair County enrollees until its disbandment in March 1942.¹⁰

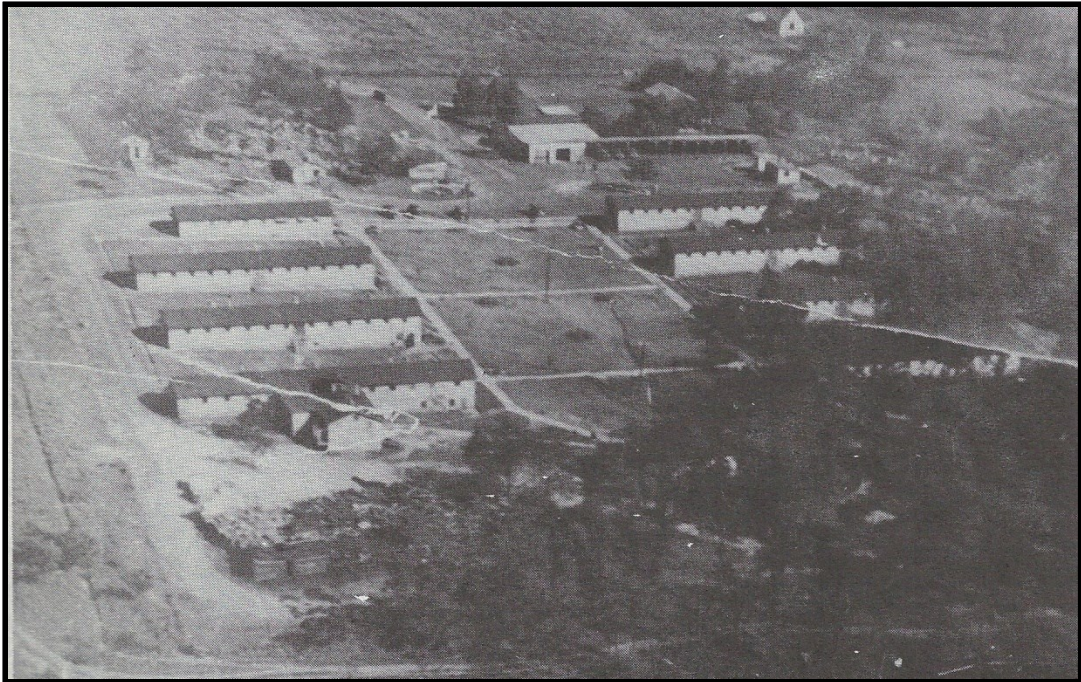
Program Quotas

The number of young men selected from Adair County to join the CCC varied greatly depending on the county quota set by CCC officials. Due to inconsistent enrollment reporting periods found in CCC records, it is difficult to accurately tabulate the total number of enrollees from Adair County. However, it appears that Adair County usually either met or slightly exceeded its quota established by CCC. In May 1933, some of the first youths from the county enlisted at the Muskogee, Oklahoma office. Although twenty-nine young men enlisted, it is unknown how many the CCC accepted. In the nine-month period from April 1 to December 31, 1935, the CCC enrolled only twenty-three men from Adair County. In August 1935, eighty young men from the county sought enrollment in the program at the Tulsa, Oklahoma office. In the six-month period

⁹*A Compendium of Maps and Charts*, 162; *Adair County Democrat*, May 14, 1936.

¹⁰*A Compendium of Maps and Charts*, 162; J.L. Hill to County Directors of Public Welfare, August 27, 1941, Letters of Instruction-Information Letters-CCC, 1941, MS 22-3, Box FF, Folder 1-2, Archives Department, State Archives and Records Management, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; *The Oklahoman*, March 7, 1942.

Figure 3.1. Aerial photograph of Civilian Conservation Corps Camp #2806, Spavinaw, Oklahoma. Undated photograph.



Source: Virgil Talbot, "C.C.C. Camp #2806, Spavinaw, Oklahoma." *The Goingsnake Messenger* 14 (August 1997): cover.

from October 1935 to March 1936, the CCC accepted seventy-six young men from Adair County. This number encompassed approximately 1.66 percent of Adair County's labor force. The same year, the CCC program enrolled approximately 1.06 percent of laborers nationwide. As the program moved toward retrenchment in the 1940s, county quotas decreased. In February 1941, officials set Adair County's quota of enrollees at only ten.¹¹

Program Requirements

The enrollment process and program requirements for Adair County enrollees also varied. The CCC offered enrollment every three months. In the first few years, young men from the county enrolled with district employment case workers. In addition to the main office located in Stilwell, seven district offices accepted enrollments on specified days of the week. The office locations included: Chewey, Watts, Christie, Westville, Horn School, Bell School, and Bunch. Later, young men seeking enrollment made application with the Welfare Director located in the county courthouse. The age restriction limiting enrollment to men eighteen to twenty-five changed to include seventeen-year-olds and men aged twenty-six to twenty-eight. Another requirement mandated that all enrollees must have parents on the relief rolls, and no enrollee could be

¹¹*Adair County Democrat*, June 1, 1933, August 15, 1935; *Compendium of Maps and Charts*, 162; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Population*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 845; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Population*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 4; Lewis Meriam, *Relief and Social Security* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1946), 439; Report January 1941-February 1941 Intermediate Enrollments, March 1, 1941, Letters of Instruction-Information Letters-CCC, 1941, MS 22-3, Box FF, Folder 1-2, Archives Department, State Archives and Records Management, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

accepted for reselection within one year of honorable discharge from the CCC. In September 1937, the reselection period changed to six months from honorable discharge, but only for enrollees age seventeen to twenty-three.¹²

Support & Criticism

Initiated as the pet project of Roosevelt, the CCC became one of the most favored and most memorable programs of the New Deal. Early in 1936, Roosevelt voiced his intention to downsize the CCC program by reducing the number of camps and by eliminating personnel. In 1935, the number of CCC personnel reached its apex at 600,000. Roosevelt wanted to reduce the number to 300,000 by July 1st. Oklahoma Representatives to the U.S. House, John C. Nichols and Jed J. Johnson, drafted a petition beseeching the President not to curtail the program. After obtaining the signatures of 223 members of the House, Speaker Joseph W. Byrnes presented the petition to Roosevelt. Gaining seventy-five signatures to form a Democratic caucus to analyze the issue, Nichols forced action from Roosevelt. The two reached a compromise which guaranteed a future CCC enrollment of at least 350,000 until the legal expiration of the program. Nichols's efforts to preserve the program resulted from the reaction of the Oklahoma people to the news of the intended CCC cutback. The rural population favored the work being done by the CCC, such as improvement of roads and bridges, and also did not want

¹²*The Emergency Relief Administration Program in Oklahoma: April 1 to December 31, 1934* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Department of Public Relations, 1934), 123; *Adair County Democrat*, June 21, 1934, May 21, 1936, March 18, 1937, September 24, 1937.

to lose the approximately \$3,000.00 monthly revenue generated from selling fresh produce to the CCC camps in the areas.¹³

The next year, Representative Johnson protested another Roosevelt plan to decrease appropriations for the CCC and reduce the number of camps. Johnson argued, “As long as there is work urgently needed, whether in soil conservation work or in park camps, and there are young men in need of work, it is false economy to close any of the camps.”¹⁴ However, the House eventually defeated Johnson’s proposal to add an extra appropriation of \$45 million for the CCC.¹⁵

Not everyone favored the CCC program. Throughout its existence, anti-New Dealers questioned the appropriateness of the work projects and ridiculed the program’s use of funding. In late 1938, the *New York Times* derided the CCC by stating that its activities included “...weeding whole prairies and doing things like gopher hunting which boys used to call play, but government reports regard as work.”¹⁶

Another critic of the program during its last few months of operation included Oklahoma Governor Leon Phillips. In an appearance before the Senate Labor Committee, Phillips called the CCC “poison to our boys,” and insinuated that the CCC prepared young men for a life of crime. Phillips told the committee that a “great majority” of prisoners in Oklahoma institutions were former CCC enrollees. Phillips

¹³*New York Times*, March 15, 1936, March 21, 1936, March 22, 1936, March 24, 1936.

¹⁴*New York Times*, December 10, 1937.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, *New York Times*, January 11, 1938.

¹⁶*New York Times*, December 25, 1938.

continued his diatribe by highlighting the laziness of CCC men and declared that “... farmers could not get an honest day’s work out of. . .” former CCC workers.¹⁷

Effectiveness & Benefits

Concurrent with differing public opinions of the CCC, the program’s effectiveness in combating unemployment among male youths remained questionable. In 1933, approximately 35 percent of the population of Adair County received unemployment relief. Population statistics from the 1930 census show that approximately 2,000 young men in Adair County met the age qualifications for CCC enrollment. Applying the same unemployment rate of 35 percent for these youths, a rough estimate provides a figure of 700 unemployed young men in Adair County in 1933. However, CCC enrollment fell far short of this number. By doubling the six-month enrollment figure of 76 men enrolled from Adair County from October 1935 to March 1936, the county’s yearly enrollment approximated only 152 men. Undoubtedly, many unemployed young men from Adair County never benefited from the CCC program. However, compared to the national percentage of the labor force employed by CCC, Adair County youths received slightly more enrollments. During the year 1936, the percentage of Adair County’s work force that found employment through the CCC totaled approximately 0.60 percent higher than the nationwide figure.¹⁸

¹⁷*New York Times*, April 16, 1942.

¹⁸Federal Emergency Relief Administration, *Unemployment Relief Census: October 1933: Urban and Rural Areas* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934), 177; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population*, vol. 3, part 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1932), 550; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Unemployment*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931), 819; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population*, vol. 5 (Washington,

Numerous benefits resulted from the CCC program. For the parents of those Adair County youths enrolled in the program, the monthly supplement to family income proved a crucial boost during the Depression. The young men participating in the CCC program benefited from the opportunity to learn new skills such as carpentry, masonry, and soil conservation techniques. Many CCC enrollees used these skills later for subsequent employers. Additionally, CCC enrollees provided labor for lasting improvements to roads, state parks, and agricultural landscapes. However, the CCC carried out none of this work within the boundaries of Adair County.¹⁹

Creation & Objectives of NYA

Another New Deal program created for assisting youth included the National Youth Administration (NYA). Most importantly, the NYA differed from the CCC in that it included females. President Roosevelt created the NYA on June 26, 1935, by executive order and appointed Aubrey Williams as director. The organization functioned under the Works Progress Administration, and Roosevelt approved \$50 million in funds for the youth program.²⁰ Speaking of the creation of the NYA, Roosevelt explained, “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

DC: Government Printing Office, 1933), 10, 50; Report January 1941-February 1941 Intermediate Enrollments, March 1, 1941, Letters of Instruction-Information Letters-CCC, 1941, MS 22-3, Box FF, Folder 1-2, Archives Department, State Archives and Records Management, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

¹⁹Later in Roosevelt’s New Deal, Native American CCC crews supervised by the Department of the Interior completed numerous projects within Adair County, Oklahoma. See Chapter IV for CCC-ID activities within Adair County.

²⁰Lindley, *A New Deal for Youth*, 13-14.

have their chance in school, their turn as apprentices, and their opportunity for jobs – a chance to work and earn for themselves.”²¹

The Roosevelt Administration created the NYA to combat several problems confronting American youth during the Great Depression. Most obviously, numerous youth remained unemployed and could not obtain jobs. Additionally, the administration recognized that often a gap of time existed between graduation from school and the time young men and women obtained jobs. The program also sought to combat the problem of unequal educational opportunities nationwide, as well as the failure of the current educational system to adequately prepare youths for work opportunities.²²

NYA officials designed two main objectives for the youth program. The first included the part-time employment of youth currently enrolled in school. This employment provided students funds useful for the continuance of their education. The second objective included providing work experience to youth no longer enrolled in school. The NYA provided these work opportunities by hiring boys and girls locally in their home towns to provide labor for four types of work projects: departmental assistance, construction and maintenance, clerical assistance, and semi-professional assistance. These projects often included labor in offices, libraries, and cafeterias.

²¹Quoted in Betty Lindley and Ernest K. Lindley, *A New Deal for Youth: The Story of the National Youth Administration* (New York: The Viking Press, 1938), 3.

²²Lindley, *A New Deal for Youth*, ix.

Young men also constructed buildings and landscaped grounds. Not only did this work provide a small source of income, but workers also gained valuable work experience.²³

Program Requirements

Student qualifications for program inclusion remained vague. The NYA required that all applicants must be in need. The program defined need to mean that approved applicants could not continue their education without NYA assistance. The NYA did not strictly require that students be from families on the relief rolls, but approximately 95 percent of NYA enrollees came from these families. However, the program enforced age restrictions requiring NYA participants to be ages sixteen to twenty-five.²⁴

The NYA devised compensation schedules for payments to program workers. The schedules limited high school students to earning no more than \$6.00 per month, \$20.00 for college students, and \$40.00 a month for graduate students. NYA officials required school administrators to set the hourly wage earned by students. The officials expected these wages to be comparable to local wages for young men and women.²⁵

Program Operation

The NYA existed as a decentralized program. Individual schools selected students for program participation. School administrators determined the need and qualifications of students, usually with the aid of local relief agencies. Schools also submitted plans for work projects to state NYA officials for approval. These schools

²³Meriam, *Relief and Social Security*, 445-446; Ronald Edsforth, *The New Deal: America's Response to the Great Depression* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 230.

²⁴Meriam, *Relief and Social Security*, 447; Lindley, *A New Deal for Youth*, 17; *Adair County Democrat*, July 16, 1936.

²⁵Meriam, *Relief and Social Security*, 446.

administered the implementation and completion of these projects. In Oklahoma, the NYA program functioned under the supervision of Houston A. Wright, State Administrator. James G. Ward served as Adair County NYA supervisor.²⁶

Adair County NYA Activity

In early March 1936, R.L. Baker, Adair County Superintendent of Schools, announced the implementation of the NYA program within Adair County. He stated that the NYA planned to hire county youths ages sixteen to twenty-five for the tasks of repairing library books and furniture, cleaning buildings, beautifying school grounds, and repairing school facilities. Baker urged any youth, whose parents belonged to the relief rolls, to apply with J.G. Ward, County Supervisor. By the end of the month, the NYA program employed sixty-five individuals within Adair County. The first projects included beautifying county school buildings and grounds.²⁷

By April 1936, the quota for the NYA work program in Adair County decreased to forty-six young men and women. Eight schools participated countywide, but the majority of NYA youngsters, twelve, participated in cooperation with Stilwell High School. In April, the NYA created jobs for forty-six students in Adair County with a monthly payroll of \$204.00. At the conclusion of the first year of NYA activity, 176 youths from Adair County benefited from various opportunities in the program. Nine students from Adair County received NYA aid while attending colleges and universities elsewhere in Oklahoma. Seventy-three high school students from the county earned

²⁶Meriam, *Relief and Social Security*, 445-446; *Adair County Democrat*, April 16, 1936, July 9, 1937.

²⁷*Adair County Democrat*, March 5, 1936, March 26, 1936.

wages by completing work projects located at their schools. These youths earned a total of \$1,899.83 for the year, an average yearly payroll of \$26.03 per student. An additional ninety-four youths not enrolled in school earned \$2,806.83 during the first year for project employment. These young men and women each earned approximately \$29.86 for the year.²⁸

Specific Projects

In July 1937, the state NYA director traveled to Stilwell to meet with citizens concerning the future of the NYA program. In addition to explaining the goals of the program, Director Wright aided citizens with the implementation of a plan to build a NYA center for county youth. Project plans called for the cooperation of the Stilwell School Board, Adair County Commissioners, Stilwell City Council, and NYA youth in the construction of a native-stone building on a city lot directly south of the Stilwell high school. The blueprints specified the construction of a building measuring 81 feet long and 44 feet wide to be utilized as a vocational workshop for boys, home economics rooms for girls, and a health clinic. The cost of the building totaled \$6,228, of which \$2,728 included building materials.²⁹

However, the fulfillment of plans for a Stilwell NYA youth center proved a quarrelsome ordeal. In late November, the NYA selected sixty young men from Adair County between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five for work on the youth center project. Supervisors grouped these workers in four groups of fifteen, with each group working one week per month. Preparation for the project began November 29th with

²⁸*Adair County Democrat*, April 16, 1936, July 16, 1936.

²⁹*Adair County Democrat*, July 16, 1937, September 17, 1937, December 3, 1937.

Figure 3.2. Youth center building constructed by National Youth Administration, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Building currently utilized by Stilwell Elementary School. Photograph taken Autumn 2012.



Figure 3.3. Youth center building constructed by National Youth Administration, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Photograph taken Autumn 2012.



Assistant Project Supervisor Taylor Paden instructing the quarrying of limestone one mile east of Stilwell. However, in mid-February 1938, the project stalled due to political infighting among the Stilwell School Board members. The disagreement occurred when NYA officials announced that Lace Rector of Westville would serve as the construction supervisor for the youth center building. School board members, Walter Fleming and Mrs. J.E. Burnett, objected to the appointment because they stated that the NYA did not consult them concerning the selection of Rector. Fleming and Burnett favored only a Stilwell man for appointment as project supervisor. They also blamed Chloe Jones, the wife of Stilwell's postmaster and ardent supporter of Democratic Congressman John C. Nichols, as the individual responsible for recommending to the NYA the Westville man as supervisor. The school board chairman, Abe L. Allison, sided with Jones. The members of the school board remained divided on the issue. Two county commissioners each withdrew their promised support of \$1,000 during the deadlock. Following three weeks of dissension by the school board members, Congressman Nichols contacted NYA officials about rescinding the appointment of Rector. Finally, NYA officials agreed to transfer Rector to another project. The Stilwell School Board then appointed Charles Downing as building supervisor and the project proceeded to completion.³⁰

NYA crews also provided labor on various other projects throughout Adair County. In September 1938, NYA youths undertook landscaping work at Skelly School.

³⁰*Adair County Democrat*, September 17, 1937, December 3, 1937, February 17, 1938, February 24, 1938, March 3, 1938, March 10, 1938, March 17, 1938, March 24, 1938, April 7, 1938.

This effort completed a school construction project began by WPA earlier in the year. NYA crews also provided grounds work at Green School in February 1939.³¹

In late 1939, young men in the NYA contributed labor for a project in Westville. In January 1939, the Works Progress Administration approved \$13,635 in federal funds for a park-improvement project for the city of Westville. The project called for the construction of an athletic field and track, bleachers, amphitheater, bandstand, playground equipment, concessions area, restrooms, and landscaping. However, the project stalled, and in September, a NYA representative traveled to Westville to speak with city officials about the possibility of utilizing NYA labor to complete the park.³² City officials grew impatient with the slow project approval and implementation process. In a mid-December newspaper article titled “That Awful City Park Project,” an editor voiced the city’s frustration concerning the project and complained, “This project is being handled it seems, just like a lot of the other projects. One man will come to town with the information all planned out from A to Z just how it will be handled and the next day another man appears with the information that the first fellow did not know beans and it must be done altogether different – around and around she goes – and still no park

³¹*Stilwell Democrat-Journal*, September 9, 1938; *Westville Record*, February 24, 1939.

³²Works Progress Administration Project Index, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 69, Publication T-936, Reel 11, Government Documents, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; *Westville Record*, January 27, 1939, September 22, 1939.

project.”³³ Finally, during the last week of December, a crew of NYA boys began work on the project under the supervision of NYA Superintendent Floyd Dudley.³⁴

Effectiveness & Benefits

Like the CCC program, the NYA employed limited numbers of individuals within Adair County. In 1933, approximately 35 percent of the population of Adair County received unemployment relief. Population statistics from the 1930 census show that more than 3,000 young men and women in Adair County met the age qualifications for NYA enrollment. Applying the same unemployment rate of 35 percent for these youths, a rough estimate provides a figure of 1,050 unemployed young men and women in need of NYA assistance in Adair County in 1933. However, the enrollment numbers from the 1935-1936 year show that only 176 individuals received relief from the NYA. Although this number appears too small to effectively combat unemployment among the county’s youth, statistics indicate that Oklahoma and Adair County youth fared better in NYA enrollment than the national average. When expressing NYA numbers as a percentage of the gainful work force, statistics show that in 1940, approximately 0.89 percent of that national labor force found employment through the NYA. The same year, Oklahoma students comprised 1.79 percent of Oklahoma labor force. Comparably, a monthly quota of Adair County NYA enrollees from 1936 totaled 1.42 percent of the county’s workers.

³³*Westville Record*, December 15, 1939.

³⁴*Westville Record*, December 29, 1939.

Although Adair County's quota trailed behind the state average, it surpassed the national numbers.³⁵

The NYA program created several benefits for Adair County youth. Young men and women from relief families received wages through the NYA program. These funds, although minuscule, allowed some students to purchase clothing and supplies needed to continue school. NYA participants gained the opportunity to learn new skills such as construction and clerical assistance. NYA laborers also produced tangible, long-term benefits for the county. School buildings and grounds received maintenance and improvement. Various school departments received aid in the form of clerical help, teaching assistants, and cafeteria aides. In addition, generations of future Stilwell students attended classes in the native-stone NYA building. The building currently serves as part of the building complex for Stilwell Elementary School.

Conclusion

Thus, the results of the CCC and NYA programs within Adair County proved very similar. Neither program employed large numbers. However, when compared to programs nationwide, the percentage of CCC and NYA enrollees expressed as part of the Adair County labor force exceeded the percentage enrolled nationally. Adair County enrollment stood approximately 0.50 percent higher than the national percentage of gainful workers. By the creation of these programs, the youth of Adair County

³⁵Federal Emergency Relief Administration, *Unemployment Relief Census: October 1933: Urban and Rural Areas* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934), 177; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population*, vol. 3, part 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1932), 550; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Population*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 4; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Population*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 845; Meriam, *Relief and Social Security*, 447.

understood that New Deal leaders concerned themselves with the challenges faced by young people. Both programs provided a small source of cash money to families in need. More importantly, these programs provided young men and women their first opportunity to acquire new skills through hands-on learning, which proved valuable to future employers. An important benefit included the finished projects themselves. Although no CCC projects materialized within Adair County during the program's early years, many young men from Adair County contributed hours of labor for projects in nearby counties. Projects completed by CCC and NYA enrollees produced tangible results in the form of improved roads, schools and other public buildings, and improved soil conservation practices. These tangible benefits provided a visual reminder that Roosevelt's New Deal provided opportunities for youth during the difficult times of the Great Depression.

CHAPTER IV

WORK RELIEF FOR NATIVE AMERICANS: CCC-ID

In the year 1930, Native Americans, mostly Cherokees, comprised more than 30 percent of the population of Adair County. Many of these Indians lived in remote areas on submarginal land and faced indigence prior to the Great Depression. As economic conditions deteriorated and drought intensified, the county's Native American population faced increased hardships. With President Franklin D. Roosevelt's support, John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, implemented several initiatives aimed to improve the quality of life for Native Americans. These initiatives included relief programs specifically designed to aid Indians during the economic depression. One such program included the Civilian Conservation Corps – Indian Division (CCC-ID). The total numbers of Native Americans enrolled in this program comprised a very small percentage of the national labor force. However, Indians from Adair County, when expressed as a percentage of the county's gainful workers, received a greater percentage of enrollments than did Indians nationwide. By participation in this program, Indian men and their families benefited in the form of monthly payroll, money which provided a crucial boost for finances during tough times. In addition to monetary benefits, the program provided educational opportunities and taught young men specific job skills

valuable to future employers. The program also proved a benefit in that it aided in the modernization of county roads. All county residents, not just Native Americans, benefited from this improvement in infrastructure.¹

Native American Poverty

Throughout the decade of the 1920s, the majority of Native Americans lived in poverty. In 1928, the Brookings Institution published a report titled *The Problem of Indian Administration*. The report brought to the attention of government officials the deplorable conditions on Indian lands, schools, and in medical facilities. The report highlighted the inadequate living conditions and disease prevalent in Indian communities due to substandard economic conditions. In particular, the report found that many Indians of the Five Tribes of Oklahoma lived on remote, hilly land, which often proved unsuitable for growing soil-depleting crops. In 1928, 47 percent of Indians survived on a per capita income ranging from only \$100 to \$200 per year. Conditions for struggling Native Americans grew only worse during the early years of the Great Depression.²

Indians in Adair County faced similar circumstances. In 1920, Native Americans, mainly Cherokees, totaled nearly 25 percent of the population of Adair County. Of those Indians ten years of age and older, 23 percent could not read or write. By 1930, the county's Indian population grew to 33 percent. In January 1931, the Indian Affairs Committee of the U.S. Senate reported the worst situation for Indians in Oklahoma existed in Adair County due to the previous summer's drought. The committee believed

¹U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population*, vol. 3, part 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1932), 558.

²Lewis Meriam and Brookings Institution, *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), 1-7, 447, 488.

that the needy Indians of the county numbered at least 1,200. At the same time, a representative from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs surveyed the areas of Adair County and neighboring Cherokee County. He found that 75 percent of the Indians in Adair County required some type of assistance. Another survey in 1932, found many of Adair County's destitute Indian families in need of adequate clothing.³

Separate CCC Program for Native Americans

Acting upon the urgency created by deteriorating conditions, officials in the Office of Indian Affairs petitioned for the inclusion of Native Americans in the Civilian Conservation Corps as a means of relief. The petition for a separate CCC program for Native Americans occurred for multiple reasons. Many of the Indians in the United States lived on reservations. Building army-style camps to house Indians seemed impractical and expensive. The Indian CCC program allowed both unmarried and married men older than eighteen years to enroll. The married Indians, the officials proposed, preferred to live with their families. Officials agreed that the employment of Indians on Indian-owned land would reap savings in transportation costs, costs which would be better used for actual work. Also, federal law called for preference to Indians for work on Indian land. Without the creation of Indian CCC crews, officials assumed that Indians might resent the presence of non-Indian work crews on Indian land.⁴

³U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920: Population*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1922), 817; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population*, vol. 3, part 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1932), 558, 573; *The Oklahoman*, January 16, 1931, January 17, 1931; *Adair County Democrat*, February 4, 1932.

⁴Calvin W. Gower, "The CCC Indian Division: Aid for Depressed Americans, 1933-1942," *Minnesota History* 43 (Spring 1972): 5; "The Separate Indian Camps," *Indians At Work*, August 15, 1933, 3; Donald L. Parman, "The Indian and the Civilian Conservation Corps," *Pacific Historical Review* 40 (February 1971): 40-41.

Creation of CCC-ID

On April 30, 1933, Roosevelt approved the creation of a separate CCC program for Native Americans. The program originated under the official name of Indian Emergency Conservation Work (IECW), but in 1937, officials changed the name to Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division (CCC-ID) to correspond with the name of the other division of the program. The program's goals included providing much needed relief to approximately 14,000 Indians nationwide while they worked on their home lands. When implemented, officials stated clearly that the number of Indian applicants chosen for the program would not count against the CCC quotas already established by the states for non-Indians.⁵

Program Operation

The CCC for Native Americans differed from and proved much more flexible than the main program. The Indian program functioned under the authority of the Department of the Interior instead of under Army supervision within the Department of War. Due to this difference in administration, operation protocol for CCC-ID camps became less rigid. The Interior managed camp administration, discipline, supervision of projects, and medical care. It enforced no certain camp size, and work superintendents often made changes in direct relation to the conditions of the area. The program allowed any Indian seventeen years of age or older to enroll, as long as he proved physically fit for work. Also, camp supervisors did not require workers to commit to a fixed enrollment period. Workers living in camp received wages of \$30.00 per month plus

⁵Donald Lee Parman, "The Indian Civilian Conservation Corps," (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 1967), iii; *New York Times*, May 1, 1933; *Adair County Democrat*, May 11, 1933.

meals and board. Indians living at home and commuting to work received a possible total monthly pay of \$45.00.⁶

The CCC-ID utilized three types of work camps. The first, boarding camps, resembled those of the regular CCC. The CCC-ID used this type of camp for unmarried workers employed on large projects lasting several months or years. The second type of camp included married camps. These camps allowed married men to live with their families close to work sites. The third work arrangement housed no workers at all. Instead, these workers lived at home and commuted to local work sites. These crews either walked to job sites or assembled at predetermined pickup points and rode to work in CCC trucks. Most Oklahoma CCC-ID projects utilized this last arrangement because the Indians in Oklahoma lived fairly close together on smaller family farms.⁷

The CCC-ID located one of its district offices at Muskogee, Oklahoma. This office managed all work projects for eastern Oklahoma including those in Adair County. Each district office employed its own engineers, draftsmen, and supervisors. Most Eastern Oklahoma projects included soil conservation measures, such as constructing low-water dams, bridges and culverts, and terracing pastureland.⁸

Program Objectives

The CCC-ID program in the Five Civilized Tribes area of Oklahoma focused on four objectives. First, the program offered onsite project training to young men in

⁶Parman, "The Indian and the Civilian Conservation Corps," 41; Gower, "The CCC Indian Division," 6-7; "Enrollment," in *CCC-ID Handbook as Revised August, 1941* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1941), 2.

⁷Parman, "The Indian and the Civilian Conservation Corps," 45-46.

⁸Ibid., 42, 45.

various skill areas including masonry and concrete work, bulldozing, grading, road building, carpentry, auto mechanics, blacksmithing, and clerical work. Onsite training also included soil conservation techniques such as gully and erosion control, terracing and re-vegetation, and strip cropping. Second, the program included vocational training not connected with CCC-ID jobs. This training included subsistence gardening, agronomy, and livestock management. Cultural training comprised a third focus of the CCC-ID. This activity included academic studies, citizenship training, and study of native arts and crafts. The fourth CCC-ID focus included health training. These studies included personal hygiene, nutrition, sanitation, and safety training. Some Adair County CCC-ID men exhibited the results of their onsite project and cultural training at a blacksmith shop in Stilwell. In addition to their metal working skills, the men also exhibited examples of native Cherokee arts and crafts. Specific examples of their work included wood carvings, bows made from bois d'arc wood, bowstrings from squirrel hide, and handcrafted arrows.⁹

CCC-ID Projects in Adair County

The CCC-ID completed a number of projects in Adair County, and many included the construction of truck trails through heavily-wooded rural areas. These trails served as a means of access primarily for forestry employees for the purposes of locating and containing forest fires. The trails usually consisted of one-lane accesses with turnouts. Several truck trail projects began in Adair County as early as the summer of 1935. One individual who worked on Adair County truck trails included Cherokee full blood

⁹“What Five Tribes Enrollees Learn,” *Indians At Work*, June 1938, 30-31; “Twentieth Century Indians,” *Indians At Work*, June 1938, 33; *Stilwell Democrat-Journal*, June 10, 1938.

Emmett Ryan. As an out-of-work farmer, Ryan joined the CCC-ID early in 1935, and by 1936, the CCC-ID recognized him as the best bulldozer operator in the program. He operated a ten-ton bulldozer brought to the county by the Office of Indian Affairs. In August 1936, a work crew in Adair County began Project Number 4, which constructed twenty-eight miles of forest truck trails in the southeastern corner of the county. The trails covered an area of approximately forty square miles.¹⁰

CCC-ID projects also included the construction of county roads for public use. In May 1936, the CCC-ID approved forty-six Indians for work on Adair County projects. Sixteen of the men began work on the Wheeler Road south of Stilwell. The remaining thirty men began various road-building projects in the extreme southern end of the county. The men utilized trucks and machinery all owned by the Department of the Interior. Joe Page served as senior foreman and Cicero Sixkiller worked as clerk and time-keeper. Much of the road crew work included the construction of farm-to-market roads. These roads provided improved transportation routes for farmers as they shipped produce and livestock from their farms to nearby towns. One such project included the improvement of the road leading from the community of Chance westward to Chewey. Farmers near the community of Chewey also benefitted from another road project which ran from the small community to the Proctor community. Proctor contained the nearest railroad stop for Chewey farmers, and the new farm-to-market road to Proctor provided farmers an improved route when shipping produce or livestock by train.¹¹

¹⁰“Engineering and Construction Standards,” in *CCC-ID Handbook As Revised August, 1941* (Washington, DC: Office of Indian Affairs, 1941), 18-19; *The Oklahoman*, January 5, 1936; “E.C.W. Spirit,” *Indians At Work*, October 15, 1936, 32-34.

¹¹*Adair County Democrat*, May 21, 1936, August 6, 1936.

Officials designed another CCC-ID project to bring relief to Indian families during the summer drought of 1936. That year proved to be the driest and hottest of the decade for Adair County. In a county that usually received 40 inches of precipitation per year, the total for 1936 reached only 22 inches, and only 0.78 inches fell between the beginning of June and the end of August. To alleviate the water shortage, the Bureau of Indian Affairs allotted \$10,000 for drilling water wells in Adair County. Indians with no convenient water source made application for well drilling with the CCC-ID field clerk.¹²

The dry season provided an extended opportunity for CCC-ID crews in Adair County to build bridges, culverts, and low-water crossings. By April 1936, the CCC-ID supervised several crews of Cherokee men near Stilwell. The crews constructed culverts and small bridges using native stone. The work leader, Louis A. Javine, stated that several of the men voiced their appreciation to the CCC-ID for allowing them to try work they previously never knew. In addition to teaching the Cherokees the skill of masonry work, Javine noted that the program provided a sense of accomplishment and confidence to the work crews. He added, "They can work and do as good work as our white brothers and they are very proud of that fact."¹³

Project Number 4 began in August 1936 and authorized a low-water bridge crossing on Little Lee's Creek in southern Adair County. The drought conditions halted

¹²*Economic Survey of Oklahoma* (Saint Louis: Southwestern Bell Telephone Company, 1929), 16; U.S. Department of Commerce, *Monthly Climatological Summary: 1925: Watts, Oklahoma* (Asheville, NC: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Environmental Data and Information Service, National Climatic Center, 1925); *Adair County Democrat*, August 6, 1936.

¹³*New York Times*, January 6, 1935; "Indians At Work in the Cherokee Hills," *Indians At Work*, April 1, 1936, 18.

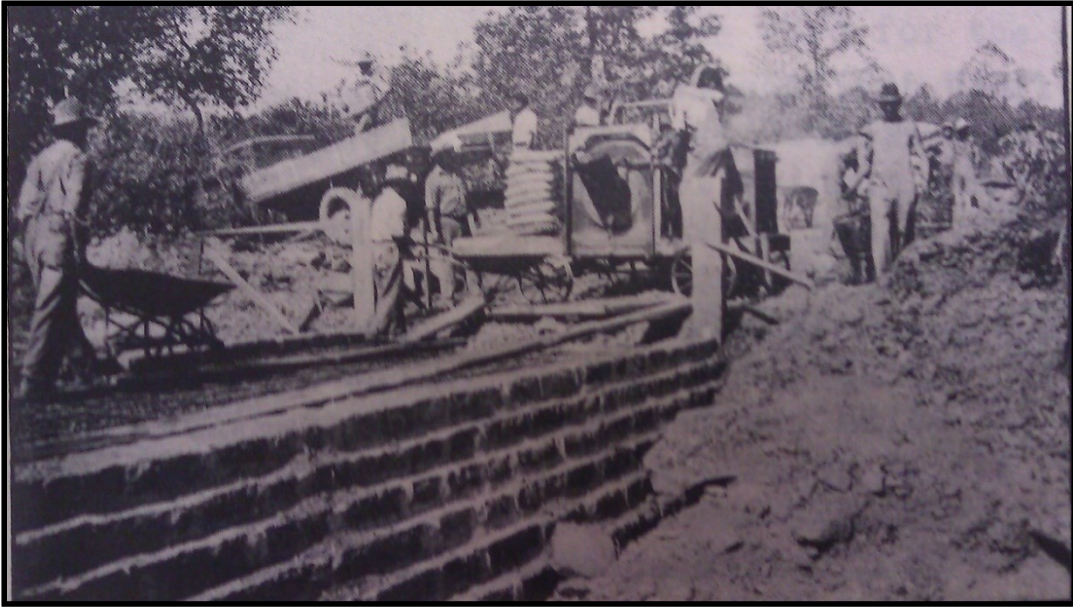
the flow of the usually large-flowing stream. Unable to budget the expense of a larger structure, the CCC-ID approved the construction of a low-water bridge of stone masonry construction. The CCC-ID work crew began construction in mid-August. The engineer's plans called for a bridge 100 feet long by 12 feet wide, with 3 openings underneath each 5 feet wide and 3 feet high. The project supervisor employed sixteen CCC-ID men on the project, a greater number than usual, to ensure the completion of the bridge prior to rainfall. The construction crew usually mixed cement for its projects by hand, but this larger project necessitated the use of a cement mixer. The crew experienced some trouble locating a mixer, but finally borrowed one from an Oklahoma State Highway prison camp in southern Adair County. However, the mixer broke and caused delays as the men worked in 109-degree heat pouring the cement needed for the floor of the bridge. After continuing the job by hand-mixing the remainder of the cement, the crew finished the job at 1:00 a.m. on Sunday, August 16th. Senior Project Manager Gerald T. Gouin complimented the crew for its dedication and stated, "Such a spirit and interest as these men showed cannot go unnoticed."¹⁴ Other CCC-ID men working on the project included Elmer McKinney, principal foreman of Project Number 4; Clyde Sanders, sub-foreman; and Lewis Glass, Project Leader.¹⁵

By 1938, CCC-ID men in Adair County undertook a major portion of the work for projects in the Five Tribes Region. This region included lands in forty of Oklahoma's seventy-seven counties, an expanse of approximately 100 miles by 225 miles. Fifty

¹⁴"E.C.W. Spirit," *Indians At Work*, October 15, 1936, 34.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 32-34.

Figure 4.1. CCC-ID crew constructing low-water bridge on Little Lee's Creek in southern Adair County. Photograph taken August 1936.



Source: "E.C.W. Spirit," *Indians At Work*, October 15, 1936.

Figure 4.2. CCC-ID crew constructing low-water bridge on Little Lee's Creek in southern Adair County. Photograph taken August 1936.



Source: "E.C.W. Spirit," *Indians At Work*, October 15, 1936.

percent of the work in the Muskogee District took place in or near the cities of Stilwell in Adair County and Tahlequah in Cherokee County. Each month the county seat of Stilwell benefited from the economic boost generated from monthly CCC-ID payroll. The program released approximately \$8,000.00 in payroll each month in Stilwell.¹⁶

At times, project supervisors of the CCC-ID struggled with inadequate financing while completing projects. In 1938, one month before the end of the program fiscal year on June 30th, supervisors laid off all ninety CCC-ID men in Adair County. Work stopped on the construction of farm-to-market roads in the northern end of the county. However, the men received word that their jobs would most likely resume after July 1st, when the program's next fiscal-year appropriation became available.¹⁷

Program Recreation

Not all CCC-ID gatherings included work. In April 1938, more than 600 Native Americans connected with CCC-ID work gathered in Stilwell to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the program. The celebration included several speeches by Stilwell businessmen and one by H.C. Miller, Senior Project Manager of the Muskogee District CCC-ID. Miller included in his speech a criticism of the Stilwell townspeople for their lack of interest in Indian affairs. He explained that Indian advancement in the local area struggled because of this indifference and lack of cooperation. However, the anniversary

¹⁶“What the Indian Service is Doing for its CCC Workers in the Five Civilized Tribes Area of Oklahoma,” *Indians At Work*, June 1938, 30; *Adair County Democrat*, April 7, 1938.

¹⁷*Adair County Democrat*, June 2, 1938.

ended happily as many attendees participated in races, games, and a cornstalk shooting contest held on the Stilwell football field.¹⁸

The CCC-ID of the Five Tribes Region actively promoted its recreational plan. One pastime included baseball. In the spring of 1938, the young men of the Adair County CCC-ID competed against teams in the counties of Cherokee and Sequoyah. Following big wins in both areas, plans began for the purchase of suits for the players and better athletic equipment. Several Adair County CCC-ID men also formed a string band and fulfilled a number of invitations to play at various events. Other recreational activities included meetings at local community centers, indoor games, radio programs, and books.¹⁹

CCC-ID Camp for Adair County

In early October 1938, U.S. Senator Elmer Thomas from Oklahoma notified Indian Affairs representative H.C. Miller in Muskogee that the Department of Interior approved a CCC-ID camp for Adair County. CCC-ID manager M.W. Hendricks ordered the dismantlement of a camp at Spavinaw, Mayes County, Oklahoma in December 1938 and directed workers to reconstruct the camp in Adair County near Jenkins Creek, approximately two miles southwest of the community of Salem in Section 2, Township 14 North, Range 25 East. When completed, the camp contained twenty-two buildings connected by gravel walkways. Some of these buildings included the following: four barracks, an educational building, a recreational building, infirmary, officers' quarters,

¹⁸*Adair County Democrat*, April 7, 1938.

¹⁹*Adair County Democrat*, May 5, 1938; "Welfare and Recreation Programs," *Indians At Work*, June 1938, 32.

mess hall, office building, garage, shop building, dynamite shed, and pump house. Camp management included J.C. Cunningham, superintendent; M.W. Hendricks, assistant; Dr. W.S. Martin, physician; John G. Mannero, surveying engineer; and O.G. McAninch, educational director. Officials expected the enrollment of Willow Springs to reach between 110 and 150 Indian youths within two days of the opening.²⁰

Named “Willow Springs,” the camp officially opened July 13, 1939. The opening ceremony included speeches by U.S. Representative John C. Nichols, Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes A.M. Landman, and CCC-ID Senior Administrator H.G. Miller. George Livers, a Cherokee minister, offered a prayer in the Cherokee language. More than 3,000 people attended the opening ceremony. The festivities included a baseball game, cornstalk shoot, boxing match, and a meal at which camp members served 2,400 pounds of barbecued meat. In the evening, the Indians held a stomp dance which lasted until midnight.²¹

Demographics of Camp Willow Springs

In 1940, employees from the U.S. Bureau of the Census enumerated the residents of Willow Springs Camp. The data collected revealed several interesting facts concerning the demographics of the camp. Established relatively late in the history of the CCC-ID, the Willow Springs camp failed to retain a large number of enrollees. By 1940, the camp contained only fifty-six residents. Camp officials maintained a fairly even

²⁰*The Oklahoman*, October 2, 1938; *Stilwell Democrat-Journal*, July 14, 1939; Indian Relief and Rehabilitation Projects, Records Relating to Relief and Rehabilitation, 1935-1940, Record Group 75, Box 575-1, John Burgess Facility, National Archives and Records Administration – Southwest Region, Forth Worth, Texas.

²¹*Stilwell Democrat-Journal*, July 14, 1939.

Table 4.1. Population of Willow Springs CCC-ID Camp By County.

County Represented	Number of Enrollees	Percentage of Camp Population
Adair	7	12.50 %
Sequoyah	5	8.93 %
Muskogee	4	7.14 %
McCurtain	4	7.14 %
Seminole	4	7.14 %
Pittsburg	3	5.36 %
Hughes	3	5.36 %
Haskell	3	5.36 %
Choctaw	3	5.36 %
Atoka	3	5.36 %
Cherokee	2	3.57 %
Delaware	2	3.57 %
Tulsa	2	3.57 %
Rogers	2	3.57 %
Mayes	2	3.57 %
Carter	2	3.57 %
Pushmataha	1	1.79 %
Okfuskee	1	1.79 %
Love	1	1.79 %
Latimer	1	1.79 %
Creek	1	1.79 %
Totals	56	100.00%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 29, Publication T-627, Population Schedule, Adair County, Oklahoma, ED 1-6, 23A-23B.

distribution of enrollees from the various counties in the Five Tribes Region. Enrollees from twenty-one counties comprised the population of the camp. Individuals from Adair County created the largest group at seven men, or 12.5 percent of enrollees. Five men from the neighboring county of Sequoyah comprised the next largest group at nearly 9 percent. Men from the various other counties numbered between one and four individuals per group.²²

²²U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 29, Publication T-627, Population Schedule, Adair County, Oklahoma, ED 1-6, 23A-23B.

The camp enrollees also exhibited a fairly broad range of ages. Seventeen-year-olds comprised the youngest camp members, and the oldest included a forty-five-year-old. The most common age group included twenty-two year olds. They totaled nearly 20 percent of enrollees. The next two largest groups included twenty-year-olds at 14 percent and twenty-four-year-olds at almost 11 percent.²³

Single men by far comprised the majority of camp enrollees. Single men totaled 91 percent of the group. Willow Springs existed as a boarding camp, so this large number of single men corresponded with the type of camp. Only 9 percent of camp enrollees stated that they were married men. These married men also tended to be older.²⁴

The education levels of camp enrollees appeared fairly average. The greatest percentage of enrollees, 21 percent, completed the twelfth grade. The next largest group, 14 percent, completed eighth grade. The third largest group, totaling almost 13 percent, completed sixth grade.²⁵

The enrollees at Willow Springs contained mostly non-skilled workers. General laborers comprised 52 percent of the enrollees. The next largest skill group included carpenters at 9 percent. Cooks comprised 7 percent of workers.²⁶

The difficulty the enrollees faced finding employment in the regular workforce became evident when asked how many weeks they worked during the year 1939. The

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

overwhelming majority, 48 percent, completed no weeks of work the previous year. Enrollees completing twenty weeks of work comprised 25 percent of the enrollees. Individuals working twenty-four weeks totaled 20 percent. Only one individual out of fifty-six completed fifty-two weeks of work during 1939. That individual also held a four-year college degree.²⁷

CCC-ID Camp Life

A typical day in the CCC-ID varied somewhat from the regular CCC, but both programs adhered to a schedule. Enrollees usually began the day at 6:00 in the morning. The men tidied their quarters then ate breakfast at 6:30. At 7:00, the men gathered their tools and loaded onto trucks to travel to worksites. At noon, work stopped for an hour lunch break. The kitchen crew either brought a hot lunch to the worksite, or the men ate a packed lunch. The men continued work until 4:00, when they began loading the trucks for the return trip to camp. Once back in the camp, the men washed before the evening meal. For the remainder of the evening, the men chose their own activities such as sports, reading, or educational classes. "Lights out" usually occurred at 10:00. The Oklahoma CCC-ID required eight full hours of work per day. In 1937, camp officials began including the lunch hour and transportation time to and from work as part of the eight-hour work day.²⁸

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Parman, "The Indian Civilian Conservation Corps," 61-62; Leslie Alexander Lacy, *The Soil Soldiers: The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Great Depression* (Radnor, PA: Chilton Book Company, 1976), 178-188.

Regulations stipulated that camp meals should contain “wholesome food in adequate quantity.”²⁹ Cooks planned meals in advance and carefully budgeted to stay within a cost of twelve to eighteen cents per meal, per enrollee. Camp officials often purchased foods such as milk, butter, eggs, vegetables, poultry, beef and pork from local farms. Thus, the CCC-ID camps not only provided income for the camp enrollees, food purchases also strengthened the local economy by an average of \$3,000.00 each month. District offices published lists of suggested menus for meals. Examples of menus include the following:³⁰

Breakfast	Lunch or Supper
Corned beef and hash	Salmon
Scrambled eggs	Potato chips
Bananas	Sliced pickles
Bread and butter	Bread and peanut butter
Sweet rolls	Cookies
Coffee with sugar and cream	

The meals, especially the large breakfasts, provided the necessary energy for the hard work involved in projects. This fare often proved far more plentiful and nutritional than the meals enrollees consumed at home. Plentiful food and rigorous work allowed new enrollees to gain an average of six pounds in weight during their first two months.

²⁹“Camp Management,” in *CCC-ID Handbook As Revised August, 1941* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1941), 4.

³⁰*Ibid.*; *New York Times*, March 24, 1936; Oklahoma District Headquarters to All Sub-District and Company Commanders, December 27, 1939, CCC Enrollment Washington Report, County Quotas, and Telegrams, MS 22-3, Box FF, Folder 1-6, Archives Division, State Archives and Records Management, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Figure 4.3. Willow Springs CCC-ID Camp enrollees constructing a bridge abutment near Willow Springs Camp Road in southern Adair County. Undated photograph.



Source: Wilburn Cartwright Photograph Collection, 1913-1950, Congressional Archives, Congressional Research & Studies, Carl Albert Center, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

Upon leaving the CCC-ID, enrollees exhibited better health and weighed between twelve and thirty pounds heavier.³¹

World War II & Retrenchment

Following America's entry into World War II, the CCC-ID made a change in the payment of enrollee salaries. If an enrollee preferred, a portion of each paycheck purchased defense saving stamps. These stamps, along with regular war bonds, provided extra support for the war effort. In Spring 1942, the enrollees at Willow Springs participated in the war effort and utilized a portion of their camp canteen fund to purchase an additional \$295.00 in defense saving stamps. The enrollees divided the stamps among all the enrollees having lived at the camp at least three months prior to the purchase.³²

America's involvement in the war eventually forced the termination of the CCC program. In June 1942, the U.S. House voted 158 to 121 to discontinue the program due to the "war economy."³³ On June 30th, the Senate followed and voted a liquidation fund to close the program. By July, the CCC-ID vacated Willow Springs Camp. The empty camp necessitated the employment of a watchman to safeguard the remaining buildings. The Department of the Interior considered salvaging materials from the camp for use in

³¹Fechner, *Objectives and Results*, 31; Ronald Edsforth, *The New Deal: America's Response to the Great Depression* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 138.

³²"Five Tribes Boys Buy More Stamps," *Indians At Work*, March 1933, 33.

³³*New York Times*, June 6, 1942.

other construction projects in the county. However, during World War II Willow Springs briefly became an internment work camp for some 200 German prisoners of war.³⁴

John Collier's Initiatives

Much of the success of the New Deal programs for Indians resulted from changes within the Department of the Interior wrought by John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, appointed Collier in 1933. Collier sought to change the "rigid and institutionalized" Bureau of Indian Affairs.³⁵ Collier believed that the Federal government failed to protect Indians from economic decline and also failed to safeguard Indian land and cultural life. Speaking as an advocate for Native Americans, Collier pushed for change within the system. The results of Collier's term as Indian Commissioner included the following: passage of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 with supplements of 1936, solutions for protecting and restoring Indian land holdings, the implementation of programs to safeguard Indian land through soil and water conservation plans, shifting the Indian educational emphasis from boarding schools to technical and professional training, and encouraging Indians to maintain and promote their traditional cultures. Chiefly, the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act and the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act formed the cornerstone of new

³⁴*New York Times*, June 6, 1942, July 1, 1942; Indian Relief and Rehabilitation Projects, Records Relating to Relief and Rehabilitation, 1935-1940, Record Group 75, Box 575-1, John Burgess Facility, National Archives and Records Administration – Southwest Region, Forth Worth, Texas; Richard S. Warner, "Barbed Wire and Nazilagers," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 64 (Spring 1986): 55. During Willow Springs's use as a POW work camp, two prisoners escaped, but officials recaptured them in Sallisaw, Sequoyah County, Oklahoma. On July 14, 1944, the *Sequoyah County Times* listed the escapees as Albert Kiel and Willie Koepe.

³⁵William Zimmerman, Jr., "The Role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Since 1933," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 311 (May 1957): 31.

Indian policies within the Department of the Interior. The implementation of Collier's ideas served as the impetus for the success of New Deal programs for Indians.³⁶

Effectiveness & Benefits

The CCC-ID employed a very small number of Native Americans. During the first two years of the program's existence, it employed approximately 26,500 individuals. Expressed as a percentage of the national labor force, this number encompassed only about 0.05 percent of laborers. This number seems excessively small, but Native Americans also found employment concurrently in other New Deal work programs. In May 1936, forty-six Indians worked in the CCC-ID from Adair County. This crew comprised approximately 1 percent of the county's labor force. In June 1938, ninety men from Adair County worked in the CCC-ID. This number totaled 2 percent of the county labor force. Even with the relatively low numbers of Native Americans working in the program, the enrollment percentage as part of the county labor force proved higher than the national percentage.³⁷

Federal Indian programs during the New Deal benefited both Indians and others in Adair County. Most visibly, the CCC-ID program changed the county landscape by constructing miles of truck trails and farm-to-market roads throughout rural areas. These roads provided access to remote areas and made the journey to markets quicker. The program also constructed numerous bridges and culverts which allowed motorists to

³⁶Ibid., 31-32.

³⁷Gower, "The CCC Indian Division," 10; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population*, vol. 5 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1933), 50; *Adair County Democrat*, May 21, 1936, June 2, 1938; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Population*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 845.

cross creeks and streams at all times of the year. Motorists continue to use many of these bridges and culverts today.

Another benefit of the program included the monthly payroll received by numerous young men from Adair County. Each month, the CCC camps sent the majority of payroll to the families of enrollees. These small payments helped families buy necessities and prevented starvation at a critical time. For the Indian men who commuted to worksites each day, the monthly payroll helped buy items at times when their farms struggled to produce. The monthly paychecks provided a crucial source of income during the drought months. The financial boost the program provided did not end poverty in the county, but it supplemented the incomes of numerous families.

Another important benefit included the opportunity for Indian men to learn a skill and continue their education. On-site training provided many enrollees the chance to learn a specific skill such as masonry, carpentry, or operating heavy machinery. Ewing E. Markham, a Cherokee enrollee of CCC-ID, learned engineering through on-site training. After leaving the program, he became the County Engineer for Adair County. Numerous other enrollees learned skills which benefitted them in the job market. Many other enrollees took advantage of the educational classes taught in the camps.³⁸

The creation of a separate CCC for Indians benefited numerous young men. The distinct CCC-ID program allowed older and married Indian men the opportunity to enroll. These men remained on their farms with their families during the evenings and weekends. The separate program also allowed Indians to learn and work with other

³⁸“Eight Oklahoma Indian Workers Get Good Jobs,” *Indians At Work*, April 1941, 31-32.

Indians. The federal program did not force them to be a minority in a single nation-wide program.

Conclusion

The most remarkable aspect of the New Deal programs for Indians included the fact that these programs developed under a new policy toward Native Americans. Programs no longer forced Indians to assimilate into the white culture and way of life as the previous Indian policy required. Commissioner Collier stated, ““We have tried to energize the individual Indian and the group with knowledge and skills to enable them to go into the white world successfully if they want to, or to hold their own and make their way where they are if they want to.””³⁹ Continuing, Commissioner Collier summed up perhaps the greatest benefit to Adair County Indians under the New Deal when he stated, ““Indians are more themselves [now] than they have been for a long time.””⁴⁰ The CCC-ID program allowed “Indians to be ‘Indian.’”⁴¹

³⁹John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs to House Appropriations Subcommittee, March 1944, quoted in Zimmerman, “The Role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs,” 34.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Tom Holm, “Indians and Progressives: From Vanishing Policy to the Indian New Deal,” (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 1978), iii.

CONCLUSION

Adair County, Oklahoma presents an interesting location for a study of New Deal work relief programs. This remote environment, with its predominantly agricultural economy, responded differently to the effects of the Great Depression. In contradiction to one historian's statements that the period between Roosevelt's election and his inauguration proved to be the most distressing four months of the Great Depression, the inhabitants of Adair County experienced the worst years of the depression later. The toughest times came with the devastating drought years of 1934 and 1936. Prior to this time, local farmers produced subsistence crops that fed their families. Only when farmers lost this ability for self-reliance did they turn to work relief as a means of preventing starvation. Another aspect making Adair County unique is its large percentage of Native American population. In 1930, Cherokees comprised approximately 33 percent of the county's population. Most of these individuals, also farmers, survived on subsistence farms. As a result of the federal government's faulty policy of land allotment early in the twentieth century, many of these Indians faced indigence prior to the onset of the Depression. Declining economic conditions only deteriorated the standard of living for Indians. These variables in environment and

population in Adair County produced a different Great Depression story than in many of the more populous areas of the state and nation.¹

Roosevelt and his New Deal administrators tackled the Great Depression too cautiously to rectify many of its short-term problems. The work relief they designed and administered resulted in just that – relief. This type of aid proved enormously expensive, thus, work relief programs maintained strict quotas limiting enrollment. Roosevelt’s administration never intended to provide full employment to the nation’s labor force through work relief. Far from it, this relief provided merely a temporary, subsistence-level supplement to unemployed individuals in the hopes of delivering them through the toughest economic times. To provide this aid, New Deal administrators implemented a system which sought to both reduce unemployment and stimulate purchasing power by injecting cash into local economies through payrolls. However, work relief alone never primed the American economy successfully. The Great Depression continued throughout the 1930s. As late as 1938, a Stilwell newspaper reported remarkably high unemployment within Adair County, which stood at 29 percent of the gainful workers.²

When analyzing the enrollment of Adair County individuals in work relief programs, the statistics reveal that the citizens of the county received a fair share of New Deal work programs. Reviewing only the numbers of county inhabitants enrolled in

¹William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1963), 18; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population*, vol. 3, part 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1932), 558.

²Jeff Singleton, *The American Dole: Unemployment Relief and the Welfare State in the Great Depression* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 132; *Final Statistical Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1942), 8; *Adair County Democrat*, January 21, 1938.

these programs fosters the assumption that New Deal work relief provided little aid and most likely proved unsuccessful. However, by comparing the percentage of Adair County's gainful workers who found employment within New Deal work programs to state and national percentages, the numbers reveal that Adair County's labor force consistently received a comparable percentage of enrollments. In many cases, Adair County's gainful workers received a higher percentage of work relief than in many other areas.

These calculations reveal that, in terms of the employment of the labor force, the WPA program proved the most successful work relief program within Adair County. It consistently maintained enrollment percentages higher than Oklahoma and national percentages. The CWA also produced high percentages of employment, but that program employed individuals not included on the relief rolls. Only a portion of CWA enrollees classified as relief applicants. In terms of projects undertaken, the WPA, by far, produced the most extensive results. Crews constructed more roads, schools, and public buildings through WPA than any other New Deal program. In 1936, when a Republican senator from Oregon proposed the liquidation of the WPA, the editor of the *Adair County Democrat* published an editorial entitled, "Without WPA – What?"³ In his article, the editor supported the continuance of the WPA program by citing the county government's inability to provide adequate local relief to the needy. He urged the public to remember the difficulties prior to the implementation of the WPA program. The editor asked, "Remember how almost every other radio program was some heart-breaking appeal for funds for a starvation-stricken community? Do you want a return of these conditions?"

³*Adair County Democrat*, May 14, 1936.

Are you making enough to dig into your pocket to feed the family down the street?”⁴

Compounded by the intensifying drought, the economic decline proved too difficult to overcome by local efforts. The WPA provided the most assistance toward alleviation of the unemployment situation.

Roosevelt’s New Deal work relief programs established an important legacy among the inhabitants of Adair County. The crucial payroll these programs provided to the unemployed encompassed only one aspect of work relief. These programs provided workers with opportunities to learn new skills and to improve their education. Through on-site training, men learned the trades of carpentry, masonry, engineering, and soil conservation techniques. Many of these individuals perfected these skills and utilized them to secure jobs with subsequent employers. Women, too, gained the opportunity to learn additional skills. Most of the information provided to women through work relief focused on home economics. Women learned useful work such as sewing, food preservation, home sanitation, and preparation of hot lunches for school children. Work relief opportunities for women continued to be few in number and limited in topic. However, the WPA provided the most assignments to women of any work relief program.

The greatest benefit wrought by New Deal work relief programs includes the numerous long-term improvements to county infrastructure. Farm-to-market roads allowed access to remote farms and provided easier means of shipping livestock and produce to local markets. Construction of bridges and culverts allowed motorists to travel many rural county roads in all weather seasons, instead of only during dry weather.

⁴Ibid.

This simple means of access provided improved routes of transportation to local merchants, physicians, and schools.

Perhaps one of the most conspicuous improvements within the county included the modernization of county school facilities. Approximately twenty-three district schools received new school buildings or additions. Nearly all of the county's more than forty school districts received smaller work projects aimed at remodeling or updating facilities. Through work relief projects, schools received water wells, storm cellars, and fences for the grounds. Prior to the New Deal, many students attended school in crowded and inadequate school buildings. Following modernization projects through work relief, generations of Adair County school students attended classes in modern and safe school facilities. These school improvements contributed to the pride of the districts, and school attendance improved.

Civic pride also increased as a result of work relief projects. Crews constructed and repaired many public buildings in Adair County. The citizens gained the use of new city hall buildings. Grading, draining, graveling and resurfacing of city streets improved transportation within the towns. Work relief also improved the quality of life for many city inhabitants by implementing sanitation programs and efforts to eradicate malaria.

Historians often struggle with gauging the results of Roosevelt's New Deal programs. It is tempting to dismiss the effectiveness of these programs when analyzing the relatively small percentage of the population that benefited directly from work relief payrolls. The enormous program costs incurred by the federal government also proves troublesome. However, work relief programs in Adair County provided much more than payroll. They fostered a psychological uplift to the despondency of the Depression. In

addition to assisting the unemployed and needy, these programs provided long-lasting improvements to infrastructure, which in turn improved the quality of life for the inhabitants of Adair County. The success of New Deal work relief programs in Adair County is supported by the evidence of tangible work output, much of which continues to serve the public today. These projects permanently altered the county landscape and proved to be lasting reminders of the Roosevelt Administration's initiative to bring a New Deal to Adair County.

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APPENDIX A

CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATION PROJECTS

IN ADAIR COUNTY, OKLAHOMA

Data transcribed from microfilm by the author.

National Archives and Records Administration

College Park, Maryland

Record Group 69, Box 784, Reel 10

This microfilm is not a regular publication of the National

Archives and Records Administration and

contains no publication number.

Project No: 1-1C-10		
Application Date:		Approval Date: 12/29/1933
Estimated Start Date: 12/01/1933		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: John Goodall, County C.W.A. Administrator		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$2,066.70
Itemized Costs:		
Extra clerical help	1,500 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$600.00
Stenographer	10 weeks @ \$18.00/week	\$180.00
Certifier	10 weeks @ \$23.08/week	\$230.80
Disburser	10 weeks @ \$23.08/week	\$230.80
Assistant Administrator	10 weeks @ \$28.85/week	\$288.50
County Administrator	10 weeks @ \$46.16/week	\$461.60
Utilities & Supplies		\$75.00
Total Project Cost:		\$2,066.70
Project Description:		
Local County Administrator's Office		

Project No: 1-1C4-10		
Application Date: 2/16/1934		Approval Date: 6/26/1934
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 5/01/1934
Supervised By: John Goodall, County C.W.A. Administrator		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$3,141.15
Itemized Costs:		
Clerical help	[illegible]	\$752.40
Administrator	[illegible]	\$507.76
Assistant Administrator	[illegible]	\$327.35
Stenographer	[illegible]	\$198.00
Disburser	[illegible]	\$253.88
Certifier	[illegible]	\$253.88
Adjustor	[illegible]	\$330.00
Assistant Adjustor	[illegible]	\$264.00
Injury Clerk	[illegible]	\$253.88
Total Project Cost:		\$3,141.15
Project Description:		
Adair County – Administrative		

Project No: 1-1C5-10		
Application Date: 2/22/1934		Approval Date:
Estimated Start Date: 2/22/1934		Estimated Finish Date: 3/31/1934
Supervised By: County C.W.A. Administrator		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$150.00
Itemized Costs:		
Engineering Drafting	(312 hours) \$30.00/week	\$150.00
Total Project Costs		\$150.00
Project Description:		
Engineering		

Project No: 1-1C6-10	
Application Date: 6/12/1934	Approval Date:
Estimated Start Date:	Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By:	Total Project Cost:
Financing Method:	
Itemized Costs:	
Overdraft	\$531.91
Total Project Costs:	\$531.91
Project Description:	
Overdraft of Project 1-1C-10	

Project No: 1-2C-10		
Application Date: 12/09/1933		Approval Date:
Estimated Start Date: 11/20/1933		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: Mr. Owen, Adair County Employment Office		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$2,041.00
Itemized Costs:		
Interviewer	[illegible]	\$1,656.00
[Illegible]	(440 hours) \$35.00/week	\$385.00
Total Project Costs:		\$2,041.00
Project Description:		
Local Employment Office for Adair County		

Project No: 1-3C3-10	
Application Date: 6/12/1934	Approval Date: 6/26/1934
Estimated Start Date:	Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By:	
Financing Method:	
Civil Works Administration Fund	\$184.21
Itemized Costs:	
Overdraft	\$184.21
Total Project Costs:	\$184.21
Project Description:	
Overdraft of Project 1-2C-10	

Project No: 1-3C-3		
Application Date: 11/27/1933		Approval Date:
Estimated Start Date:		Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By: Westville Board of Aldermen		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$2,852.00
Other Local Contributions		\$1,163.50
Itemized Costs:		
Laborer & Driver	4,535 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$1,814.00
Labor- Tractor & Grader	60 hours @ \$0.80/hour	\$48.00
Foreman	5 weeks @ \$18.00/week	\$90.00
Trucks	2,000 hours @ \$0.45/hour	\$900.00
Gravel	4,535 cubic yds @ \$0.20/yd	\$907.00
Cement	300 sacks @ \$0.73/sack	\$219.00
Lumber	2,500 ft. @ \$15.00/thousand	\$37.50
Total Project Costs:		\$4,015.50
Project Description:		
Westville, Oklahoma - Grading, drainage & repairing sidewalks. Graveling streets and alleys.		

Project No: 1-3C2-3		
Application Date: 1/08/1934		Approval Date: 1/15/1934
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: City Council		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$2,700.70
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers	3,815 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$1,526.00
Teamsters	720 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$288.00
Tractor & Grader	112 hours @ \$0.60/hour	\$67.20
Timekeeper	(240 hours) \$18.00/week	\$144.00
Two Foremen	(330 hours) \$18.00/week	\$198.00
Teams	720 hours @ \$0.25/hour	\$180.00
Cement	300 sacks @ \$0.80/sack	\$240.00
Bridge Lumber	2,500 ft. @ \$15.00/thousand	\$37.50
Pine Boxing	800 ft. @ \$18.00/thousand	\$12.00
2 X 4	200 ft. @ \$15.00/thousand	\$3.00
Nails #8	10 pounds @ \$0.05/pound	\$0.50
Nails #16	40 pounds @ \$0.05/pound	\$2.00
Nails #20	50 pounds @ \$0.05/pound	\$2.50
Total Project Costs:		\$2,700.70
Project Description:		
Grading, drainage & repairing sidewalks. Graveling streets & alleys.		

Project No: 1-4C-3		
Application Date: 11/23/1933		Approval Date:
Estimated Start Date:		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: County Commissioners of District 3		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$2,612.50
Local Cash Appropriations		\$660.00
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers	2,530 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$1,012.00
Labor - Grader & Tractor	96 hours @ \$0.50/hour	\$48.00
Foreman	(150 hours) \$18.00/week	\$90.00
Trucks	3,250 hours @ \$0.45/hour	\$1,462.50
Gravel	3,300 cubic yds @ \$0.20/yd	\$660.00
Total Project Costs:		\$3,272.50
Project Description:		
Graveling county roads beginning 1 mile west of Westville, running north 2 miles, west 1 mile, connecting with State Highway 17, starting city limits and running 2 miles west.		
Finished 3/31/1934.		

Project No: 1-4C2-3	
Application Date: 6/12/1934	Approval Date: 6/26/1934
Estimated Start Date:	Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By:	
Financing Method:	
Civil Works Administration Fund	\$2,219.85
Itemized Costs:	
Overdraft	\$2,114.00
Overdraft	\$105.85
Total Project Costs:	\$2,219.85
Project Description:	
Overdraft Project 1-4C-3. Began as Project 1-16C-3. Five mile graveling job.	

Project No: 1-5C-3		
Application Date: 11/25/1933		Approval Date: 11/25/1933
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: County Commissioners of District 2		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$660.60
Local Cash Appropriation		\$165.00
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers	633 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$253.20
Labor -Tractor & Grader	48 hours @ \$0.50/hour	\$24.00
Foreman	(30 hours) \$18.00/week	\$18.00
Trucks	812 hours @ \$0.45/hour	\$365.40
Gravel	825 cubic yds @ \$0.20/yard	\$165.00
Total Project Costs:		\$825.60
Project Description:		
Graveling road beginning on highway 17, south of Stilwell, and running one mile west to the Leo Fellows Place.		

Project No: 1-5C2-3		
Application Date: 2/20/1934		Approval Date: 3/17/1934
Estimated Start Date: 1/03/1934		Estimated Finish Date: 30 days
Supervised By: Board of County Commissioners		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$241.00
Itemized Costs:		
Labor	300 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$120.00
Foreman	\$18.00/week	\$36.00
Teams	60 hours @ \$0.25/hour	\$15.00
Tractor Rental & Operator	10 days @ \$7.00/day	\$70.00
Total Project Costs:		\$241.00
Project Description:		
Supplemental to Project 1-5C-3. Graveling road beginning on Highway 17 south of Stilwell, Oklahoma, and running one mile west to the Leo Fellows Place. County Commissioners furnish rock crusher. It is requested that the Civil Works Administration or the State of Oklahoma supply funds necessary to meet the balance of the total estimated costs under proper proof of claims.		

Project No: 1-5C3-3	
Application Date:	Approval Date: 6/10/1934
Estimated Start Date:	Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By:	
Financing Method:	
Civil Works Administration Fund	\$28.46
Itemized Costs:	
Overdraft	\$28.46
Total Project Costs:	\$28.46
Project Description:	
<p>Overdraft Project 1-5C-3. Graveling road beginning on Highway 17 south of Stilwell, Oklahoma and running one mile west to the Leo Fellows Place, with flint boulders and chunk rock, which had to be crushed for the roadway. These flint boulders and chunk rock were hauled and piled along the road for the one mile, but they were crushed for a distance of only 1/4 mile. Flint boulders and chunk rock piled on roadway for 3/4 mile but not crushed. This project was completed within the original estimate and supplement as it was hard to estimate the amount of labor it would take to haul and crush the flint boulders and chunk rock. This project is incomplete and it is desirable to complete the 3/4 mile of crushing. The project is incomplete and it is not safe to leave the project in the present condition. Therefore, we will submit a new project to be continued under the F.E.R.A.</p> <p>Money exhausted. Transferred to works division of F.E.R.A. 2/22/1934.</p>	

Project No: 1-8C-3		
Application Date: 11/25/1933		Approval Date: 11/25/1933
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: County Commissioners of District 3		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$1,297.25
Local Cash Appropriations		\$330.00
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers	1,265 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$506.00
Labor - Tractor & Grader	48 hours @ \$0.50/hour	\$24.00
Foreman	(60 hours) \$18.00/week	\$36.00
Truck	1,625 hours @ \$0.45/hour	\$731.25
Gravel	1,650 cubic yds @ \$0.20/yd	\$330.00
Total Project Costs:		\$1,627.25
Project Description:		
Gravel township road from Highway 17 to Chandler School House 2.5 miles.		
Discontinued 3/08/1934.		

Project No: 1-9C-3		
Application Date: 11/25/1933		Approval Date: 11/25/1933
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: Board of County Commissioners		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$2,612.50
Local Cash Appropriations		\$660.00
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers	2,530 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$1,012.00
Labor - Grader & Tractor	96 hours @ \$0.50/hour	\$48.00
Foreman	(150 hours) \$18.00/week	\$90.00
Trucks	3,250 hours @ \$0.45/hour	\$1,462.50
Gravel	3,300 cubic yds @ \$0.20 yd	\$660.00
Total Project Costs:		\$3,272.50
Project Description:		
Beginning at Stilwell Horn Road near John Patterson Place running to Lyons, thence to Highway 17. Graveling 5 miles of county road.		

Project No: 1-10C-3		
Application Date: 11/25/1933		Approval Date: 11/25/1933
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: County Commissioner of District #2		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$1,152.00
Other Cash Contributions		\$85.40
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers	1,560 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$624.00
Truck Drivers	240 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$96.00
Tractors & Graders	360 hours @ \$0.60/hour	\$216.00
Foreman	(180 hours) \$18.00/week	\$108.00
Trucks	240 hours @ \$0.45/hour	\$108.00
Gas	90 gallons @ \$0.16/gallon	\$14.40
Oil	50 gallons @ \$0.52/gallon	\$26.00
Lumber	3,000 ft @ \$15.00/thousand	\$45.00
Total Project Costs:		\$1,237.40
Project Description:		
Grading, clearing, and draining road from Lee's Creek to Davidson, Arkansas. Beginning in Section #5, Township 14 North, Range 26 East, thence old road in southeastern direction.		

Project No: 1-10C2-3		
Application Date: 3/02/1934		Approval Date: 4/05/1934
Estimated Start Date: 2/12/1934		Estimated Finish Date: Four weeks
Supervised By: County Commissioners of Adair County, Tiny Hill, County Commissioner		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$1,200.00
County furnish tractor & grader		\$230.00
Citizens furnish oil & gas		\$50.00
Itemized Costs:		
Labor	1,940 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$776.00
Tractor & Grader	200 hours @ \$0.50/hour	\$100.00
Foreman & Timekeeper	\$18.00/week	\$144.00
Teams	720 hours @ \$0.25/hour	\$180.00
Gas, Oil & Grease		\$50.00
[Illegible]		\$230.00
Total Project Costs		\$1,480.00
Project Description:		
<p>Supplemental to 1-10C-3. Pulling stumps, grading, draining, rolling rock from right-of-way 7 miles. Re-graded old road one mile, cleared 5 miles right-of-way 36 feet wide. Graded one and one-fourth mile of new part of road. Pulled all stumps in three and one-half miles of the five mile right-of-way. This project was not completed within appropriation as it was very hard to estimate the amount of labor it would take to pull all the stumps and clear this five miles of right-of-way. To complete this project the stumps will have to be pulled in one and one-half mile length and also grading of the three and one-half miles for which the new project will be submitted under F.E.R.A. This project was left in a fair condition and is much better than the old trail.</p> <p>Money exhausted. Transferred to works division of F.E.R.A. 3/29/1934.</p>		

Project No: 1-11C-3		
Application Date: 11/25/1933		Approval Date: 11/25/1933
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: County Commissioners of District #2		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$558.00
Other Cash Contributions		\$145.00
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers	780 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$312.00
Truck Driver	120 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$48.00
Tractors & Graders	180 hours @ \$0.50/hour	\$90.00
Foreman	(90 hours) \$18.00/week	\$54.00
Truck	120 hours @ \$0.45/hour	\$54.00
Gasoline	450 gallons @ \$0.16/gallon	\$72.00
Oil	25 gallons @ \$0.52/gallon	\$13.00
Lumber	4,000 ft @ \$15.00/thousand	\$60.00
Total Project Costs		\$703.00
Project Description:		
Beginning at Stilwell-Evansville road at Bud Grooms Place on 1/2 mile-line of Section 24, Township 16 North, Range 26 East, running south to the Oak Grove School House, thence in a southwesterly direction to the old road intersecting at the Walters Place. Clearing, grading and draining 3 miles.		

Project No: 1-11C2-3	
Application Date: 6/12/1934	Approval Date: 6/26/1934
Estimated Start Date:	Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By:	
Financing Method:	
Civil Works Administration Fund	\$2,053.30
Itemized Costs:	
Overdraft	\$1,145.40
Overdraft	\$907.90
Total Project Costs:	\$2,053.30
Project Description:	
<p>Overdraft of Project 1-11C-3. Graveled four miles of road twelve feet wide, spreading 2,950 cubic yards of crushed gravel. This project was not completed within the estimate, as the hauling of the rock was underestimated. It will take one more mile of graveling to complete this project. Therefore, it is desirable to continue same. There will be a new project submitted under F.E.R.A. for this additional mile of gravel.</p> <p>Money exhausted. Transferred to works division of F.E.R.A. 3/29/1934.</p>	

Project No: 1-12C-3		
Application Date: 11/25/1933		Approval Date: 11/27/1933
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: County Commissioner of District #3		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$558.00
Other Cash Contributions		\$160.00
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers	780 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$312.00
Truck Driver	120 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$48.00
Tractor & Grader	180 hours @ \$0.50/hour	\$90.00
Foreman	(90 hours) \$15.00/week	\$54.00
Truck	120 hours @ \$0.45/hour	\$54.00
Gasoline	450 gallons @ \$0.16/gallon	\$72.00
Oil	25 gallons @ \$0.52/gallon	\$13.00
Lumber	5,000 ft @ \$15.00/thousand	\$75.00
Total Project Costs:		\$718.00
Project Description:		
<p>Beginning at SE corner of Section 5, Township 18 N, Range 26 E and running east 1 mile, thence in a W N direction across Section 32 to the N W corner thereof, said Section 32 being in Township [illegible] N, Range 26 East.</p> <p>Transferred to works division of F.E.R.A. 4/1/1934.</p>		

Project No: 1-13C-3		
Application Date: 11/25/1933		Approval Date: 11/25/1933
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: County Commissioners of District #3		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$558.00
Local Cash Appropriations		\$145.00
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers	780 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$312.00
Truck Drivers	120 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$48.00
Grader & Tractor	180 hours @ \$0.50/hour	\$90.00
Foreman	(90 hours) \$18.00/week	\$54.00
Trucks	120 hours @ \$0.45/hour	\$54.00
Gasoline	450 gallons @ \$0.16/gallon	\$72.00
Oil	25 gallons @ \$0.52/gallon	\$13.00
Lumber	4,000 ft @ \$15.00/thousand	\$60.00
Total Project Costs:		\$703.00
Project Description:		
Three miles south of Westville, Evansville Road running south 1 mile, west 1 mile, connecting with Highway 17 a distance of 2 miles. Grading, clearing and ditching, draining, starting at a point on the northeast corner of Section 19, south 1 mile, west 1 mile.		

Project No: 1-13C2-3	
Application Date: 3/26/1934	Approval Date: 4/05/1934
Estimated Start Date:	Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By: Board of County Commissioners, Cas Smallen, Foreman	
Financing Method:	
Civil Works Administration Fund	\$125.00
Itemized Costs:	
Labor	\$125.00
Total Project Costs:	\$125.00
Project Description:	
Supplemental to Project 1-13C-3. Road beginning three miles south of Westville. See original application for legal description.	

Project No: 1-16C-3	
Application Date:	Approval Date:
Estimated Start Date:	Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By:	
Financing Method:	
Itemized Costs:	
Project Description:	
Graveling 5 miles of road near Westville after county had graded same. Placed 3,300 cubic yards of gravel purchased by county.	
Transferred to Project 1-4C-3.	

Project No: 1-17C-7		
Application Date: 12/05/1933		Approval Date: 12/20/1933
Estimated Start Date:		Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By: County Commissioners		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$109.47
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers – unskilled	90 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$36.00
Laborers - skilled	46 hours @ \$1.00/hour	\$46.00
Lumber, sheet rock, nails		\$27.47
Total Project Costs:		\$109.47
Project Description:		
Repairs to equipment to County Courthouse. Building of furniture and office equipment for the offices of the C.W.A. administrator.		
Project completed 3/21/1934.		

Project No: 1-18C-3		
Application Date: 12/04/1933		Approval Date: 2/14/1934
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: Watts Town Board of Trustees		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$2,585.40
Local Cash Appropriations		\$614.50
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers	5,106 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$2,042.40
Truck Drivers	300 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$120.00
Foreman	(480 hours) \$18.00/week	\$288.00
Trucks	300 hours @ \$0.45/hour	\$135.00
Gravel	1,000 cubic yds @ \$0.20/yd	\$200.00
Cement	100 sacks @ \$0.75/sack	\$75.00
Lumber	400 ft @ \$25.00/thousand	\$10.00
Lumber (B or better)	100 ft @ \$60.00/thousand	\$6.00
Wds. Ck.	8 @ \$3.00	\$24.00
Door 3 X 7 X 2		\$10.00
Hardware		\$25.00
Paint	20 gallons @ \$3.00/gallon	\$60.00
Oil	10 gallons @ \$1.25/gallon	\$12.50
Sand	30 yrds @ \$4.00/yrd	\$120.00
B flooring	1,200 ft @ \$60.00/thousand	\$72.00
Total Project Costs:		\$3,199.90
Project Description:		
City of Watts. Grading, drainage, graveling sidewalks, culverts, and repairing City Hall and City Park.		

Project No: 1-18C2-3	
Application Date: 6/12/1934	Approval Date: 6/26/1934
Estimated Start Date:	Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By:	
Financing Method:	
Civil Works Administration Fund	\$617.93
Itemized Costs:	
Overdraft	\$267.10
Overdraft	\$350.83
Total Project Costs:	\$617.93
Project Description:	
Overdraft of Project 1-18C-3. Built 175 feet of 18 inch culverts; 333 feet of 30 inch open gutters; approximately 30 feet of stone wall, averaging height 3 feet, average thickness 2 feet; excavated about 75 cubic yards of rock. Made fills about 400 cubic yards, approximately 1,200 yards of street graveled. Cleaned out and opened one mile of gutters. Used 21 gallons paint and 12 gallons oil on City Hall, community building, and grand stand. Re-floored City Hall and oiled same. Put new windows and new door on City Hall. Built 130 feet of sidewalks, averaging width 7 feet, in front of city park and community building. Reset hedge and cleared out same.	

Project No: 1-19C-3		
Application Date: 12/04/1933		Approval Date: 4/05/1934
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 3/15/1934
Supervised By: J.R. Swicegood, Chairman		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$2,727.80
Other Local Contributions		\$380.00
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers	4,700 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$1,880.00
Drivers	240 hours @ \$0.50/hour	\$120.00
Foreman	(240 hours) \$18.00/week	\$144.00
10 Teams	1,900 hours @ \$0.25/hour	\$475.00
Gravel	1,900 cubic yds @ \$0.20/yd	\$380.00
Concrete	47 sacks @ \$0.70/sack	\$32.90
Lumber	5,060 ft @ \$15.00/thousand	\$75.90
Total Project Costs:		\$3,107.80
Project Description:		
Commencing on the NE corner of Worley's farm and running through Rocky Mountain to State Highway 51, a distance of 7.5 miles of gravel. 7.5 miles of grading and draining.		

Project No: 1-19C2-3	
Application Date: 6/12/1934	Approval Date: 6/26/1934
Estimated Start Date:	Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By:	
Financing Method:	
Civil Works Administration Fund	\$367.00
Itemized Costs:	
Overdraft	\$356.80
Overdraft	\$10.20
Total Project Costs:	\$367.00
Project Description:	
Overdraft of 1-19C-3.	

Project No: 1-20C-4		
Application Date: 12/05/1933		Approval Date: 1/10/1934
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: School Board of District #36 (Elm Grove)		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$488.60
Other Local Contributions		\$42.00
Itemized Costs:		
Labor & Drivers	600 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$240.00
Foreman	(60 hours) \$18.00/week	\$36.00
[Illegible]	90 hours @ \$1.00/hour	\$90.00
Teams	210 hours @ \$0.25/hour	\$52.50
Windows, doors, sashes, lime, and cement		\$70.10
Materials (contributed)		\$42.00
Total Project Costs:		\$530.60
Project Description:		
<p>Elm Grove School District #36. Finish of Teacher's Quarters. Timber cut and hauled to site, logs hued and cut in place. The work so far done has been in a skillful workman-like manner, but during the early part of the work there was some lost motion on account of using men not skilled in that class of work. This condition was not foreseen by the undersigned. A supply of timber was not obtained as close to the building site as expected. When the job is completed it will be a valuable asset to the district as it will furnish rent free quarters for the district. The district has a very credible school house built of sandstone and the teacher's quarters which are of rustic design are in keeping with the entire plant.</p>		

Project No: 1-20C2-4	
Application Date:	Approval Date: 6/26/1934
Estimated Start Date:	Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By:	
Financing Method:	
Civil Works Administration Fund	\$68.80
Itemized Costs:	
Overdraft	\$68.80
Total Project Costs:	\$68.80
Project Description:	
Overdraft of Project 1-20C-4. Money exhausted 1/25/1934.	

Project No: 1-21C-4		
Application Date: 12/08/1933		Approval Date: 5/02/1934
Estimated Start Date: 12/18/1933		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: School Board of District #4 (Watts)		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$991.20
Other Local Contributions		\$95.60
Itemized Costs:		
Labor & Drivers	982 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$392.80
Labor – semi-skilled	490 hours @ \$0.60/hour	\$294.00
Foremen	(60 hours) \$18.00/week	\$36.00
Trucks	300 hours @ \$0.30/hour	\$90.00
Materials contributed		\$95.60
5 T. & 5 lower sashes, panes 3.5 X 2 X 11	10 @ \$3.00	\$30.00
Roof asphalt	3 bolts @ \$12.00	\$36.00
Kalsomine	55 gallons @ \$0.60/gallon	\$33.00
Paint	12 gallons @ \$3.00/gallon	\$36.00
Oil	5 gallons @ \$1.25/gallon	\$6.25
5 Doors: 2'7" X 6'9"		\$9.00
5 Doors: [illegible]		\$3.50
2: 2 ft. 7" X 7'3" (6 pane)		\$10.00
Hardware, Nails & Locks		\$2.50
Lumber (Oak & Pine)		\$12.15
Total Project Costs:		\$1,086.80
Project Description:		
Watts School District #4. Building repair, roof, doors, floors, windows, toilets, steps, painting, kalsomining, grading and sodding yard. (We also need a well on yard.)		

Project No: 1-22C-3		
Application Date: 12/19/1933		Approval Date: 1/10/1934
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: Perry Ethridge, County Commissioner District #1.		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$57.00
Other Local Contributions		\$7.50
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers	18 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$7.20
Teamsters	72 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$28.80
Foreman	(5 hours) \$18.00/week	\$3.00
Team & Wagons (12)	72 hours @ \$0.25/hour	\$18.00
Rocks	75 loads @ \$0.10/load	\$7.50
Total Project Costs:		\$64.50
Project Description:		
Ford crossing on Barren Fork River one-fourth mile south of Christie.		

Project No: 1-22C2-3	
Application Date: 6/12/1934	Approval Date: 6/26/1934
Estimated Start Date:	Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By:	
Financing Method:	
Civil Works Administration Fund	\$3.00
Itemized Costs:	
Overdraft	\$3.00
Total Project Costs:	\$3.00
Project Description:	
Overdraft of Project 1-22C-3.	

Project No: 1-26C-3		
Application Date: 12/06/1933		Approval Date: 4/05/1934
Estimated Start Date:		Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By: A.E. Alward, County Commissioner District #3		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$153.80
Other Local Contributions		\$1,320.00
Itemized Costs:		
Equipment Rental		\$105.00
Wages & Salaries		\$48.80
Steel Bridge (100 ft)		\$1,200.00
Cement	200 sacks @ \$0.60/sack	\$120.00
Total Project Costs:		\$1,473.80
Project Description:		
Erection of bridge 1/2 mile east of Watts and grading and graveling 1.5 mile road running southeast. Work started by R.F.C. forces.		
<p>Started as C.W.A. project 12/18/1933.</p> <p>When Highway 17 was changed a 200 foot bridge with approach on the south side was left on the abandoned right-of-way and given to the county. The bridge which was a steel structure was bolted together was removed by RFC labor and one span was taken to the recent bridge site. This 100 foot span is to be erected over Ballard Creek at the point about 1/4 mile east of Watts. This road is far more important than appears to be the case because it is really the only means of ingress and egress from Watts to the Arkansas farming community immediately east and up the Illinois River valley. This is a mail route and it is impassible; there can be no communication between these communities, except south several miles toward Westville and north through Forest Park or Siloam Springs, Arkansas. The business men of Watts have great anxiety about keeping this road open. The original plans for this structure were drawn gratuitously by a state highway engineer then working on a job near Watts. The plans were originally designed for mass concrete. Probably four car loads of limestone bouldering are at the site to be used in the piers. Probably a car load of gravel and there is stored at the site 200 sacks of concrete for use in the bridge which was a gift from Mr. J.W. Sloan of Forest Park. In excavating on the west side of the creek has been made to a solid foundation in a depth of seventeen feet. The plan is to extend above around a distance above high water mark. The excavation is now open but is not dangerous, but it should be completed as early as possible. The county commissioners [illegible] to furnish the material. [Illegible sentence.] John A. Goodall, County C.W.A. Administrator</p> <p>4/1/34 - Excavation for pier (10 X 16) completed to depth of 17 feet. Four car loads of rock delivered onsite. Cribbing up to prevent caving of excavation wall when work is ordered. Project transferred 4/1/1934. Project 20% completed.</p>		

Project No: 1-26C2-3	
Application Date: 6/1934	Approval Date: 6/26/1934
Estimated Start Date:	Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By:	
Financing Method:	
Civil Works Administration Fund	\$405.54
Itemized Costs:	
Overdraft – Equipment	\$12.34
Overdraft – Materials	\$15.00
Overdraft – Wages	\$378.20
Total Project Costs	\$405.54
Project Description:	
Overdraft of Project of 1-26C-3.	

Project No: 1-26C3-3	
Application Date:	Approval Date: 7/10/1934
Estimated Start Date:	Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By:	
Financing Method:	
Civil Works Administration Fund	\$142.40
Itemized Costs:	
Overdraft – Equipment	\$70.00
Overdraft – Wages	\$72.40
Total Project Costs:	\$142.40
Project Description:	
Overdraft of Project 1-26C-3.	

Project No: 1-27C-5		
Application Date: 2/03/1934		Approval Date: 4/05/1934
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 30 days
Supervised By: Board of County Commissioners, Cliff Paden, Foreman		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$2,952.40
Itemized Costs:		
Labor-unskilled	5,816 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$2,326.40
Labor-semi-skilled	120 hours @ \$0.60/hour	\$72.00
Foreman	\$18.00/week	\$36.00
Teams	1,200 hours @ \$0.25/hour	\$300.00
Oil and Gas	200 gallons @ \$0.16/gallon	\$32.00
Oil and Gas	20 gallons @ \$0.80/gallon	\$16.00
Dynamite, caps and fuses	3 cases	\$40.00
Cement	150 sacks @ \$0.80/sack	\$120.00
Misc. items (fence repair)		\$10.00
Total Project Costs:		\$2,952.40
Project Description:		
<p>Project started 12/6/1933. The completion of fish & recreation lake, 7 miles southwest of Stilwell, on present Highway 17. This project started and 40% completed by R.F.C. forces.</p> <p>4/1/1934 - Timber removed for lake site and dam built to grade on west side. Spillway excavated to within two feet of grade. Rock placed on ground for rip-rapping. This project is to be a lake covering about 9.5 acres seven miles southwest of Stilwell near Highway 17. The project was started as an RFC Project and was about 40% complete on December 6, 1933. Work was continued until the general order direction that no further work be done on unapproved projects and is now about 80% completed. This project is located in a black gumbo and clay soil free from gravel and with some sand stone boulders about the high water mark of the proposed lake. The drainage area cannot excess 50 acres. The proposed lake will be fed by an ever-lasting spring. The dam has been built from the west side of the valley toward the east to the bed of the spring branch and has been built from the east side to the edge of said branch on leaving a v-shaped opening at the site of the spring branch. The dam has been brought to grade on the west side of the branch and lacks about four feet on the east side, and, of course the v-shaped opening will be filled toward the last. The spillway [illegible for remainder of paragraph.]</p>		

Project No: 1-29C-5		
Application Date: 12/07/1933		Approval Date: 5/03/1934
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: Adair County Commissioners District #3		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$8,180.00
Itemized Costs:		
Labor	13,730 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$5,492.00
Foreman	19 weeks @ \$18.00/week	\$342.00
Teams	6,000 hours @ \$0.25/hour	\$1,500.00
Mixer & Pump Rental		\$100.00
Cement	800 sacks @ \$0.62/sack	\$496.00
Nails, Wire & Hardware		\$200.00
Gas and Oil for above		\$50.00
Total Project Costs:		\$8,180.00
Project Description:		
<p>Construction of fish and recreation lake, 3 miles west of Westville, on U.S. 62. Earth dam with concrete core wall. Timber to be pulled by county. Due to abandonment, this lake site is in bad condition. A trench was dug to a depth of about three feet for proposed core wall for dam. Trees out from site and part of excavation for spillway made.</p> <p>1/02/1934 – Easement by Frank and Elva Oaks to the citizens of Oklahoma for the right to fish and hunt aquatic game, free of charge, on and around lake. Southeast ¼, Northwest ¼, Northeast ¼ (described as Lot 2), Section 3, Township 17 North, Range 25 East.</p> <p>1/02/1934 – Easement by A.G. and Louise Gibson to the citizens of Oklahoma for the right to fish and hunt aquatic game, free of charge, on and around lake. Easement is not to interfere with the town of Westville’s water supply. West ½, Northeast ¼, Northwest ¼, (described as West ½ of Lot 1), Section 3, Township 17 North, Range 25 East.</p>		

Project No: 1-30C-4		
Application Date: 1/09/1934		Approval Date: 2/05/1934
Estimated Start Date: 1/10/1934		Estimated Finish Date: 3 weeks
Supervised By: School District #14 (Proctor), Walter Proctor (ex-serviceman)		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$1,010.50
Itemized Costs:		
Labor – unskilled	1,170 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$468.00
Teamsters	324 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$129.60
Labor – semi-skilled	145 hours @ \$0.75/hour	\$108.75
Foreman	(90 hours) \$18.00/week	\$54.00
Teams	324 hours @ \$0.25/hour	\$81.00
Pipe	30 ft	\$11.40
Cable	4.5 units	\$11.25
Paint, Oil, etc.	3 gallons	\$60.00
Lumber	5 ft	\$25.00
Cement	75 sacks	\$61.50
Total Project Costs:		\$1,010.50
Project Description:		
Proctor Public School, District #14. Put a flint rock fence in front of grounds, grade and level to make a suitable playground and prevent erosion, condition and make toilets sanitary, paint house and toilets, make well pollution proof, repair and refinish desks.		

Project No: 1-33C-3		
Application Date: 12/06/1933		Approval Date: 2/09/1934
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: County Commissioner District #3		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$4,058.00
Local Cash Appropriation		\$330.00
Itemized Costs:		
Labor	3,140 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$1,256.00
Teamsters	3,960 hours @ \$ 0.40/hour	\$1,584.00
Tractor & Grader Men	96 hours @ \$0.50/hour	\$48.00
Foreman (2)	5 weeks @ \$18.00/week	\$180.00
Teams	3,960 @ \$0.25/hour	\$990.00
Gravel	1,650 cubic yds @ \$0.20/yd	\$330.00
Total Project Costs:		\$4,388.00
Project Description:		
Grading, graveling and draining County Road from a point on U.S. Highway 62, one mile East of Westville then South two miles East, one mile North 2.5 miles West one mile South, 1/2 mile gravel placed to need. Graveled about 2.5 miles after grading of the full mileage of the project was done by the County Commissioners.		
4/1/1934 Transferred at close of C.W.A. to [illegible].		

Project No: 1-40C-4		
Application Date: 12/19/1933		Approval Date: 3/10/1934
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: School Board of District #22 (Maryetta)		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$136.50
Local Cash Appropriation		\$22.50
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers	150 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$60.00
Teamsters	90 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$36.00
Foreman	\$18.00/week	\$18.00
Teams	90 hours @ \$0.25/hour	\$22.50
District	90 cubic yds @ \$0.25/yard	\$22.50
Total Project Costs:		\$159.00
Project Description:		
School District #22. Raising ground and leveling school yard. Grading and leveling of grounds as accomplished under the work to prevent water standing in immediate location of well by which the drinking water was formerly contaminated. The grading next to building has shut off the water that collected and stood along the building with resulting drainage to sills and under-wood work.		

Project No: 1-46C-3		
Application Date: 1/22/1934		Approval Date: 2/09/1934
Estimated Start Date: 1/04/1934		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: Stilwell Board of Trustees		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$6,220.07
Itemized Costs:		
Labor – unskilled	8,402 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$3,360.80
Concrete man	120 hours @ \$0.60/hour	\$72.00
Carpenter	120 hours @ \$0.60/hour	\$72.00
Water line Foreman	120 hours @ \$0.60/hour	\$72.00
Foreman	240 hours @ \$0.60/hour	\$144.00
Timekeeper	240 hours @ \$0.60/hour	\$144.00
Team for gravel haul	1,800 hours @ \$0.25/hour	\$450.00
Trucks for gravel haul	720 hours @ \$0.45/hour	\$324.00
Gravel	1,500 yrds @ \$0.06/yard	\$90.00
Lumber and Nails		\$45.00
Cement	1301 @ \$0.80	\$1,040.80
Reinforced steel	180.21 @ \$2.25	\$405.47
Total Project Costs:		\$6,220.07
Project Description:		
Supplementary to Project 1-23C-3. Town of Stilwell - Lowering water lines, concrete culverts, grading and drainage of streets, and graveling streets, in town of Stilwell, Oklahoma.		
Project 1-46C-3		
Specifications On Culverts, Town of Stilwell, Adair County, Oklahoma		
No. 1		
At Second and Chestnut Streets:		
1 standard 6 X 3 X 30 ft. concrete culvert: B C 5		
Drainage area		50 acres
Amount of concrete		22.20 cubic yards
Amount of steel		1,810 lbs.
Amount of cement		133 sacks
No. 2		
At Second and Pine Streets:		
1 standard 6 X 3 X 34 ft. concrete culvert, B C 5:		
Drainage area, approximately		80 acres
Amount of concrete		24.33 cubic yards
Amount of steel		2,000 lbs.
Amount of cement		145 sacks

No. 3

At Second Street, in New Addition, on State Highway 17:

1 standard 6 X 3 X 34 ft. concrete culvert, B C 5:

Drainage area	60 acres
Amount of concrete	24.33 cubic yards
Amount of steel	2,000 lbs.
Amount of cement	145 sacks

No. 4

At First Street in New Addition:

1 standard 4 X 2 X 26 ft. concrete culvert, B C 5:

Drainage area	20 acres
Amount of concrete	11.11 cubic yards
Amount of steel	979 lbs.
Amount of cement	66 sacks

No. 5

At First and Poplar Streets:

1 standard 6 X 3 X 26 ft. concrete culvert, B C 5:

Drainage	70 acres
Amount of concrete	20.06 cubic yards
Amount of steel	1,611 lbs.
Amount of cement	120 sacks

No. 6

At First and Chestnut Streets:

1 standard 6 X 3 X 26 ft. concrete culvert, B C 5:

Drainage	65 acres
Amount of concrete	20.06 cubic yards
Amount of steel	1,611 lbs.
Amount of cement	120 sacks

No. 7

At Third and Chestnut Streets:

1 standard 6 X 2 X 26 concrete culvert, B C 5:

Drainage area	60 acres
Amount of concrete	26.19 cubic yards
Amount of steel	2,323 lbs.
Amount of cement	157 sacks

No. 8

At Third and Cedar Streets:

1 standard 10 X 7 X 26 ft. concrete culvert, B C 5:

Drainage area	200 acres
Amount of concrete	12.85 cubic yards
Amount of steel	4,118 lbs.
Amount of cement	317 sacks

No. 9

At Front and Chestnut Streets:

1 standard 6 X 2 X 26 concrete culvert, B C 5:

Drainage area	50 acres
Amount of concrete	15.95 cubic yards
Amount of steel	1,412 lbs.
Amount of cement	78 sacks

Project No: 1-47C-3		
Application Date: 12/01/1933		Approval Date: 3/14/1934
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: Commissioner of District #1		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$6,390.00
Local Cash Appropriations		\$1,518.00
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers – unskilled	5,068 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$2,027.20
Truck Drivers	2,840 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$1,136.00
Team Drivers	192 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$76.80
Laborers – semi-skilled	3,360 hours @ \$0.50/hour	\$1,680.00
Foreman	(240 hours) \$18.00/week	\$144.00
Trucks	2,840 hours @ \$0.45/hour	\$1,278.00
Teams	32 days @ \$1.50/day	\$48.00
Gravel	7,590 cubic yds @ \$0.20/yd	\$1,518.00
Total Project Costs:		\$7,908.00
Project Description:		
Commencing at Dahlongah School House, and running to Bunch, a distance of 11 1/2 miles. Grading, draining, and graveling.		
4/1/1934 - Hauled about 7,500 loads of rock and piled by side of road to be crushed, about one-fourth of which has been crushed and spread. Ten fills have been made. Ten small culverts and drain pipes have been placed. Numerous ditches for drainage have been dug and one-fourth mile of right-of-way has been cut out.		
End of C.W.A. Transferred to F.E.R.A.		

Project No: 1-53C-4		
Application Date: 2/01/1934		Approval Date: 3/10/1934
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: As soon as possible
Supervised By: School Board of District #28 (Zion)		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$304.00
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers	135 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$54.00
Teamsters	120 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$48.00
Painters & Carpenters	90 hours @ \$1.00/hour	\$90.00
Foreman	(60 hours) \$18.00/week	\$36.00
One team & wagon	120 hours @ \$0.25/hour	\$30.00
Paint (white)	12 gallons @ \$2.50/gallon	\$30.00
Oil for paint	8 gallons @ \$1.25/gallon	\$10.00
Pipe 10" 12 ft.		\$6.00
Total Cost of Project:		\$304.00
Project Description:		
School District #28 - To grade and gravel road-way 12 feet wide and 70 yards long from Zion School building to public road. To dig pits and move toilets, to paint house, and to furnish one 10 inch round drain pipe 12 feet long to drain gravel road-way.		
Completed 3/29/1934.		

Project No: 1-55C-9		
Application Date: 1/19/1934		Approval Date: 4/05/1934
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 2/15/1934
Supervised By: Frank Buttram, Coordinator, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$62.40
Itemized Costs:		
Compliance Board Clerk	4 weeks @ \$15.60/week	\$62.40
Total Project Costs:		\$62.40
Project Description:		
Adair County Compliance Board of N.R.A.		

Project No: 1-56C-9		
Application Date: 2/16/1934		Approval Date: 4/5/1934
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 4/30/1934
Supervised By: Frank Buttram, Coordinator,		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$98.80
Itemized Costs:		
Compliance Board Clerk	6 1/3 weeks @ \$15.60/week	\$98.80
Total Project Costs:		\$98.80
Project Description:		
Adair County Compliance Board of N.R.A.		

Project No: 1-58C-9		
Application Date: 3/13/1934		Approval Date: 3/17/1934
Estimated Start Date: Immediately		Estimated Finish Date: 10 weeks
Supervised By: John A. Goodall, C.W.A. Administrator		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$156.00
Itemized Costs:		
Clerical Worker	10 weeks @ \$15.60/week	\$156.00
Total Project Costs:		\$156.00
Project Description:		
Clerical assistance for Mr. Frank Howard. Muskogee Production Credit Association.		

Project No: 1-220C-13		
Application Date:		Approval Date: 4/09/1934
Estimated Start Date:		Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By:		
Financing Method:		
Civil Works Administration Fund		\$16,820.85
Itemized Costs:		
Laborers – unskilled	28,478 hours @ \$0.40/hour	\$11,391.20
Team & Truck Drivers – unskilled	5,641.40 hours @ \$0.40/hr	\$2,256.56
Laborers – semi-skilled	2,386 hours @ \$0.60/hour	\$1,431.60
Supervisory	1,022 hours @ \$60.00/hour	\$613.20
Team and truck rental	5,641 hours	\$1,128.29
Total Project Costs:		\$16,820.85
Project Description:		
This application covers all F.E.R.A. Projects transferred to C.W.A. in this county for the period of November 16, to November 30, 1933.		

Project No: 1-222C-15	
Application Date: 6/12/1934	Approval Date: 6/26/1934
Estimated Start Date:	Estimated Finish Date:
Supervised By:	
Financing Method:	
Civil Works Administration Fund	\$11.20
Itemized Costs:	
Overdraft	\$11.20
Total Project Costs:	\$11.20
Project Description:	
Overdraft	

Other Possible CWA Projects for Adair County, Oklahoma

Local newspapers listed the following CWA projects for Adair County, but no mention of these projects are found in CWA applications at the National Archives:

The Oklahoman, January 11, 1934

School District #27 (Rock Springs/Geneva) \$646.00

The Oklahoman, January 17, 1934

School District #25 (Stilwell) \$1,139.

APPENDIX B

NEW DEAL WORK PROJECTS COMPLETED

AT DISTRICT SCHOOLS

IN ADAIR COUNTY, OKLAHOMA

Unless otherwise cited, photographs are courtesy of the author.

School District Number: 1

School Name: Skelly

Other names: Washington

Legal Description: Section 29, Township 19 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Watts, approximately 11 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

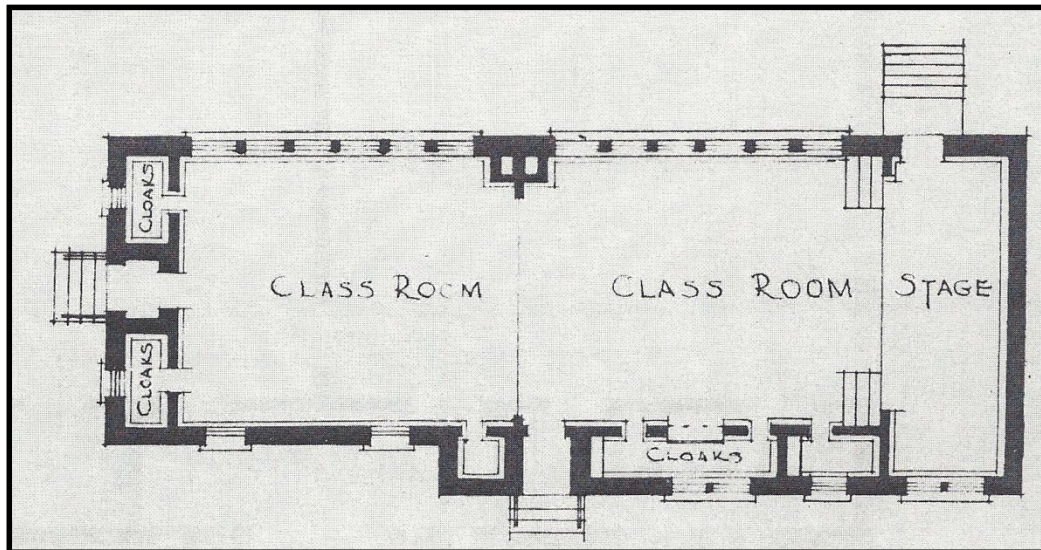
WPA: By April 1938, a WPA crew began construction of a two-room, flagstone school building which replaced a frame building. The project application called for the employment of 34 men for the completion of 11,526 hours of work. By 1941, the WPA provided a kitchen and employed a cook to prepare hot lunches for the school children.

NYA: In September 1938, a group of young men working through the NYA completed a project for leveling and landscaping the grounds. Upon completion, the site was named Skelly School in honor of W.G. Skelly, a Tulsa oilman, who donated land for the school site.

Building Condition:

Building currently utilized as part of Skelly School complex. Building contains additions to the north and east.

Skelly School Floor Plan.



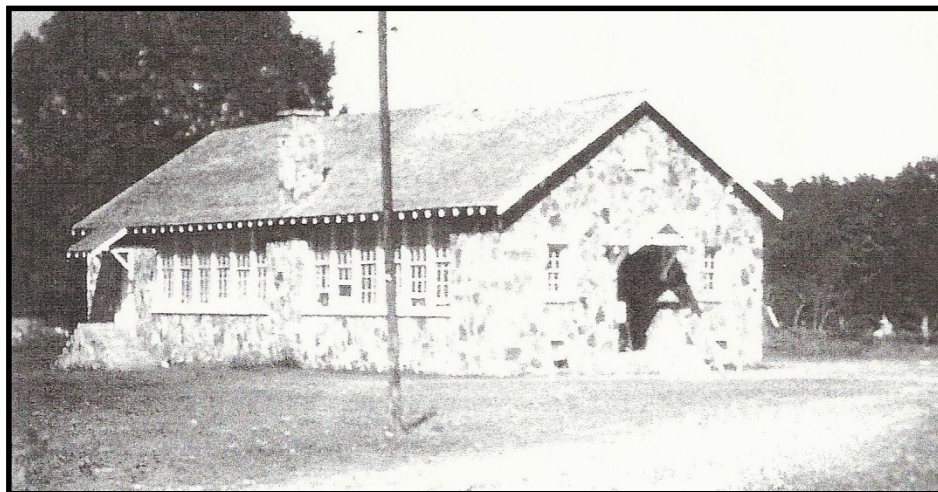
Source: Oklahoma Department of Public Instruction, *School Buildings: Mineature Plans and Perspectives* (Oklahoma City, OK: Division of Schoolhouse Planning, 1937). See plan number 2N01.

Skelly School. July 1939.



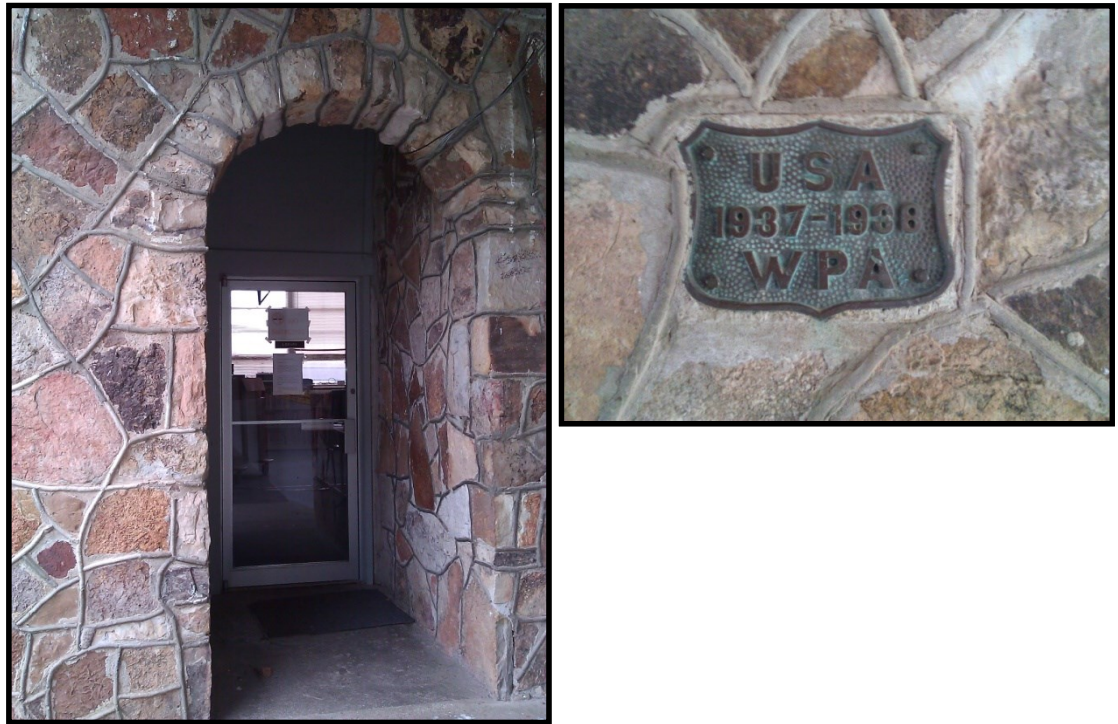
Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma. WPA two-room flagstone school building. Note the original bi-level roof.

Skelly School. Undated photograph.



Source: Personal photograph collection of Burlan Woods, Westville, Oklahoma. Photograph used by permission. By the time of this photograph, a single-level roof replaced the original.

Skelly School. Spring 2012.



Skelly School. Spring 2012.



Original WPA rock building and later additions to the north and east.

School District Number: 1

School Name: Holland

Legal Description: Section 11, Township 19 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Watts, approximately 2 miles north and 9 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In 1941, WPA provided materials necessary for a school lunch program.

Building Condition: No longer extant.

Holland School. Undated photograph.



Source: Personal photograph collection of Burlan Woods, Westville, Oklahoma. Photograph used by permission.

School District Number: 2

School Name: Proctor-Ford

Other names: Lewis

Legal Description: Section 16, Township 19 North, Range 25 East

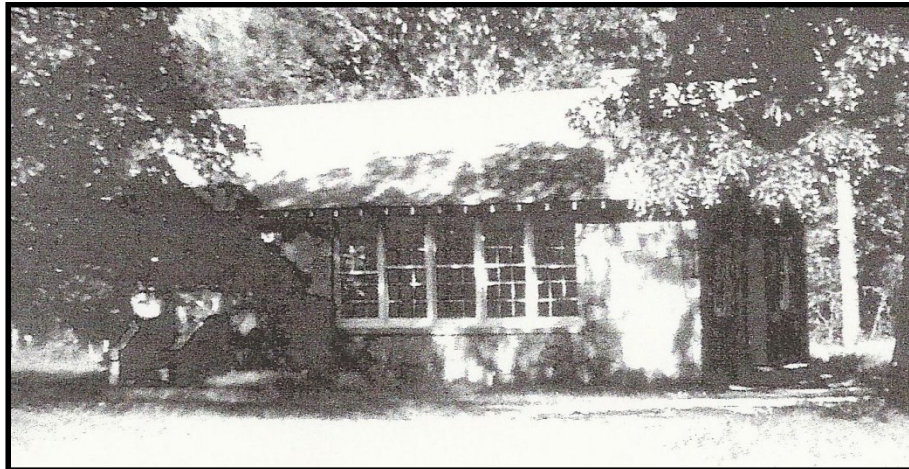
Location: From Watts, approximately 1 mile north and 4 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In Autumn 1939, WPA constructed a one-room, flagstone school building and leveled school grounds. The project application listed a cost of \$6,125, of which the WPA provided \$3,752 in federal funds. The school district matched a total of \$2,835. The project provided employment for approximately 30 men who worked 9,536 hours on the project.

Building Condition: Site abandoned. Only the stone walls remain.

Proctor-Ford School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma.

Proctor-Ford School. Spring 2012.



Proctor-Ford School. Spring 2012.



School District Number: 2

School Name: Rock Branch

Legal Description: Section 18, Township 19 North, Range 25 East

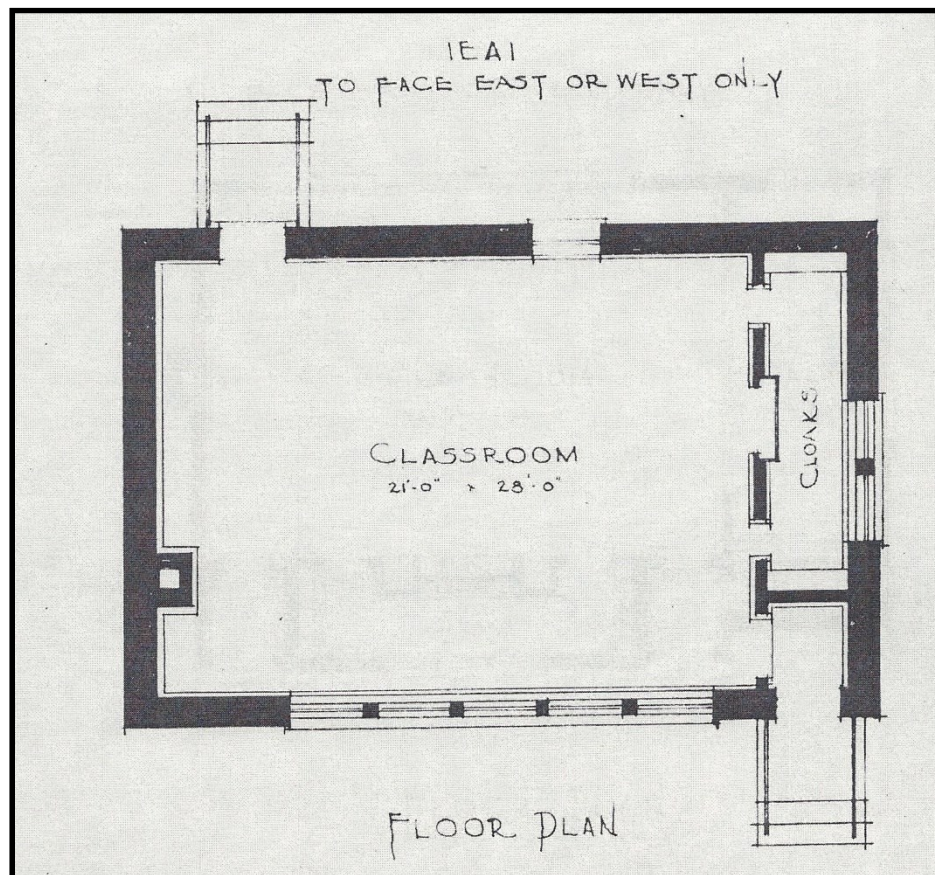
Location: From Watts, approximately a mile north and 6 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In the summer of 1936, the WPA constructed a one-room, stone school building at Rock Branch. The WPA spent \$2,386.31 in federal funds for labor. The school district salvaged building material from the previous frame structure and also spent \$214.53 in additional materials.

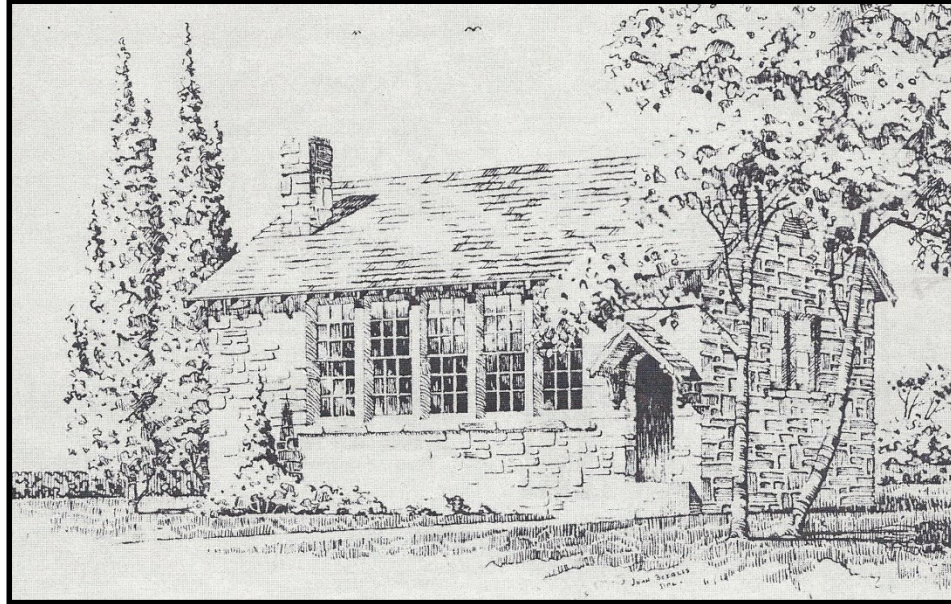
Building Condition: Site abandoned. Only the stone walls remain.

Rock Branch School Floorplan.



Source: Oklahoma Department of Public Instruction, *School Buildings: Mineature Plans and Perspectives* (Oklahoma City, OK: Division of Schoolhouse Planning, 1937). See plan number 1EA1.

Rock Branch Architectural Drawing.



Source: Oklahoma Department of Public Instruction, *School Buildings: Mineature Plans and Perspectives* (Oklahoma City, OK: Division of Schoolhouse Planning, 1937). See plan number 1EA1.

Rock Branch School. Spring 2012.



School District Number: 3

School Name: Chandler

Other names: Chambers

Legal Description: Section 12, Township 19 North, Range 25 East

Location: From Watts, approximately 2 miles north and 1 mile west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: By May 1938 the WPA completed a repair project on the frame school building at Chandler.

Building Condition: No longer extant.

School District Number: 3

School Name: Green Valley

Legal Description: Section 11, Township 19 North, Range 25 East

Location: From Watts, approximately 2 miles north and 3 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: By May 1938 the WPA completed a repair project on the frame school building at Green Valley.

Building Condition: No longer extant

School District Number: 4

School Name: Ballard

Legal Description: Section 24, Township 19 North, Range 25 East

Location: From Watts, approximately 1 mile west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:
No record of New Deal construction or improvements.

Current State: Building currently utilized by Ballard Bible Church.

Ballard School. Spring 2012.



School District Number: 4

School Name: Watts

Legal Description: Section 19, Township 19 North, Range 26 East

Location: City of Watts

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

CWA: During the winter of 1933-1934, the CWA completed a school improvement project at Watts consisting of repairing the roof, doors, floors, windows, toilets, steps; painting; and grading and sodding the school yard. The project called for CWA allocation of federal funds in the amount of \$991.20 and local contributions of \$95.60 for materials.

WPA: In February 1939, the WPA began construction of a two-story, four-room addition to the existing brick high school building at Watts. The project called for a total expense of approximately \$7,000 and the employment of 36 men.

Building Condition: Building currently utilized as a high school for Watts Public Schools.

Watts School. Autumn 2012.



Watts School. Autumn 2012.



Watts School. Autumn 2012.



School District Number: 5

School Name: Taylor

Legal Description: Section 5, Township 18 North, Range 25 East

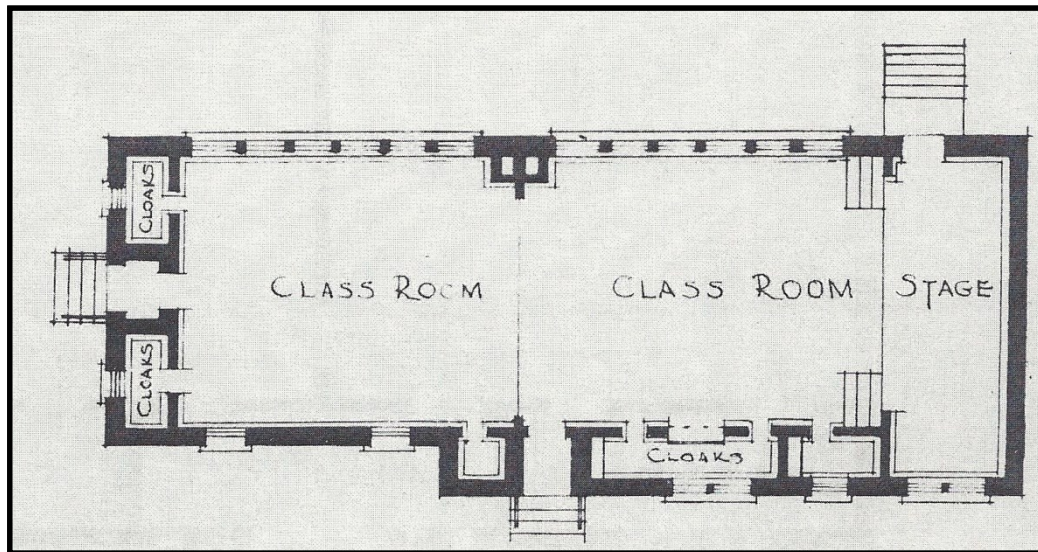
Location: From Watts, approximately 3 miles south and 6 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: By September 1938, the WPA began construction of a two-room, flagstone school building at Taylor. By January of 1941, the WPA constructed a detached, cinder-block building for use as a kitchen and lunchroom. A cook, employed by the WPA, served hot lunches for the school children.

Building Condition: Building burned in 1991, and now reduced to rubble. Detached kitchen and lunchroom extant.

Taylor School Floor Plan.



Source: Oklahoma Department of Public Instruction, *School Buildings: Mineature Plans and Perspectives* (Oklahoma City, OK: Division of Schoolhouse Planning, 1937). See plan number 2N01.

Taylor School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Photograph by J.L. Hallford.

Taylor School. Spring 2012.



School District Number: 5

School Name: Ward

Legal Description: Section 33, Township 19 North, Range 25 East

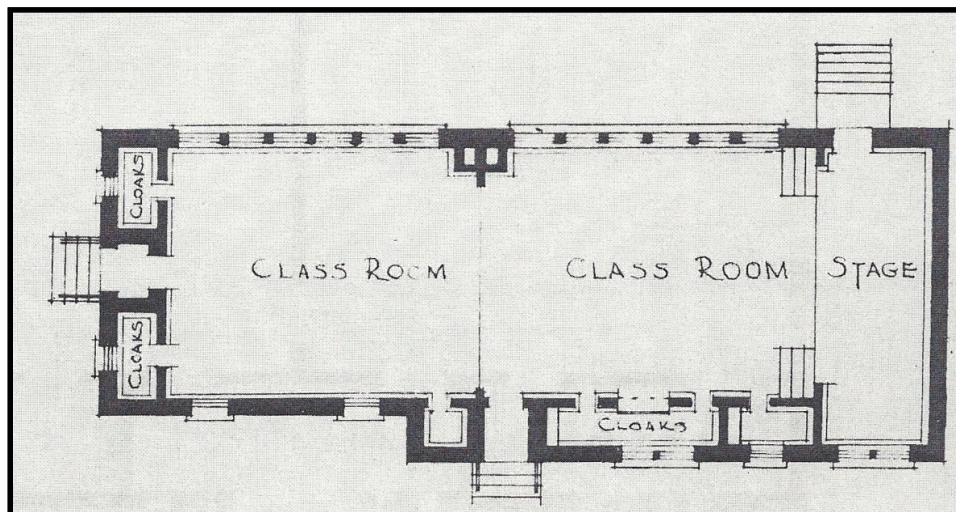
Location: From Watts, approximately 3 miles south and 4 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: By January 1939, the WPA began construction of a two-room, flagstone school building at Ward. Crews finished the building by the last day of March. By January of 1941, the WPA employed a cook to serve hot lunches for the school children.

Building Condition: Building currently utilized as a private residence. Building contains additions.

Ward School Floor Plan.



Source: Oklahoma Department of Public Instruction, *School Buildings: Mineature Plans and Perspectives* (Oklahoma City, OK: Division of Schoolhouse Planning, 1937). See plan number 2N01.

Ward School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Photograph by J.L. Hallford.

Ward School. Spring 2012.



School District Number: 6

School Name: Clearfork

Legal Description: Section 23, Township 18 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Westville, approximately 3 miles north and 8 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In December 1935, the WPA approved \$217.00 to Clearfork School for WPA workmen to construct a new roof and repair windows and doors. By October 1938, the WPA began school improvements at Clearfork. These improvements included building a stone wall surrounding the school grounds and constructing stone buildings for outdoor toilets. In February of 1940, the WPA approved \$3,950.00 for the construction of a new school building at Clearfork and grading the school grounds. The project called for the employment of 28 men for a total of 10,863 hours of work. However, locals state that the WPA never implemented this project. In later years, the frame building received a flagstone veneer.

Building Condition: Building currently utilized by Clearfork Church. Stone fence and toilets extant.

Clearfork School. Spring 2012.



Clearfork School. Kitchen and Lunchroom. Undated photograph.



Source: Personal photograph collection of Burlan Woods, Westville, Oklahoma. Photograph used by permission.

Clearfork School. WPA Toilet.



School District Number: 7

School Name: Oak Hill

Legal Description: Section 6, Township 18 North, Range 26 East

Location: From Watts, approximately 4 miles south

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: By April 1938, the WPA began a school improvement project at Oak Hill. Improvements included the construction of a stone fence for the school grounds.

Building Condition: Building currently utilized as a private residence. WPA stone fence and steps extant.

Oak Hill School. WPA Fence and Steps. Spring 2012.



School District Number: 8

School Name: Morris

Legal Description: Section 13, Township 18 North, Range 25 East

Location: From Westville, approximately 4 miles north and 2 mile west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In December of 1935, the WPA approved \$314 for the modernization of the Morris frame school building. By August of 1938, the WPA began a school improvement project at Morris including work on the frame building and school grounds. WPA crews built a rock fence on the grounds.

On November 28, 1939 the frame building burned.

In December 1939, the WPA approved the construction of a two-room, sandstone building. Construction began in May 1940 and employed 32 men. The building cost \$6,582, of which federal funds paid \$3,930. The school district used insurance money from the burned building to cover the sponsor's cost of \$2,652. The completed building measured 27' 10" wide and 69' 10" long. By January 1941, the WPA provided a kitchen and a cook to furnish hot lunches for the school children.

Building Condition: Building is currently a private residence. The rock fence extant.

Morris School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Photograph by J.L. Hallford.

Morris School. Spring 2012.



Morris School. Spring 2012.



School District Number: 9

School Name: Wagon

Legal Description: Section 20, Township 18 North, Range 26 East

Location: From Westville, approximately 2.5 miles north

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In December 1935, the WPA approved an expense of \$308 for the purpose of modernizing the frame school building at Wagon. Improvement work began by June of 1939. WPA crews constructed a rock fence surrounding the school grounds. By January of 1941, the WPA provided a kitchen and employed a cook to serve hot lunches to school children.

Building Condition: No longer extant. Rock fence extant.

Wagon School. Spring 2012.



School District Number: 10

School Name: Hern

Legal Description: Section 26, Township 18 North, Range 25 East

Location: From Westville, approximately 1.5 miles north and 2 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In December 1935, the WPA authorized an improvement project for School District 10 in the amount of \$279. It is uncertain what portion of these funds the WPA spent at Hern, but part of the construction included the construction of stone enclosure for privies. By May 1938, the WPA completed a school repair project at Hern.

Building Condition: No longer extant.

Hern School. Undated photograph.



Location of Hern School. Photograph by J.L. Hallford. At the time of this photograph, only the WPA privies remained.

School District Number: 10

School Name: Pleasant Hill

Legal Description: Section 28, Township 18 North, Range 25 East

Location: From Westville, approximately 2 miles north and 5 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In December 1935, the WPA approved an improvement project for School District 10 in the amount of \$279. It is uncertain what portion of these funds the WPA spent at Pleasant Hill. By May 1938, the WPA completed a school repair project at Pleasant Hill.

Building Condition: Abandoned. The existing building dates later than the New Deal period.

Pleasant Hill School. Spring 2012.



School District Number: 11

School Name: Westville

Legal Description: Section 31, Township 18 North, Range 26 East

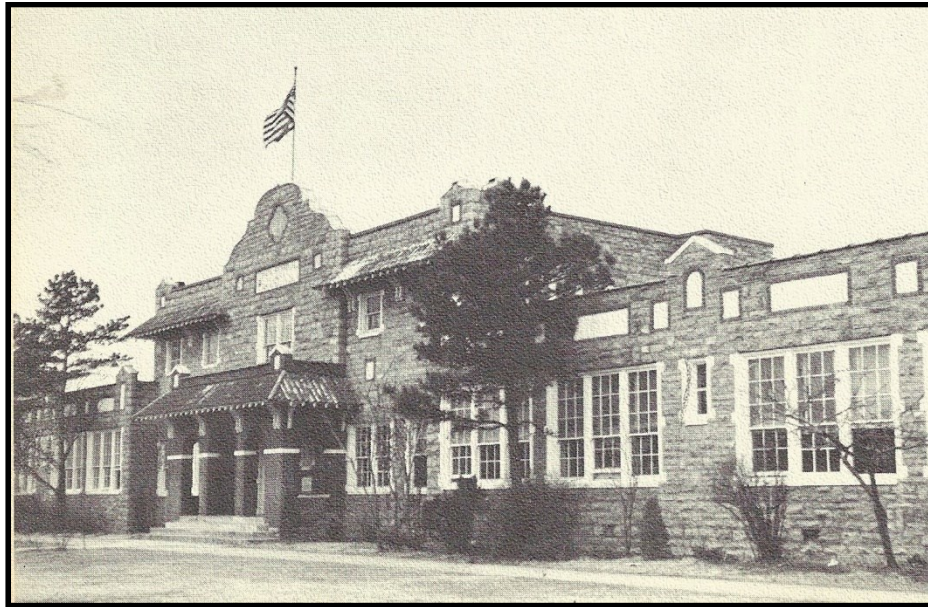
Location: City of Westville

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: During the summer of 1936, the WPA began construction of a large, Mission-style, nine-classroom school building of native stone. The building also contained offices, library, and large auditorium. Westville citizens dedicated the building on September 20, 1937. The building cost \$66,248.73. The WPA provided federal funds of \$42,947.82, and Westville matched a total of \$23,300.91. In addition to constructing a new building, the WPA also built a stone fence on the school grounds adjacent to Highway 62.

Building Condition: WPA Mission-style building currently utilized for Westville High School. WPA rock fence extant.

Westville High School. Circa 1960.



Source: *The Yellowjacket* (Westville, OK: Westville Public Schools, 1960).

Westville Elementary School. Spring 2012.



Westville High School. Summer 2012.



School District Number: 12

School Name: Green

Legal Description: Section 3, Township 17 North, Range 25 East

Location: From Westville, approximately 1 mile south and 3 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In December 1935, the WPA approved an expense of \$247 for repairs to windows and doors and construction of a new roof. In December 1937, WPA approved an application for the construction of a new school building and library. Officials budgeted \$9,330 for the project, of which federal funds paid \$5,726. The school district matched \$3,604 in funds. The project called for the employment of 46 men to complete 16,632 hours of work. Construction began by April of 1938. In February 1939, a WPA crew constructed stone toilets and fenced the school grounds. By January 1941, the WPA provided a school kitchen and employed a cook to serve hot lunches to school children.

Green School utilized the WPA building for less than four years. The building burned February 19, 1942.

NYA: The NYA also employed young men to assist in the construction of stone toilets and school grounds fence.

Building Condition: No longer extant.

School District Number: 13

School Name: Christie

Legal Description: Section 13, Township 17 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Westville, approximately 2 miles south and 7 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In December 1935, the WPA approved the expense of \$281 for the repair of roof, porch, windows and doors of the frame school building. In June 1939, the WPA approved the construction of a four-room, native-stone school building at Christie. The project also included demolishing the existing frame school building. The WPA application budgeted \$11,713 for total costs of the project. Federal funds covered \$7,335 of expenses, and the school district matched \$5,038 in funds. The project called for the employment of 43 men for the completion of 18,444 hours of work. Construction began October 9, 1939 and continued through February 1940. WPA crews also constructed a rock fence on the school grounds. By January 1941, the WPA employed a cook to provide hot lunches to the school children.

Building Condition: Building currently utilized as a private residence.

Christie School. Spring 2012.



School District Number: 14

School Name: Proctor

Legal Description: Section 8, Township 17 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Westville, approximately 2 miles south and 12 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

CWA: In early 1934, the CWA approved a project of \$1,010.50 in federal funds for Proctor School to construct a flint-rock fence, grade and level the school yard, repair toilets and make them sanitary, paint the school house, make well pollution proof, and refinish school desks.

WPA: By May 1936, a WPA crew began constructing a two-room addition to the frame school building. In September 1936, a WPA crew drilled a water well on the school grounds. In October 1938, Proctor School made plans for the construction of a storm cellar by WPA labor. During a school improvement project, a WPA crew added a flagstone veneer to the frame building and constructed stone privies. By January 1941, the WPA provided a kitchen and employed a cook to serve hot lunches to school children.

Building Condition: No longer extant. Rock fence, stone privies, and cellar still standing.

Proctor School. Undated photograph.



Proctor School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Photograph by J.L. Hallford. WPA flagstone veneer added to frame building.

Proctor School. Spring 2012.



School District Number: 15

School Name: Freewater

Other names: Titanic

Legal Description: Section 5, Township 16 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 3 miles north and 8 miles west

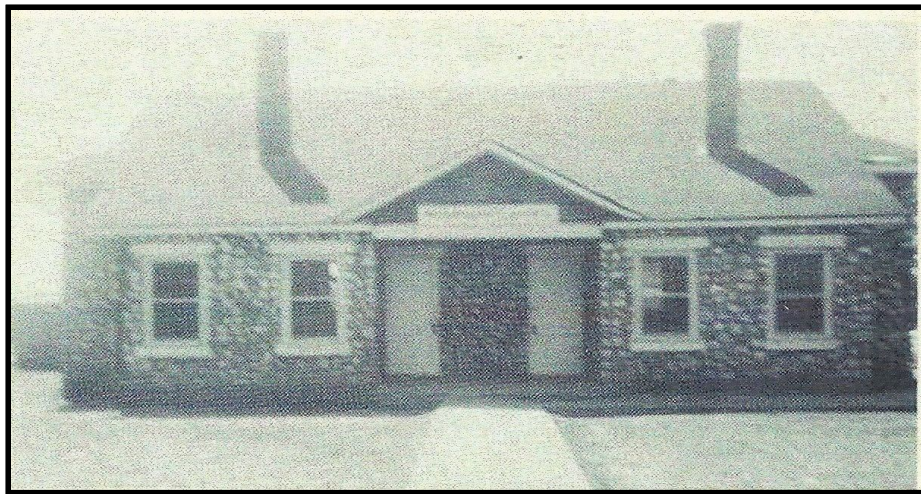
New Deal Construction/Improvements:

FERA: In the summer of 1934, FERA crews erected a cobblestone school house at Freewater. It replaced a frame school house which burned in 1933.

WPA: In December of 1935, the WPA approved an expense of \$259 to construct a roof and chimney on the newly-built cobblestone school house. In October 1938, WPA crews constructed a rock fence on the school grounds and also built rock enclosures for toilets.

Building Condition: No longer extant. WPA rock fence still stands.

Freewater School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma.

Freewater School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Photograph by J.L. Hallford.

Freewater School. Spring 2012.



Rock wall built by WPA on school grounds.

School District Number: 16

School Name: Baron

Legal Description: Section 26, Township 17 North, Range 25 East

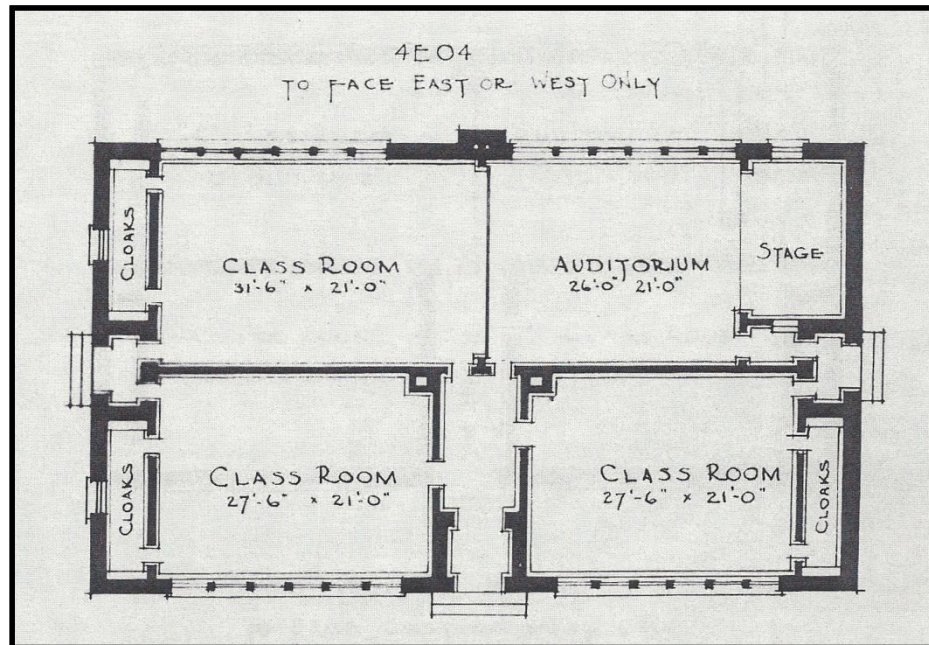
Location: From Westville, approximately 5 miles south and 2 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: During the late summer of 1938, WPA crews erected a two-classroom flagstone building at Baron. The WPA provided \$5,561.80 in federal funds and the school district matched with \$4,269.06 in material. The project called for the employment of 47 men. By January 1941, WPA crews constructed a kitchen addition and the WPA employed a cook to serve hot lunches to school children.

Building Condition: Abandoned. Used for a time as a church and as Baron Community Center.

Baron School Floor Plan



Source: Oklahoma Department of Public Instruction, *School Buildings: Mineature Plans and Perspectives* (Oklahoma City, OK: Division of Schoolhouse Planning, 1937). See plan number 4E04.

Baron School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma.

Baron School. Spring 2012.



Baron School. Spring 2012.



Baron School. Spring 2012.



School District Number: 17

School Name: Union Hill

Legal Description: Section 16, Township 17 North, Range 26 East

Location: From Westville, approximately 2 miles south and 1 miles east.

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In December 1935, the WPA approved the expense of \$2,408 for the construction of a storm cellar and for repairs to the school roof. By May of 1938, WPA crews completed a school repair project at Union Hill. In September 1939, Union Hill applied for the construction of a new school building to replace one destroyed by fire in August 1939. By January 1941, the WPA provided a kitchen and employed a cook to serve hot lunches to school children.

Building Condition: Building burned. Rebuilt as a private residence using salvaged stone walls.

Union Hill School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma.

Union Hill School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Photograph by J.L. Hallford. Remains of Union Hill School following fire.

Union Hill School. Spring 2012.



School District Number: 18

School Name: Piney

Legal Description: Section 9 Township 16 North, Range 26 East

Location: From Westville, approximately 7 miles south and 1 mile east

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In September of 1938, WPA crews drilled a water well for Piney School.

Building Condition: No longer extant. Building utilized for a time as Piney Community Center.

Piney School Water Well. Spring 2012.



School District Number: 19

School Name: East Peavine

Other names: Walkingstick

Legal Description: Section 12, Township 16 North, Range 25 East

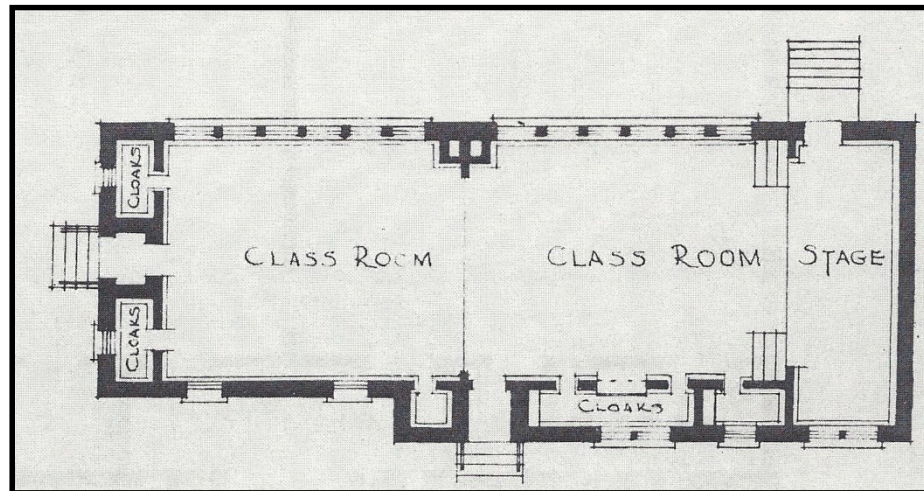
Location: From Westville, approximately 8 miles south and 2 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In June 1938 the WPA approved the construction of a two-room flagstone school building at East Peavine. The project also called for the demolition of the old frame building and landscaping the grounds. The WPA approved funds of \$4,530 for the project, of which the school district provided \$2,863. The plans called for the employment of 35 men to complete 12,320 hours of work. Construction began by January 1939, and crews finished the project by the close of March. By January 1941, the WPA provided a kitchen and employed a cook to prepare hot lunches for the school children.

Building Condition: Building currently utilized as a private residence. Prior use by Calvary Presbyterian Church. The building contains an addition to the east.

East Peavine School Floor Plan.



Source: Oklahoma Department of Public Instruction, *School Buildings: Mineature Plans and Perspectives* (Oklahoma City, OK: Division of Schoolhouse Planning, 1937). See plan number 2N01.

East Peavine School. Spring 2012.



East Peavine School. Spring 2012.



School District Number: 19

School Name: West Peavine

Legal Description: Section 3, Township 16 North, Range 25 East

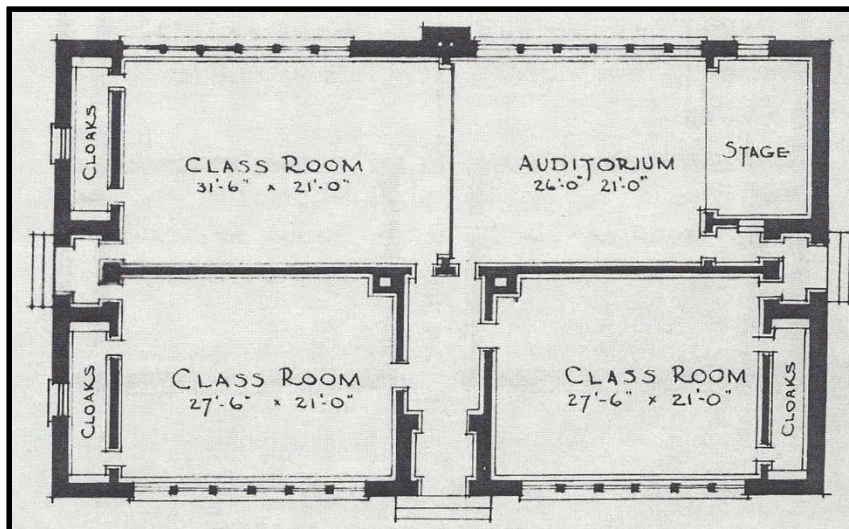
Location: From Westville, approximately 7 miles south and 3 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In October 1935, the WPA approved a project for the construction of a new four-room, flagstone school building for West Peavine. The WPA approved an amount of \$10,099 for the project. Construction began by August 1938. The WPA constructed a sandstone wall and steps on the south edge of the school grounds. By December 1941, the WPA provided a kitchen and employed a cook to prepare hot lunches for school children.

Building Condition: Building currently utilized as part of the school complex for Peavine Schools. Building contains additions to the north and east. Rock wall and steps extant.

West Peavine School Floor Plan.



Source: Oklahoma Department of Public Instruction, *School Buildings: Mineature Plans and Perspectives* (Oklahoma City, OK: Division of Schoolhouse Planning, 1937). See plan number 4E04.

West Peavine School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Photograph by J.L. Hallford.

West Peavine School. Spring 2012.



School District Number: 20

School Name: Oak Grove

Legal Description: Section 27, Township 16 North, Range 26 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 1 mile north and 5 miles east

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In December 1935, the WPA approved the expense of \$1,571 for the improvement of the storm cellar at Oak Grove. It is unknown if WPA completed this project. WPA applications for Adair County make no mention of constructing a new building at Oak Grove.

Building Condition: Building reduced to rubble.

Oak Grove School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Photograph by J.L. Hallford.

School District Number: 21

School Name: Chalk Bluff

Legal Description: Section 30, Township 16 North, Range 26 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 1 mile north and 2.5 miles east

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In December 1935, the WPA approved a school improvement project for Chalk Bluff totaling \$2,304. By January 1939, the WPA began an improvement project at Chalk Bluff. By January 1941, the WPA provided a kitchen and employed a cook to prepare hot lunches for school children.

Building Condition: No longer extant.

Chalk Bluff School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Photograph by J.L. Hallford.

School District Number: 22

School Name: Maryetta

Legal Description: Section 22, Township 16 North, Range 25 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 1 mile north

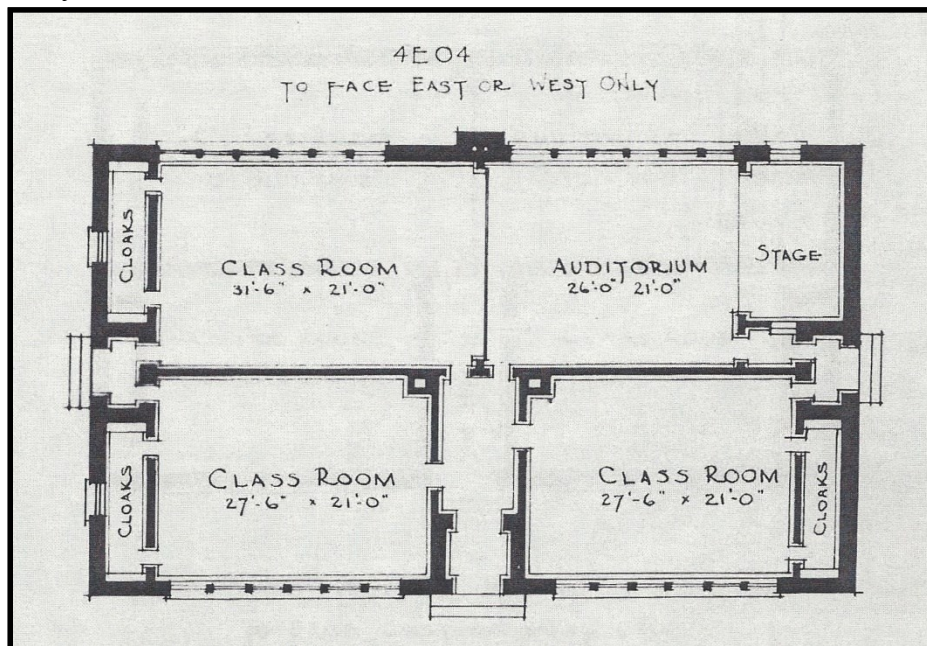
New Deal Construction/Improvements:

CWA: In 1934, the CWA approved a project totaling \$159 for school improvement. The project consisted of raising and leveling the school yard and preventing standing water near the well and near the frame school building.

WPA: In December 1935, the WPA approved \$269 for school improvements on the frame building at Maryetta. In February 1939, WPA crews began construction of a four-room, flagstone building at Maryetta. The project application called for a total expense of 10,144, of which federal funds paid \$6,025. The school district paid \$4,119 in materials. The project called for the employment of 34 men for the completion of 14,752 hours of work.

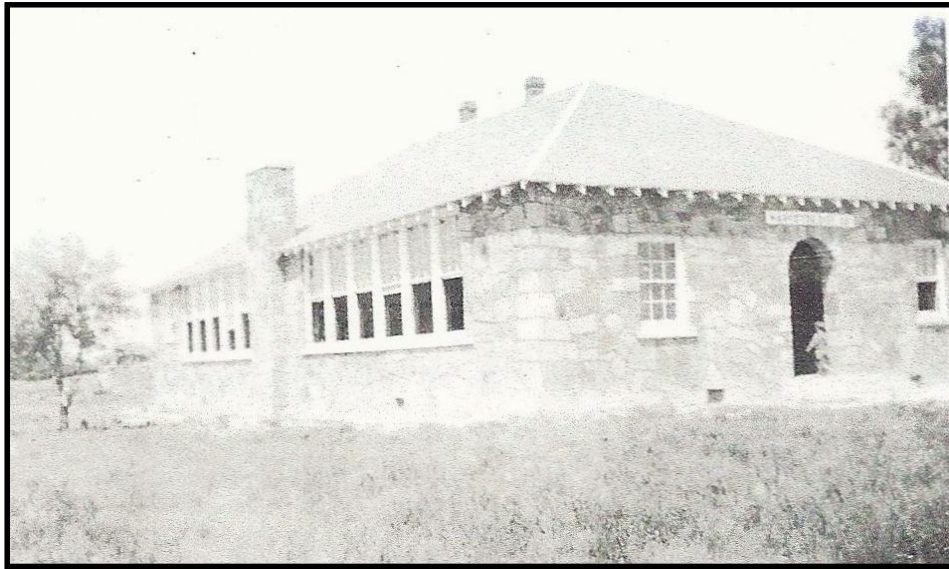
Building Condition: Building currently utilized by Maryetta School. WPA building is encased by modern school complex.

Maryetta School Floor Plan.



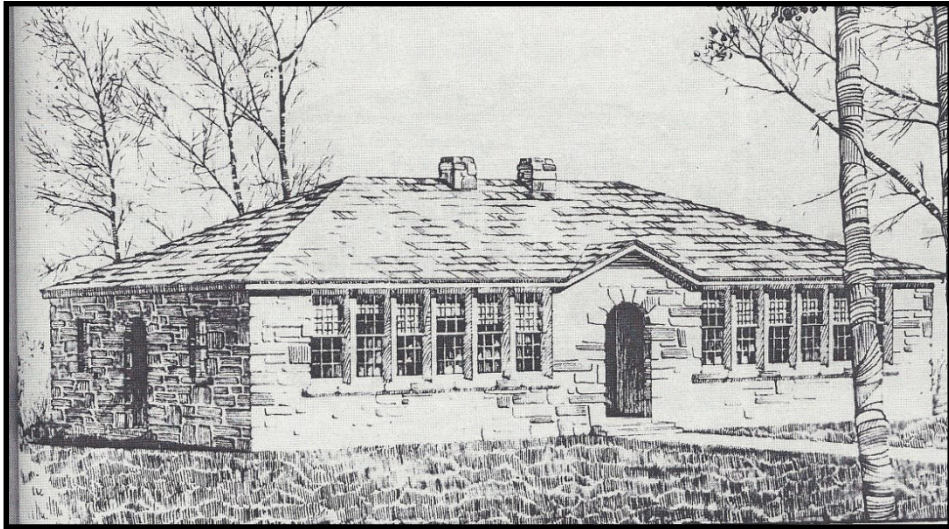
Source: Oklahoma Department of Public Instruction, *School Buildings: Mineature Plans and Perspectives* (Oklahoma City, OK: Division of Schoolhouse Planning, 1937). See plan number 4E04.

Maryetta School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma.

Maryetta School. Architectural Drawing.



Source: Oklahoma Department of Public Instruction, *School Buildings: Mineature Plans and Perspectives* (Oklahoma City, OK: Division of Schoolhouse Planning, 1937). See plan number 4E04.

School District Number: 23

School Name: Horn

Legal Description: Section 1, Township 15 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 4 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

FERA: By November 1939, Horn School received materials from FERA necessary to implement a school lunch program.

WPA: In the summer of 1939, WPA crews completed a school improvement project at Horn.

Building Condition: Building currently utilized as a private residence. Following use as Horn School, the building housed the Stilwell Academy.

Horn School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma.

School District Number: 23

School Name: Pilgrim's Rest

Legal Description: Section 31, Township 16 North, Range 25 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 3 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: One-room rock school building most likely constructed in the summer of 1939.

Building Condition: Building currently utilized as a barn. Only the rock walls of the WPA building remain.

Pilgrim's Rest School. Autumn 2012.



School District Number: 24

School Name: Rocky Mountain

Legal Description: Section 4, Township 15 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 8 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In October 1935, the WPA approved the expense of \$6,500 for the construction of a school building at Rocky Mountain. However, it is doubtful that WPA implemented the project. In June 1939, the Rocky Mountain School District hoped to gain approval of a school improvement project. In November of that year, a local newspaper reported that an improvement project at Rocky Mountain should start soon.

FERA: By November 1939, Rocky Mountain School received materials from FERA necessary to implement a school lunch program.

Building Condition: No longer extant.

School District Number: 25

School Name: Stilwell

Legal Description: Section 34, Township 16 North, Range 25 East

Location: City of Stilwell

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

CWA: Early in 1934, a local newspaper reported that the CWA approved a school repair project for Stilwell in the amount of \$1,139. It is unclear whether the CWA carried out the project, as officials made no mention of it in CWA applications.

NYA: As early as April of 1936, needy and underprivileged youths worked at Stilwell High School through the NYA program. Projects completed included stenographic work, school ground beautification, and building repair. Also in 1937, the NYA approved Stilwell High School for a native-stone youth center. Construction of the \$6,000 building began in September. The building measured 81 x 44 feet. Fifty-six male youths between the ages of 18 and 25 completed the work.

WPA: In December 1935, the WPA approved a school improvement project for Stilwell in the amount of \$2,547. Also in December 1935, the WPA approved \$14,310 for the improvement of two school buildings. In 1937, work began on remodeling the grade school and repairing and improving the high school building. This project employed approximately forty to fifty men for two months. The project included re-roofing and plastering the buildings.

In October 1939, the WPA approved an application for the construction of a new native-stone elementary school building. The project included the demolition of an existing building; installing heating, plumbing and electrical fixtures; painting; grading; and landscaping. The application called for WPA to supply \$39,465 in federal funds, with the school district paying \$16,767 in materials. The plans included the employment of nearly 100 men to work a total of 111,902 hours. WPA crews completed the building in July 1941. The building included nine classrooms, library, offices, and vault. It opened as a grade school, but later became the city high school.

Building Condition:

NYA building: Building currently used as part of the Stilwell Elementary School complex. NYA building contains additions to the north and west.

WPA-remodeled grade school: No longer extant

WPA-repaired high school: No longer extant

WPA-constructed native-stone building: No longer extant.

Youth Center Building constructed by National Youth Administration. Currently utilized by Stilwell Elementary School. Autumn 2012.



Native-stone elementary school building constructed by WPA.
Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association,
Stilwell, Oklahoma.

School District Number: 26

School Name: Honey Hill

Legal Description: Section 20, Township 15 North, Range 26 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 3 miles south and 3.5 miles east

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In August 1938, the WPA carried out a repair and improvement project at Honey Hill. This project included the construction of a storm cellar on the school grounds, which the WPA completed by October. By January 1941, the WPA provided a kitchen and employed a cook to prepare hot lunches for the school children.

Building Condition: No longer extant. Building utilized for a time by a Pentecostal Holiness church. Storm cellar still standing.

Honey Hill School Cellar. Autumn 2012.



School District Number: 26

School Name: Ewing Chapel

Legal Description: Section 8, Township 15 North, Range 26 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 1 mile south and 4 miles east

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In August 1938, the WPA carried out a repair and improvement project at Ewing Chapel. This project included the addition of a second classroom, which the WPA completed in October. By January 1941, the WPA provided a kitchen and employed a cook to prepare hot lunches for the school children.

Building Condition: No longer extant.

School District Number: 27

School Name: Rock Springs

Other names: Geneva

Legal Description: Section 7, Township 15 North, Range 26 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 1 mile south and 2.5 miles east

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

CWA: In January 1934, a newspaper reported the approval of a CWA project for \$545 for a school improvement project at Geneva. It is unknown if the CWA implemented this project, as no mention of it is found in CWA records. Less than a month later, on February 7, 1934, the two-room frame school building burned.

FERA: By August 1934, the Works Division of FERA began construction of a new native-stone building at Geneva. Also, in 1939, Geneva received materials from FERA for the implementation of a school lunch program.

WPA: By April 1938, the WPA completed a repair project at Rock Springs.

Building Condition: Building currently utilized as a church.

Rock Springs (Geneva) School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Photograph by J.L. Hallford.

Rock Springs (Geneva) School. Autumn 2012.



Rock Springs (Geneva) School. Autumn 2012.



School District Number: 28

School Name: Zion

Legal Description: Section 15, Township 15 North, Range 25 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 2 miles south

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

CWA: In 1934, the CWA approved a project in the amount of \$304 for improvements at Zion. The project consisted of grading and graveling the roadway 12 feet wide and 70 yards long from the Zion building to the public road. CWA crews also dug new pits, moved the outdoor toilets, and painted the frame school building.

WPA: In May 1938, the WPA carried out a school improvement project at Zion. WPA crews constructed a rock wall and steps on the school grounds.

FERA: By November 1939, Zion School received school lunch materials from the FERA in preparation for a school lunch program.

Building Condition: No longer extant. The current Zion Public School operates at the same site, but from a modern complex. Rock wall and steps no longer extant.

Zion School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Photograph by J.L. Hallford.

School District Number: 29

School Name: Dahlongeah

Legal Description: Section 29, Township 15 North, Range 25 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 4 miles south and 2 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In April 1938, the WPA began an improvement project on the frame building at Dahlongeah. By January 1941, the WPA provided a kitchen and employed a cook to serve hot lunches to school children.

Building Condition: No longer extant. The current Dahlongeah Public School operates at the same site, but from a modern building complex.

School District Number: 30

School Name: Lyons

Legal Description: Section 25, Township 15 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 4 miles south and 5 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

No record of New Deal improvements found. By the time of the New Deal period, the County School Superintendent combined Lyons District with Bunch District to form Union Graded District #1.

Building Condition: No longer extant.

School District Number: 31

School Name: North Bunch

Legal Description: Section 21, Township 14 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 9 miles south and 7 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

No record of New Deal improvements found. By the time of the New Deal, the County School Superintendent combined Bunch District with Lyons District to form Union Graded District #1.

Building Condition: Building currently utilized as Bunch Baptist Church.

School District Number: 31

School Name: South Bunch

Legal Description: Section 33, Township 14 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 11 miles south and 7 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

No record of New Deal improvements found. By the time of the New Deal, the County School Superintendent combined Bunch District with Lyons District to form Union Graded District #1.

Building Condition: No longer extant.

School District Number: Union Graded #1 (I-30)

School Name: Union Graded

Other names: Cave Springs

Legal Description: Section 3, Township 14 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 6 miles south and 7 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In October 1936, the WPA approved construction of a sand-stone high school building at Union Graded District #1. The building cost \$11,407.43. Federal funds through the WPA provided \$7,814.92, and the school district paid \$3,592.51. The project application called for the employment of 105 men on the project. The building contained five classrooms, an office and library. School officials dedicated the new high school in December 1937.

In October 1939, the WPA approved the construction of sand-stone building to serve as both a gymnasium and auditorium. The project application recorded a total project cost of \$10,268.78, of which federal funds paid \$5,752. The school district provided matching funds totaling \$4,516.78 for materials. The project planned for the employment of 42 men on the project with a completion of 16,136 hours of work. The project continued under a new WPA application approved in May 1940. This application included finishing the gymnasium building and landscaping the school grounds.

By January 1941, the WPA provided a kitchen and employed a cook to prepare hot lunches for school children.

Building Condition: WPA native-rock school building and gymnasium/auditorium building currently utilized by Cave Springs Public Schools.

Union Graded School (Cave Springs). 1952.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Sandstone high school building.

Cave Springs School. Autumn 2012.



Sandstone gymnasium/auditorium

School District Number: 32

School Name: North Greasy

Legal Description: Section 8, Township 14 North, Range 25 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 7.5 miles south and 2.5 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: December 1935, the WPA approved two projects for District 32. The first approved an expense of \$327 for a building modernization project. The second project included \$249 for repairing cellars and roof and painting the inside of the school building. It is unclear what specific improvements materialized at North Greasy. In November 1939, the WPA provided North Greasy with lunch materials necessary to implement a school lunch program.

Building Condition: Building currently utilized as a private residence.

School District Number: 32

School Name: South Greasy

Legal Description: Section 19, Township 14 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 9 miles south and 3.5 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

December 1935, the WPA approved two projects for District 32. The first approved an expense of \$327 for a building modernization project. The second project included \$249 for repairing cellars and roof and painting the inside of the school building. It is unclear what specific improvements materialized at South Greasy.

In April 1939, South Greasy applied to WPA for the construction of a swinging bridge that would allow children a means of access to the school during periods of high water. It is unclear whether WPA approved and implemented the request.

In November 1939, the WPA provided South Greasy with lunch materials necessary to implement a school lunch program.

Building Condition: The current Greasy Public School operates at the same site, but from a modern building complex

School District Number: 33

School Name: Bell

Legal Description: Section 32, Township 15 North, Range 26 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 6 miles south and 3 miles east

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

In November 1936, the WPA approved the construction of a stone auditorium and gymnasium for Bell. The project called for an expense of \$5,515 in federal funds. The project failed to materialize. In September 1938, the WPA completed a school modernization project at Bell. The project upgraded the frame, two-room school building and cost the school district approximately \$1,600. Federal funds through the WPA provided approximately \$2,400 in aid. By January 1941, the WPA provided Bell with a kitchen and employed a cook to prepare lunch for school children.

Building Condition: No longer extant. The current Bell Public School operates at the same site, but from a modern building complex.

Bell School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma.

School District Number: 33

School Name: Salem

Legal Description: Section 36, Township 15 North, Range 25 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 5.5 miles south and 2 miles east

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

Stone construction matches other examples of New Deal workmanship, but CWA and WPA applications make no record of construction at Salem School.

Building Condition: No longer extant. A portion of the rock walls still stands and encases a newer building.

Salem School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma.

School District Number: 33

School Name: Fort Still

Legal Description: Section 35, Township 14 North, Range 25 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 11 miles south and 1 mile east

New Deal Construction/Improvements:
No record of New Deal construction or improvements.

Building Condition: No longer extant.

School District Number: 34

School Name: Whitmire

Legal Description: Section 20, Township 17 North, Range 25 East

Location: From Westville, approximately 3 miles south and 6 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:
WPA: In October 1935, the WPA approved the construction of a new school building at Whitmire. The project totaled \$3,100. By November 1939, the WPA provided materials necessary for Whitmire to implement a school lunch program.

Building Condition: No longer extant. WPA rock fence and steps stand.

School District Number: 34

School Name: Sanders

Legal Description: Section 25, Township 17 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Westville, approximately 5 miles south and 8 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In August 1938, the WPA began a repair and improvement at Sanders. The project included the construction of stone buildings to house the outdoor toilets. By November 1939, the WPA provided materials necessary for Sanders to implement a school lunch program.

Building Condition: Building currently utilized as a church. WPA stone toilets extant.

Sanders School. Autumn 2012.



Remnants of stone privy constructed by WPA.

School District Number: 35

School Name: Mulberry

Legal Description: Section 18, Township 16 North, Range 25 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 3 miles north and 4 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

In March 1939, the WPA approved construction of a new native-stone building at Mulberry Indian Day School located on federal property. The application called for an expense of \$7,750.00 and the completion of 12,576 hours of work. However, the WPA cancelled the project at the request of the Office of Indian Affairs within the Department of the Interior.

Building Condition: No longer extant.

Mulberry School. Autumn 2012.



School District Number: 35

School Name: Rabbit Trap

Legal Description: Section 13, Township 16 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 4 miles north and 5 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

In February 1939, the WPA began construction of a two-room, flagstone building at Rabbit Trap.

Building Condition: Abandoned

Rabbit Trap School. Autumn 2012.



School District Number: 36

School Name: Elm Grove

Legal Description: Section 15, Township 15 North, Range 26 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 2 miles south and 6 miles east

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

CWA: In late 1933, CWA crews began the construction of teacher's quarters at Elm Grove. The project included cutting and hewing logs for the building and hauling them to the construction site. The CWA application noted that the teacherage would be of rustic design. The application also noted that a sandstone school building already existed at Elm Grove. The CWA provided \$557.40 in federal funds for the project and the school district provided \$42.00 in materials. However, the CWA project exhausted funds on January 25, 1934, prior to the completion of the project.

FERA: In August 1934, FERA crews began the completion of the unfinished teacherage.

WPA: In September 1936, the WPA drilled a water well at Elm Grove. By January 1941, the WPA provided a kitchen and employed a cook to prepare lunches for school children.

Building Condition: Building utilized as part of a complex for Elm Grove Baptist Church. Original school building is visible only from the rear elevation of the church (east).

Elm Grove School. Autumn 2012.



Elm Grove School. Autumn 2012.



Elm Grove School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Photograph by J.L. Hallford. Photograph depicts additions made to building to the west and south.

School District Number: 36

School Name: Mountain View

Legal Description: Section 23, Township 15 North, Range 26 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 4 miles south and 7 miles east

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

No New Deal construction or improvements. School built in 1949, and, thus, postdates New Deal period.

Building Condition: No longer extant.

Mountain View School. Autumn 2012.



Remains of school building foundation.

School District Number: 37

School Name: Starr

Legal Description: Section 8, Township 15 North, Range 25 East

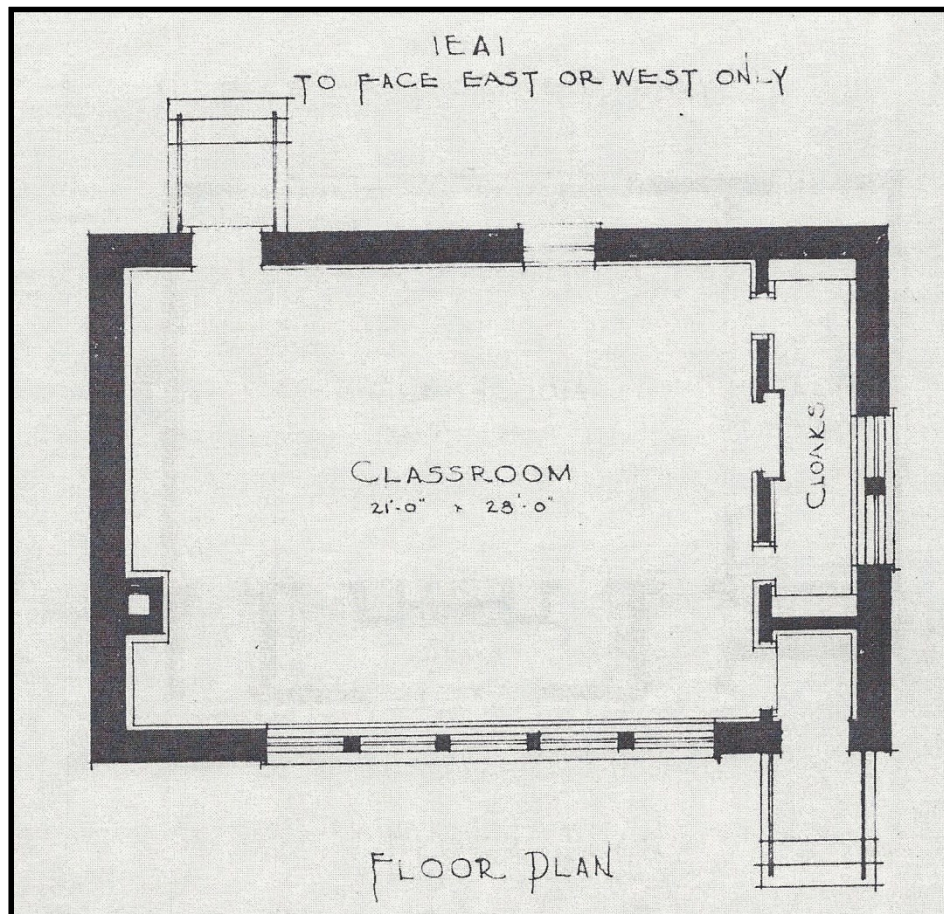
Location: From Stilwell, approximately 2 miles south and 2 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In March 1938, WPA officials approved the construction of a one-room, native-stone building for Starr. The cost of the project totaled \$2,149 in federal funds and \$1,544 to be supplied by the school district. Project plans called for the employment of 21 men for a completion of 5,592 hours of work. By August, WPA work crews began construction.

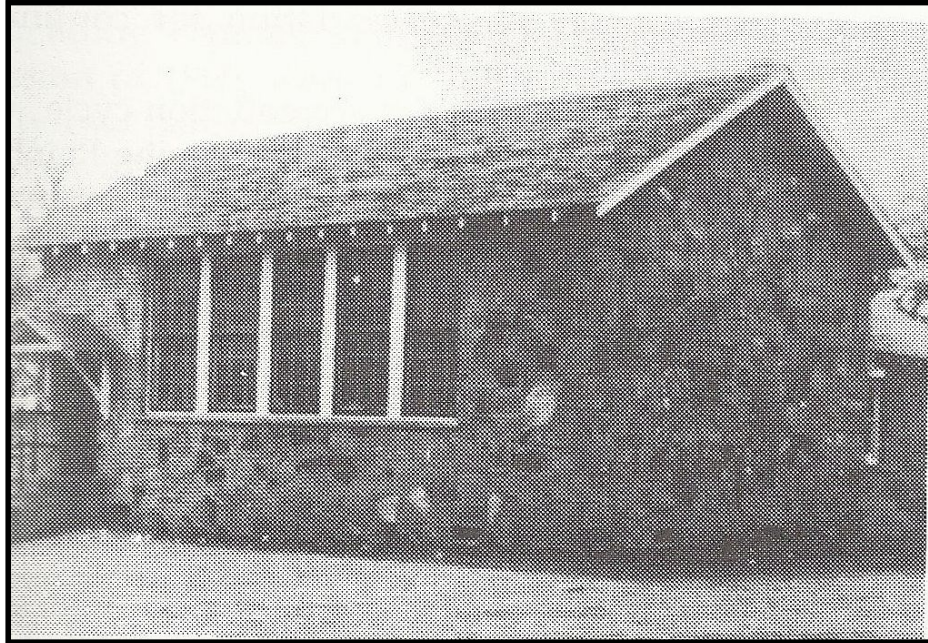
Building Condition: Building currently utilized as a private residence.

Starr School Floor Plan.



Source: Oklahoma Department of Public Instruction, *School Buildings: Mineature Plans and Perspectives* (Oklahoma City, OK: Division of Schoolhouse Planning, 1937). See plan number 1EA1.

Starr School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma.

Starr School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Photograph by J.L. Hallford.

School District Number: 38

School Name: Wright's Chapel

Legal Description: Section 32, Township 17 North, Range 26 East

Location: From Westville, approximately 5 miles south and 1 mile east

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In September 1936, the WPA drilled a water well at Wright's Chapel. By March 1939, a WPA crew began an improvement project and the project continued until at least June. The project included the construction of stone privies and adding a flagstone veneer to the school building. In November 1939, the WPA provided lunch materials necessary for Wright's Chapel to implement a school lunch program.

Building Condition: Building currently utilized as a community center. WPA stone privies extant.

Wright's Chapel School. Spring 2012.



Wright's Chapel School. Spring 2012.



Wright's Chapel School. Spring 2012.



Stone enclosure for privy constructed by WPA.

School District Number: 39

School Name: Wauhillau

Legal Description: Section 17, Township 16 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 3 miles north and 8 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: By March 1939, the WPA began an improvement project at Wauhillau. The project included building a rock fence on the school grounds. By January 1941, the WPA provided a kitchen and employed a cook to prepare lunches for school children.

Building Condition: No longer extant. WPA rock wall stands.

Wauhillau School. Undated photograph.



Source: Adair County Historical and Genealogical Association, Stilwell, Oklahoma.

School District Number: 40

School Name: Oak Ridge

Legal Description: Section 11, Township 14 North, Range 26 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 7 miles south and 6 miles east

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In December 1935 the WPA approved a project in the amount of \$915 for school repairs at Oak Ridge. It is unknown if WPA carried out this project.

Building Condition: No longer extant.

School District Number: 41

School Name: Kentucky

Legal Description: Section 33, Township 14 North, Range 24 East

Location: From Stilwell, approximately 12 miles south and 7.5 miles west

New Deal Construction/Improvements:

WPA: In December 1935 the WPA approved a project in the amount of \$290 to build an addition to the teacher's quarters. By November 1939, the WPA provided lunch materials necessary to implement a school lunch program.

Building Condition: No longer extant.

APPENDIX C

NEW DEAL WORK PROJECTS COMPLETED

IN ADAIR COUNTY, OKLAHOMA

(Excludes projects at district schools.)

Unless otherwise cited, photographs are courtesy of the author.

Stilwell:

Civil Works Administration:

Constructed cement street culverts, lowered water lines, and graded, drained, and graveled streets (1934)

Repaired equipment of County Courthouse and built furniture for offices of CWA Administrator (1934)

Federal Emergency Relief Administration:

Constructed stone-arch overpass for Highway 51 for access across Kansas City Southern Railroad tracks (1934)

Federal Works Agency:

Constructed red-brick, colonial-style, post office building (1940)
Building dedicated December 12, 1940.

Section of Fine Arts:

Artist Olga Mohr painted mural in post office (1942)

Works Progress Administration:

Constructed and installed city street markers

Constructed native-stone, city hall building (1938)

Constructed sewage treatment plant (1940)

Improved streets: grading, surfacing, curbs, gutters, sidewalks, and culverts (1939)

United States Post Office, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Constructed by Federal Works Agency, 1940.



Mural depicting Cherokee Indian Farming and Animal Husbandry, United States Post Office, Stilwell, Oklahoma. Painted as a Section of Fine Arts Project by Olga Mohr in 1942.



Watts:

Civil Works Administration:

Constructed bridge spanning Ballard Creek (1933)

Improved streets: grading, draining, culverts and graveling

Repaired City Hall and City Park (1934)

Federal Emergency Relief Administration:

Completed bridge spanning Ballard Creek (1934)

Constructed/improved road to Lake Francis (1934)

Works Progress Administration:

Improved Watts Civic Park (1936)

Repaired and completed City Hall (1936)

Watts Park, Watts, Oklahoma. Stone walls constructed as New Deal park improvement project.



Westville:

Civil Works Administration:

Constructed fish and recreation lake three miles west of Westville (1934)

Improved streets: grading, draining, repairing sidewalks, graveling streets and alleys (1933)

National Youth Administration:

Constructed city park: athletic field, bleachers, playground, picnic area, and restrooms (1939/1940)

Public Works Administration:

Paved various city streets

Countywide / Rural:

Civil Works Administration:

Constructed fish and recreation lake seven miles southwest of Stilwell on Highway 17 (1933)

Constructed ford crossing on Barren Fork River, one-fourth mile south of Christie (1934)

Constructed various road projects throughout Adair County

Provided payroll for staff of CWA office (1933/1934)

Provided payroll for staff of employment office for Adair County (1933/1934)

Provided payroll of CWA engineer (1933/1934)

Civilian Conservation Corps – Indian Division:

Constructed various bridges and culverts throughout Adair County

Constructed various farm-to-market roads throughout Adair County

Constructed various truck trails throughout Adair County

Drilled various water wells throughout Adair County

Implemented soil conservation practices

Federal Emergency Relief Administration:

Completed fish and recreation lake seven miles southwest of Stilwell on Highway 17 (1934)

Improved various roads throughout Adair County

Operated women's sewing rooms

Works Progress Administration:

Constructed agricultural buildings

Constructed and improved small reservoirs and dams, wells, and springs for water conservation.

Constructed and improved various roads throughout Adair County

Constructed various bridges and culverts throughout Adair County

Constructed warehouses

Implemented community sanitation projects

Implemented malaria control project, which included draining swamps and low areas

Implemented roof signs for air navigation

Implemented school lunch program for district schools throughout Adair County

Operated women's sewing rooms

Provided home assistance with housework and/or childcare for needy families

Repaired and renovated furniture, clothing, and shoes for distribution to the needy.

Cement culvert constructed in Baron, Oklahoma by WPA labor in 1939.



VITA

Luke Williams

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Thesis: NEW DEAL WORK RELIEF IN ADAIR COUNTY, OKLAHOMA

Major Field: Public History

Biographical:

Education:

Completed the requirements for the Master of Arts in Public History at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in May 2013.

Completed the requirements for the Bachelor of Arts in History at Northeastern State University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma in 2009.

Completed the requirements for the Bachelor of Business Administration in Finance at Northeastern State University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma in 2002.

Experience:

Teaching Assistant at Oklahoma State University History Department, Autumn 2010 to Autumn 2011.

Completed internship with Arkansas State Parks at Prairie Grove Battlefield State Park, Prairie Grove, Arkansas, Summer 2010.

Completed internship with Oklahoma Historical Society at George M. Murrell Home, Park Hill, Oklahoma, Spring 2009.

Professional Memberships:

Preservation Oklahoma
Oklahoma Historical Society
National Council on Public History
Phi Alpha Theta, National History Honor Society
Phi Kappa Phi, National Honor Society
Alpha Chi, National Honor Society
Rho Theta Sigma, University Honor Society