

MANAGING AND
EVALUATING HISTORIC
RESOURCES OF
**DEPRESSION-ERA
FEDERAL
PROJECTS
IN WYOMING**

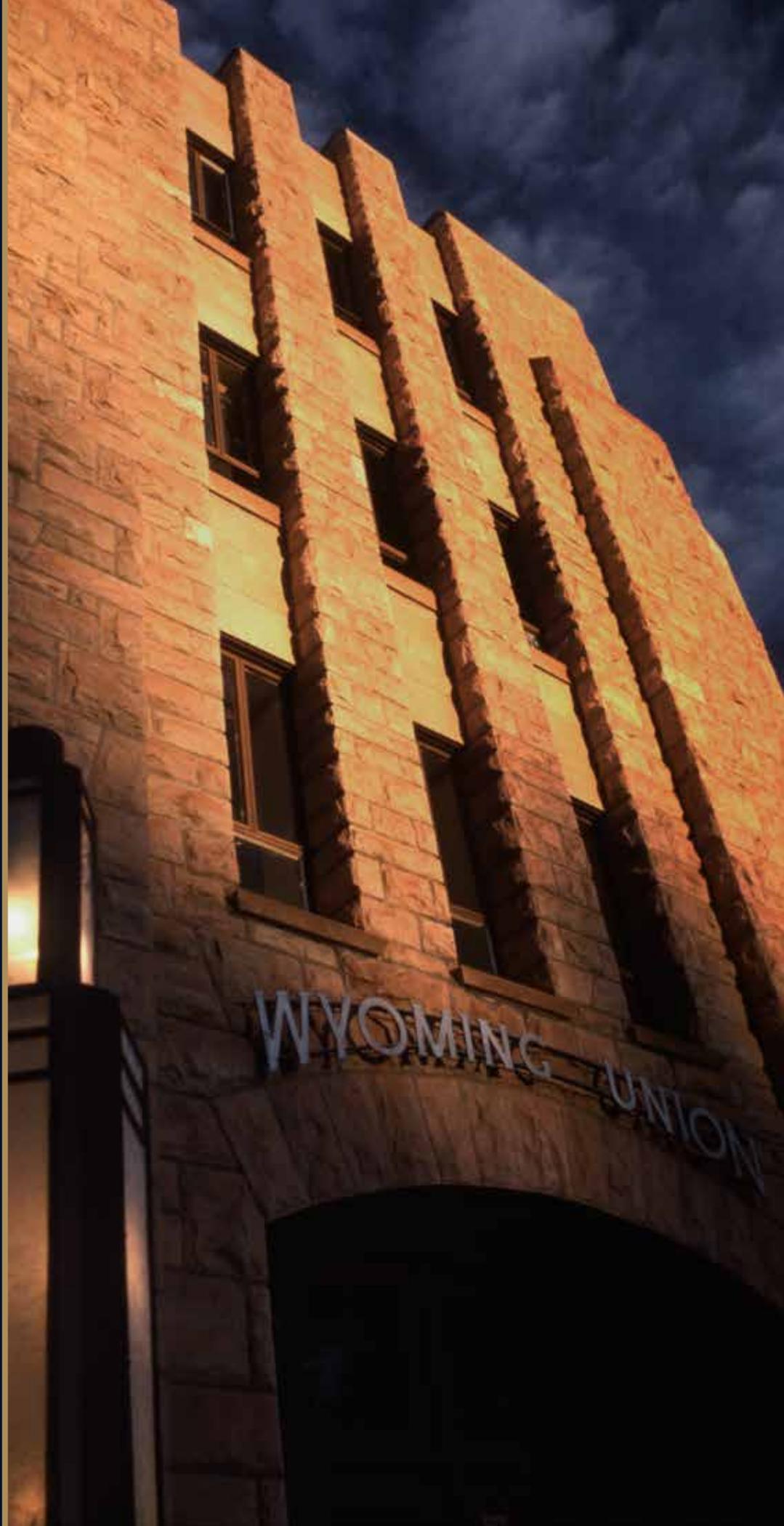
Michael Cassity

Prepared for the Wyoming State
Historic Preservation Office
Planning and Historic Context
Development Program
Wyoming State Parks & Cultural
Resources

Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office

**ARTS. PARKS.
HISTORY.**

Wyoming Department of State Parks & Cultural Resources



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Cover: Wyoming Union at the University of Wyoming in Laramie, constructed by the Public Works Administration in 1938-1939. One of a number of impressive, even iconic, New Deal buildings in the state, such buildings are but a small part of the legacy of the federal government's Depression-era projects in Wyoming. Photograph: Michael Cassity, 1990.

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Preface

History is all around us in Wyoming, and it shapes who we are and how we relate to one another and the rest of the world. One of the essential reminders of that distinctive heritage is the mark left on the landscape by the federal programs associated with the Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt administrations as they sought both to combat the Great Depression and to build up the infrastructure and resources of the nation. Virtually every town and city in the state, and many rural areas as well, can point to significant buildings and structures and other historic resources associated with those federal projects. From the development of Wyoming's national parks and national forests to the construction of the huge Kendrick Irrigation Project, to the building of roads and courthouses, to the creation of public art, the tangible fruits of the federal government's projects endure in Wyoming.

Yet how to manage these resources, and, for that matter, how to determine which of them are eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, and thus require sensitive management, and which are not, is sometimes a perplexing issue for public officials, for private developers, and for the public at large. There clearly needs to be a guide that can be drawn upon as responsible officials and the public seek to manage those resources, and plan for them, or plan around them.

In view of that need, in 2010–2012 the Planning and Historic Context Development Program in the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office launched an effort to develop a historic context study to assist in the evaluation of historic properties associated with the federal government's

response to the problems of the Great Depression. That work ultimately resulted in two related products. One was a book, *Building Up Wyoming: Depression-Era Federal Projects in Wyoming, 1929–1943*, which explores and inquires into the significance of the various projects and examines the evolution of federal projects over time from 1929 to 1943. The second item is the booklet you are holding in your hands, a guide to the management and evaluation of those resources.

Neither of these two resources can be used independent of the other. They must be used together in a creative collaboration for thoughtful understanding and evaluation of the historic resources. After all, good history is never a matter of just looking up a fact; it involves understanding the facts and putting them together and comparing them with the reality in front of us and trying to make sense of it all. Thus the object of the separate historical study is to provide a framework, a historical context, into which we can place the specific buildings and structures and other resources left by those government buildings. We cannot understand their historical significance unless we understand the programs that created them and the ways in which those programs and projects evolved, and, indeed, the larger social patterns that they reflected.

By the same token, we need to examine the historic resources on the ground to better understand the larger picture. Once we have an understanding of the larger historic context, we can move forward to evaluate the specific historic resources in our communities, and that is where this booklet comes in. It provides a way to apply the themes and issues

explored in the larger study to the actual, physical historical resources that are all around us. It helps cultural resource professionals and managers to better understand the individual and groups of resources, and also to understand where there are gaps in our knowledge that need to be filled, to understand how different resources may be vulnerable and how to manage them appropriately. In addition, this guide will help determine whether the resources are historically significant and eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. That determination, however, requires more than just looking at the old buildings or corrals or dams or roadways. It requires professional expertise and careful judgment, based

on (1) a deep understanding of the broader history and concepts that give them meaning, and on (2) an understanding of the National Register requirements for historical significance and integrity. This is not a mechanical task of just looking up a property type and identifying the significance and integrity of what is on the ground in front of us. History, and historic resources, is more complicated than that. It is a matter of coming to an understanding of history in its most authentic and meaningful sense.

Once we understand the past and the resources left from the past, we can proceed to manage them, learn from them, and move forward with them in a way that Wyoming deserves.

Resource Management Issues and Opportunities for Depression-Era Federal Projects

Probably every community in Wyoming can point to some building or nearby dam or irrigation structure or other object that is a physical manifestation of the legacy of the work projects of the federal government during the Great Depression. Sometimes these are buildings of elegance and distinction, even iconic in stature and lore; sometimes they are modest and utilitarian; sometimes they serve as reference points in charting the history of the community's growth and development. Many times, however, the buildings and physical remnants of government programs that operated in Wyoming in response to the Depression are all but invisible, right in front of us but unnoticed, unappreciated, unexamined. Too many of them no longer exist. Those that remain, however, deserve sensitive analysis and consideration for their historical significance. Whether or not they are historically significant, however, is not to be assumed one way or another and can only be determined through studying the resources and their histories. That focused inquiry into historical significance is the starting point for the management of historic features associated with Depression-era federal programs and projects.

The appreciation and understanding of those features is a welcome activity for many people in Wyoming, and for some people and agencies it is a professional responsibility. In evaluating the historical significance of a building or structure, we have an opportunity to reflect on the associations, patterns, and developments that give that building meaning in our own lives. This is not just a matter of labeling or pigeonholing a building into a cate-

gory; it is a matter of *understanding*. In an effort to promote the process of understanding, *Building Up Wyoming: Depression-Era Federal Projects in Wyoming, 1929–1943* has sketched the historical context in which those programs evolved and shaped the Wyoming landscape. There remain, however, several additional matters to be addressed: (1) actions that can be taken by resource managers and other professionals in the preservation community and also by the broader public to increase awareness of these resources, (2) opportunities and needs for further research and analysis, and (3) understanding the forces that threaten the extant resources. All of these considerations warrant attention so that these valuable Depression-era resources can be managed appropriately.

Public and Professional Awareness

An ongoing function of the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) includes the set of activities that fulfills its mission to “increase public education and outreach efforts,” doing so, of course, in cooperation with other agencies and the interested public.¹ That outreach and education may sometimes appear to involve only the esoteric aspects of historic preservation, but it also includes the familiar parts of our built environment about which a broad understanding is either lacking or, if it exists, is ill formulated. Indeed, in some instances in the past, New Deal-related resources have been given a close analysis by professionals for their architectural features and significance

(under National Register Criterion C) but have been evaluated as being of historical significance (under Criterion A) with only a cursory historical examination, one that does not articulate the historical associations that give them significance beyond naming an agency with which they may or may not have been associated. The opportunity for increased awareness remains.

Resources are always limited, but one way to move forward in this area is to integrate Depression-era resources into other activities and programs of the SHPO and other agencies. The recognition of successful preservation efforts always goes a long way in encouraging more of such efforts, whether undertaken by individuals, businesses, or public entities. Without setting up a separate program, this might be facilitated simply by offering a certificate for preservation efforts in this group of resources similar to that offered in the Centennial Ranch program, as well as providing the usual coaching and encouragement to those with a need or interest. This is also an area where citizens and professionals can enter into a dialogue about the past that is both locally meaningful and historically informed. Providing copies of the historic context study as a research aid online, the SHPO can also formulate a guide for understanding Depression-era projects that helps people understand what questions to ask and where to find answers. The development of a Wyoming Depression-Era Project page on the SHPO website where individuals can contribute their own photographs, research, and stories would not be the same as putting that information into the Wyoming Cultural Resource Information System, in that it would be much less formal; doing so would, however, make information about these important resources accessible to many more people. Presumably related agencies, such as the Wyoming State Archives, the Wyoming State Museum, and cooperating federal agencies in the state, as well as local museums and libraries, would be able to make some of their own documents, pho-

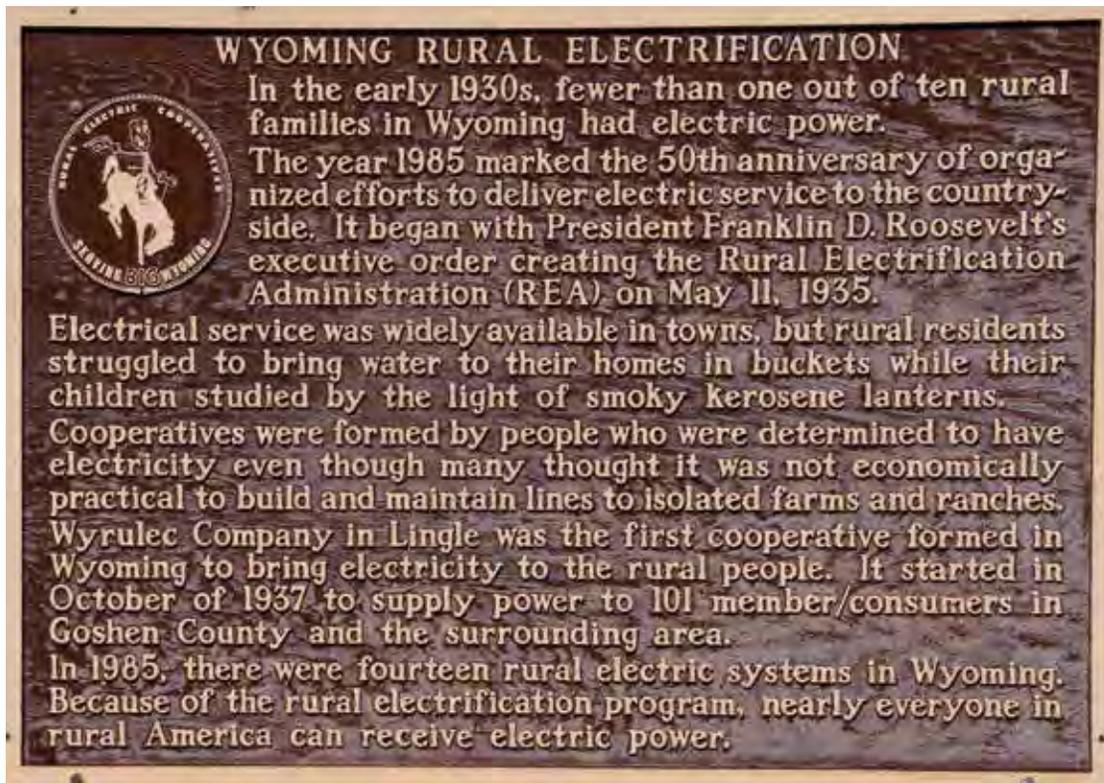
tographs, and related materials available on such a website too. The point is not so much to dedicate a new program and new resources to this effort as it is to include these resources among those that are recognized as important and deserving of broader understanding, attention, and appropriate management. As with a building that is not lived in and thereby falls prey to the elements, so too with resources that are not understood or recognized: whether out of sight or just out of mind, they fall prey to forces of decay or destruction. They need to be kept in sight and in mind.

Opportunities for Further Research

The Historic Context Study *Building Up Wyoming: Depression-Era Federal Projects in Wyoming* does not pretend to examine all the thousands of projects undertaken in the state in response to the problems associated with the Depression. It does, however, seek to provide a framework in which particular buildings and structures can be placed and examined for a closer understanding of their significance. In addition, however, there are areas where more research is needed in order to broaden and refine that framework, to include more kinds of resources, and to take the analysis further and deeper. Despite the attention that has been given to the New Deal, and to a lesser extent to the Hoover administration, in Wyoming, there remains much that we do not know and some parts of the Wyoming past in these years have been touched only lightly, if at all, by historians.

ON THE BORDER BETWEEN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC PROGRAMS

While the array of governmental programs developed during the Depression, in addition to the already existing federal agencies and programs, may be daunting to those unfamiliar with the history of the subject, there actually is yet another group



Rural Electric Cooperative sign in Lingle. Photograph by Michael Cassity, 2010.

of programs that is not generally included in research except in cursory form. A gray area of government program activity lies somewhere between the public and private sectors. For example, the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) was an important government program, and it was ultimately responsible for the extension of power lines to rural parts of the state that had previously been neglected or excluded from electrical power except for what farmers and ranchers could provide on their own. At the same time, the REA did not build or extend those lines. After some initial attempts to do this directly, the REA shifted its efforts and began to serve as an agency lending money to privately organized electrical cooperatives; those cooperatives then constructed the lines and purchased power from a public or private source. The history of the REA in Wyoming is of obvious importance, but it has barely been explored. More-

over, that history covers years that go well beyond the time period of this study; the REA was formed in 1935, and in the following years it made a serious effort at extending power to the countryside. Even so, by 1939, progress was uneven across the state, and it appears that the REA had not spent a dollar in fifteen of Wyoming's twenty-three counties. The questions here are large and important and have to do with the variables shaping whether rural communities organize a cooperative or not, whether and how they access public or private power, and the impact of the power grid on rural families—including those previously without power and also those who had used their own electrical power-generating sources (wind, water, and gasoline engines). In addition, the relationship of the cooperatives with private operators/suppliers/competitors needs to be explored.

A second example of this gray area requiring



State Bank of Wheatland with dates 1903 and 1934 above the entrance. Was this a product of the “modernizing” Main Street program? Compare this bank to other banks documented in the historic context study, *Building Up Wyoming: Depression-Era Federal Projects in Wyoming, 1929–1943* (Cheyenne: Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, 2013). Photograph by Michael Cassity, 2010.

further research is one that may be right in front of us, but is not recognizable. The Roosevelt administration developed a program under the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) that encouraged the private sector to improve building design and appearance, to upgrade and modernize buildings. In fact, the Better Housing Program in the FHA was concerned not just with improving residential housing but even had a Main Street program through which it offered credit to business owners wishing to “modernize” their commercial storefronts. Architectural historian Gabrielle Esperdy writes of the Better Housing Program,

the FHA supplied a series of technical bulletins and training manuals addressing every aspect of the modernization program in step-by-step procedures, rules, and regulations, all of which emphasized the benefit of community participation. First, by bring-

ing money “out of hiding” and “back into the channels of retail trade,” a local campaign stimulated all types of business and was “not simply a builder’s program.” Second, by putting people back to work, it reduced relief expenditures. Third, by encouraging long-deferred repairs, a campaign improved the “usefulness and value” of real property, adding to “the beauty and appearance of a city.” Here the FHA was adding a civic incentive to its primary business-creating inducements, a motivational coupling designed to appeal to the endemic community spirit so well documented in *Middletown*.²

While Esperdy focuses obviously on architectural change, the historical context relating the program to employment, relief, and stimulating demand is also clear. And while the buildings were privately constructed or renovated, just as with the REA and the distribution of electric power, the stimulus and

funding often came from the federal government. How extensive (and where) this program was implemented in Wyoming's communities remains to be seen.

THE "FORGOTTEN MAN"

In 1932, when Franklin Roosevelt was campaigning for his party's nomination for president, he delivered what became known as the "forgotten man" address, calling for new plans and programs "that build from the bottom up and not from the top down, that put their faith once more in the forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid."³ So it is only appropriate that historical research on the New Deal (and the Hoover administration which Roosevelt was attacking for "forgetting" those at the bottom) in Wyoming focus more closely on those parts of society too often forgotten.

The first step is to remember that a great many of the "forgotten men" were in fact women. *Building Up Wyoming: Depression-Era Federal Projects in Wyoming* has identified some programs that were specifically designed for women and has offered some tentative interpretations, but much more attention needs to be directed to questions of gender equity and participation in terms of social need and government response. Moreover, the question of how those programs changed over time is one to which historians have given far too little energy, although it is clear that the programs did change and that they became industrial in organization. Historians have, over the past generation or two, developed increasingly sensitive approaches to such issues, and old categories and generalizations have been put to rest, but there remains tremendous opportunity for addressing in a conceptually sophisticated way major questions that go to the heart not just of gender issues, but of the organization of society and the direction of social change.

Some attention has been given in these pages to developments on the Wind River Reservation (until 1937, the Shoshone Agency), but there is not only room for more, there is need for more. Fortunately, historian Brian Hosmer is currently pursuing some aspects of that research. Aside from the significant conclusions he has reached, one of the particularly intriguing aspects of his research—as published so far—is his sensitivity to the larger cultural changes that the government programs and projects encouraged and what they meant in the larger pattern of change. The social framework of work and discipline were at the center of this transformative (although resisted) process, and while the Shoshone and Arapaho people formed their own distinctive variants in life on the reservation, and while those are important in and of themselves, the larger issues affecting them had an even wider relevance in rural Wyoming society as it underwent a process of modernization. In other words, we have much to learn *about* the New Deal projects, changes, and pressures on the reservation and also much to learn *from* that experience so that similar questions can be asked of other parts of society, including the majority as well as the minorities.

It should also be noted that many of those "forgotten" people were those that the Roosevelt administration sought to help, at least in rhetoric. It has long been recognized, however, that government assistance to the business community tended to be in the form of cooperation with the biggest industries and that assistance to agriculture went to the largest commercial operators and did so at the expense of the smallest operators. And there is sometimes a certain sense of inevitability attached (1) to the migration from the countryside to the town and city, and (2) to the decline of the Main Street merchants. For that matter, the New Deal policy makers, people like Rexford Tugwell, explicitly fostered such a view as they applied their industrial vision to American agriculture. Those people in Wyoming on the farms and in the mines,



“Highway U.S. 30. Sweetwater County, Wyoming.” Photograph by Arthur Rothstein, March 1940, files of Farm Security Administration–Office of War Information, Library of Congress.

those people in the bread lines and the job lines, those people who were outcasts from the direction society was moving, those people who were hired or not hired on government work projects, those people trying to get by on a subsistence-level check for thirty hours of work a week, those people, as a result, are still awaiting their historian.

WHERE DOES THAT ROAD GO?

Many people are fond of commenting that Wyoming is a small town with *very* long streets, and

there is a measure of truth in that assessment. In this regard Wyoming is surely different from many other states that have a larger population and more population centers located closer to each other. But there is something implicit in that observation that has to do with those very long streets that reach all the way across the state. Has it always been so? An enormous amount of the money spent in Wyoming by the federal government during the Depression went into transportation, perhaps more than half of it. And, by virtually any measure, the transformation of the road and highway system of the state during those years generated a powerful

and transforming impact on Wyoming society. In terms of access to markets, tourism and recreation, government services, increased competition from businesses in nearby, but previously less accessible, communities, and the rise of the trucking industry to replace the railroads, the serious study of roadways and highways (and airways) in Wyoming presents a prime opportunity for research and exploration on multiple levels. Can the state really be understood without it?

This exploration involves something more than just looking at the concrete or the asphalt and measuring the miles of each added during these years (or during any period). It requires understanding transportation as a *system* with specific social and economic priorities and as a *system* with profound implications and consequences. This approach is not even on the cutting edge of historical analysis (although with rigorous conceptualization it could be); one need only turn to older studies such as the dated, but still fresh, *The Highway and the City*, by Lewis Mumford, to begin to ask questions not just about how fast roads can carry us, but in what direction too.⁴ And one can turn to even older studies, like those of Robert S. and Helen Merrill Lynd on *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition*, to pursue some of the impacts of wider, faster transportation (and communication).⁵ One such impact is that it becomes much easier to develop close economic, social, and personal relationships with others previously far away, say, in the next county or on the other side of the state. At the same time, it also becomes easier to have less substantial or meaningful relationships with the people in the same town or even in the same neighborhood. Wyoming represents a prime opportunity for this kind of research and the rise of a modern transportation system in the years of the Great Depression provides an important opportunity for focusing such a study.

There is much that we do not know about Wyoming during the Depression. We are always

limited by available sources, but over the last generation historians have demonstrated thoughtful and sensitive ways to pry meaning from even the most routine materials and have found ways to find even more material to illuminate the dark corners of the past. They have also shown, however, that the greatest limitation is not the sources themselves but the questions asked by the historians and the concepts applied in seeking answers to those questions.

Threats and Impacts to the Resources

Public buildings and structures, and other resources, such as those that resulted from federal projects during the Depression, do not necessarily have a limited life any more than any other structure; how long they last depends largely on how they are used, maintained, and protected. But in the case of public libraries, schools, community buildings, and others, there are noteworthy forces at work that threaten their survival. For these historic resources nurture activities and services that, when they thrive, often outgrow the buildings that house them or just stretch their capacity to the breaking point; when they do not thrive, the buildings are put to other uses or abandoned. Some features, like roads and airports, are in a virtual constant state of renewal; that may or may not impact their integrity, but even regular maintenance can reconfigure them beyond recognition. Moreover, because a great many of the Depression-era resources are public properties, they are also subject to impact from administrative reorganization and budget reductions. Thus the management of these resources requires a sensitivity to forces that are operating in modern society in ways that may be unseen until a moment of critical decision is reached, or even until a decision of one kind or another has been made by default—when not deciding what to do with a resource has become actually a decision to sentence it to death.



Into the dumpster. Lander Elementary School at the beginning of its demolition.
Photograph by Michael Cassity, 2011.

URBAN AND SUBURBAN GROWTH

The pattern of urban and suburban growth may seem an odd set of forces to consider in a substantially rural state like Wyoming. Yet that is where much of the danger actually lies. For the pattern of urban development—including population and commercial growth concentrated at particular points as well as the expansion of residential and business areas into suburban developments and subdivisions—operates in two ways. One is a pattern of growth in the state in which the small towns over time have held fewer and fewer people and have counted for less in the daily lives of the people who live in them. A quick look at the map of Wyoming in 1930 reveals small towns all over the state, some of which remain, some of which no longer exist, or, if they exist, do so only as a shadow of what they once were. Thus one aspect of urbanization in Wyoming in the years since the 1930s has been related to population shifts that leave behind in hamlets and villages the resources that were so important as community centers for these rural neighborhoods—a community hall, a rural school, a small museum. As populations in these rural areas dwindle, as schools consolidate, as the

county or nearby cities become the locus of private and public services, these buildings often no longer serve the important role they once provided in holding the community together, in bringing people together, in cementing the bonds of neighborliness and communal responsibility. The process of urbanization thus has profound consequences for rural communities and just as those communities are themselves endangered, the institutions and buildings that were crucial to those communities are likewise threatened.

The other side of that process is that in the communities that grow, their growth often involves contact with historic resources, some of which may be associated with federal programs from the Depression era. Some of the developments associated with the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations took place outside the town centers. When Franklin Roosevelt visited Casper in 1937, his tour took him several miles west of town to the reconstructed Fort Caspar, and past the armory south of the city. Of course, the city has since moved well beyond Fort Caspar in its development, and the armory was in the way of a traffic

intersection as the city upgraded its urban streets in the 1980s. This is not to single out Casper, for that kind of development and those kinds of challenges have likewise emerged all over the state in every community that is growing, and Casper, as in the preservation of reconstructed Fort Caspar, has sometimes been exemplary. Often times such growth can be, and has been, handled sensitively and appropriately, but planners need to be aware of the existence of these resources and of their value to the community beyond the potential they hold as a location for a shopping mall, a traffic intersection, or other development. And this awareness needs to take place early on—before agencies and firms invest in specific designs and locations and become that much more firmly committed to them. There comes a point in the planning process at which it becomes difficult—necessarily or not—to seek out alternative plans or locations for development that will take place. Effective planning and historical education can prevent that point from being reached.

MAINTENANCE, USE, AND PRESERVATION

Many of the public buildings created during the Depression continue in active use. Yet those buildings are more than seven decades old, and it is only natural that their infrastructures have aged and need repair or even replacement, and that the buildings themselves may be in need of attention. A building that is not used is generally a building that is in danger, but even the buildings that continue in use can be at risk. The first step is to make sure that maintenance—sensitively done with appropriate regard for the features of the building that give it historic or architectural significance—takes place regularly; the accumulation of structural and infrastructure issues make the buildings, in some eyes, candidates for complete replacement. “Upgrades” of buildings are often necessary and

just as often present major challenges, even threats, to the features that give them historical significance. Those threats become all the greater when maintenance or upgrade of buildings and structures is conducted without consulting the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties. Following the guidance in those standards and working with public agencies, officials, and maintenance personnel responsible for the care of the buildings can sustain the historic features of a building. That conscientious effort can also help prevent reaching a crisis point where a compelling argument (if only in financial or political terms, not cultural or social) might be made to replace the entire structure instead of rehabilitating it.

OUT OF THE TRASH HEAP

Some of the New Deal resources are especially vulnerable because they were not firmly anchored to the ground in the sense that a building or dam might be. These require special care and attention. Some of the art works developed by the various New Deal art programs fall into that category and they represent a special group of resources. For example, the mural developed for the Worland post office has been moved to the Casper post office where it is prominently displayed; only the location has changed. Other pieces have not been so fortunate. Consider several works by one artist associated with the WPA art project in Laramie. Virginia Pitman produced important pieces that were subsequently displayed in public buildings. One, *Ambition and Youth*, remains on display in the Albany County Library. Another of her paintings, *Four Phases of Labor*, was put into the dumpster along with other detritus when the Laramie East Side School (previously the high school) was being cleaned out and moved in the late 1970s. Ready to be taken to the landfill, that painting was rescued, stored, and later repaired, and now is in the collec-



Virginia Pitman, *Four Phases of Labor*. WPA painting owned by General Service Administration, on loan to the Wyoming State Museum, and reproduced with permission of Wyoming State Museum. Photograph of painting courtesy Mary Hopkins and Richard Collier, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office.

tion of the Wyoming State Museum.⁶ Other works have not been so fortunate. Still another Pitman painting, for example, *The Evolution of Law*, remained for years in the University of Wyoming law school building but is nowhere to be found today. The varying fates of these works are representative of many others around the state. The care of these resources is as important as the care of buildings.

“BENIGN NEGLECT”

It is important for resource managers to be aware that just because a building or structure or other resource is not actively assaulted does not mean that it is being appropriately managed. Surely one of the most common threats to historic resources is simple neglect—lack of attention to the building’s structural needs and its value as a historic resource. Yet sometimes that neglect is even considered to be benign—and the notion of “benign neglect,” instead of being a management option, is actually a course that leads to the destruction of the resource, even if it takes longer than someone

using a wrecking ball on it. Sometimes it is even referred to as “demolition by neglect” or “destruction by neglect,” and both expressions convey the severe and real consequences of neglect.

The kinds and types of historic resources associated with federal Depression-era projects are many and the threats that they face are equally varied. The management of those resources requires vigilance and creative solutions so that adaptations can be made, both of the resources and of the activities that threaten them. The first step, however, is awareness of what the resources are. The next is to determine whether they are eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, doing so through careful historical analysis that asks probing questions and does not reduce historic properties to labels and caricatures. The next step is to develop plans and systems for sustained preservation management so that Wyoming’s important resources can receive the management they deserve—for now and for the future. There is no final step. This is an ongoing process.

Evaluating Wyoming's Historic Resources Associated with Depression-Era Federal Projects

History, Historic Resources, and the National Register Framework

DEPRESSION-ERA RESOURCES AND THE PROBLEM OF HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of the various federal programs launched to fight the Great Depression is both profound and complex and shapes our understanding of the resources left behind by those programs. The federal government during the Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt administrations, from 1929 to 1943, engineered a major transformation of the institutions, practices, and systems by which the people of Wyoming made their livings, defined their society, and related to one another and the outside world. Many of the remnants of that transformation still dot the countryside and others continue to serve the public in the towns and cities of Wyoming. A multitude of buildings, structures, objects, sites, and districts throughout the state represents the enduring mark of the government's response to the circumstances of the Great Depression on Wyoming's social, cultural, and physical landscape.

To understand the significance of those programs and resources requires an understanding of why choices were made, why programs were initiated, how they developed, why they were terminated, and what they were intended to accomplish. Considered thus, the response of the federal

government to the Depression was complicated, evolving, and even contradictory. Despite common beliefs otherwise, the Hoover administration sought in its own way to address the economic, political, and social issues associated with the downward spiraling of the economy. The Roosevelt administration at times even adopted and extended some of the Hoover programs but also launched new, broader, and bolder initiatives. Even then, however, the Roosevelt administration approach was hardly consistent. Technically, the First New Deal (1933–1934) and the Second New Deal (1935–1938) have been identified by historians as separate and conflicting elements in the history of the Roosevelt administration because of the distinctive goals and philosophies embodied in each, and there is great justification for this. They reflected two completely separate legislative agendas and it is important to understand those differences. But in terms of the broader transformation that the Roosevelt administration ushered in, the various New Deal programs continued into and through the years of World War II. In fact, most professional historians recognize the war years not only as a continuation of the essential thrust of the New Deal programs (centralization in government and economy, acceptance of the role of planning in society, and purposeful use of deficit spending as a fiscal tool), but even in some ways as the completion of the New Deal because the war ended the Depression through massive government planning, deficit spending, and intervention in the

economy. Many of the new government agencies were now permanent fixtures, and the new system of government consciously and explicitly promoted economic growth as a goal.

These national policies and programs left their mark on Wyoming, and it is necessary to connect the local buildings and structures (and other resources) they created with the national programs to understand what that mark means; for that matter, it is also necessary to make the connection between the local and the national to really understand the national programs too. How does one go about making those connections? To answer that question is to determine the historical significance of the resources on the ground in Wyoming that owe their origin to the federal programs undertaken during the Depression. Identifying the patterns of change represented by the federal programs is the first step in a larger process of resource evaluation. The companion historic context study, *Building Up Wyoming: Depression-Era Federal Projects in Wyoming, 1929–1943*, provides a framework for considering the historical significance of these Depression-era resources. That study articulates a conceptual framework to help the researcher connect a particular structure to the larger patterns with which it may be associated. Those patterns have to do with the different purposes behind the various programs, their different organizational frameworks and priorities, and the different objectives and different parts of the population to be served. They also exhibit throughout an overarching institutional evolution from projects that expanded existing agencies and programs, to new programs that spawned large infrastructure initiatives, to popular programs that created numerous small projects designed to put people to work quickly in their own neighborhoods, and they ranged from projects where neighbors were helping neighbors, to projects that were industrial in organization and objective, and to projects that were based on a conception of military necessity.

The conceptual framework, of course, is large, is complex, is often subtle, and is incapable of being captured by a static set of categories or labels into which resources can be reduced and by which their significance can be mechanically defined. It is essential that the site evaluator ask of any resource: What larger patterns and processes is this feature associated with? What does it reveal about the (1) federal perceptions of problems, and (2) federal structures for addressing the needs of the nation? How is this resource similar to and different from those associated with other nearby projects? The object is to *understand* the resources left on the ground. And understanding is different from cataloging. Each resource needs to be explored. In this way, the resource can even shed light on the larger historical context and cause our understanding of context and patterns to be modified. The dialogue between evidence and interpretation, between resource and context is at the heart of historical analysis, and the continuing effort of understanding the resources means that the larger picture becomes clearer, and possibly different, with each additional resource examined.

In this process, it needs to be emphasized, the evaluator must perform historical research and ask historical questions. In some instances, well-meaning evaluators of Depression-era historic resources have limited their investigation to little more than an examination of the physical remnants of those resources, assuming that some kind (any kind) of New Deal connection is sufficient to yield an obvious historical significance. Indeed, that on-site structural description and examination is important and can provide useful information, especially when the significance of the building or structure is related to its architectural or engineering features. But limiting the inquiry to physical remains, uninformed by research in the historical record, omits critical sources and information, arguably doing an injustice to the resource in the process. It is essential to ask questions of and about the building or structure (or other object) and to explore

the historical meanings that it can convey. In other words, the potential eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places can only be determined by careful research, both on site and in the records. If there is one fundamental point of the related historic context study, it is that historical significance of these resources derives from our effort to connect any given feature to larger patterns, both conceptually and physically. To be old is not enough. To exist is not enough. The historical significance must be precise and demonstrable.

THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

In addition to an understanding of the patterns of history, the researcher needs to place the buildings and other resources on the ground into the framework of the National Register of Historic Places, the key institution for identifying properties for their eligibility to be listed singly or as contributing features to a group of eligible resources. In this evaluation process, several cautions must be kept in mind. The first is simply that not all properties associated with the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations in the state are eligible for listing on the National Register. Some will not qualify for listing because they lack demonstrable significance and others will not be eligible because they lack necessary integrity. Second, the evaluator must also recognize that some properties will have fewer or more modest historic features, not because they are less significant, but because they just were historically smaller projects. The construction of a community center in Farson or Recluse or a library in Jackson was surely as important locally as the construction of Casper's City-County Building was in that community, although all of the first three could probably have fit inside the fourth. Finally, it needs to be remembered, partly because it can be so easily taken for granted, that there are other properties in the state that were constructed

in these years that are not related to this context but that may still qualify for listing on the National Register, although not as part of this context. They could be private buildings or they might be community or state construction projects that were constructed entirely independent of federal projects, contracts, funding, or guidance. Those properties and others are important and they certainly deserve research and thoughtful management, but they are beyond the parameters of this specific historic context.

IDENTIFYING SIGNIFICANCE AND HISTORIC THEMES

Properties on the National Register are limited to those that are "significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture." Significance, in other words, is essential. A property is eligible, or is considered a contributing feature to eligible properties, not just because it is old, or even, in this context, because it can be generally demonstrated to have been associated with a government program. It must be demonstrably *significant* in history. The historic context study *Building Up Wyoming: Depression-Era Federal Projects in Wyoming* explores specific themes—historic patterns, events, and cultural values associated with federal programs addressing the Depression in Wyoming—that can serve as tools for establishing the more precise significance of a property, even when properties are exceptions to the prevailing patterns. For example, it may be that a specific resource demonstrates voluntary cooperation urged by the Hoover administration, or the formulation and construction of a giant infrastructure development like the Kendrick Project, or the increasing militarization or industrialization of the various work relief programs. It may demonstrate particular conceptions of conservation and natural resource development in the national forests or on the public domain. Individual projects might even

have a specific bearing on issues of gender and ethnicity. The point is that the projects—and the resources that they produced—emerged from an actual historic context with particular real life dimensions that can make them historically significant.

The themes identified and explored in the historic context study, and to which individual properties can be associated in important ways, include the following:

- Agriculture
- Architecture (including Landscape Architecture)
- Art
- Community Planning and Development
- Conservation
- Economic Planning and Growth (including Fiscal and Monetary Policy)
- Education Development (including Museums and Libraries as well as formal institutions of education)
- Engineering
- Ethnicity
- Federal Land Management
- Gender
- Government and Public Service
- Health and Sanitation
- Irrigation
- Lumber/Timber Industry
- Military/Armed Forces Expansion
- Modernization (including consolidation, centralization of decision-making, industrial organization of work, social fragmentation, standardization, and other features)
- Natural Resource Development
- Public Utility Development
- Recreation
- Relief Activities (Direct Relief and Work Relief)

- Social and Economic Infrastructure Development
- Social Institutions and their Evolution (including poor farms, prisons, internment centers, homeless shelters, and other places of relief/confinement)
- Transportation Development and Social Change
- Urbanization (including both the growth of cities and the decline of small towns and rural communities)
- Voluntary Cooperation
- Work Organization
- Youth

It is sometimes tempting to evaluate any and every property in Wyoming associated with the Hoover or Roosevelt administrations as eligible. That temptation, however, needs to be avoided in favor of a more thoughtful and discriminating approach. The National Register bulletin *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* explains that the event or trends with which a property is associated “must clearly be important within the associated context.” It also is explicit in specifying that “the property must have an important association with the event or historic trends.”⁷ To say that a property was associated with a Depression-era government project is, in itself, not sufficient to demonstrate its significance. It is more helpful and persuasive to associate the resources with the themes articulated in the historic context study, to explore particular properties in their association with, for example, education, federal land management, gender, or other themes and patterns of history listed above. By making a focused analysis of the property, the exact importance of the association can be demonstrated. And by using those patterns and themes in the evaluation of a property, an informed professional judgment can be rendered on the significance of a particular feature or set of features.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

The procedure for evaluating the various kinds of Depression-era resources likely to be encountered in Wyoming follows an established path with the same general steps, although the specific property types will be considered differently. The order in which those steps are taken makes a difference. It is necessary first to determine the theme, the geographic limits, and the chronological period represented by the property. Then, the evaluator must determine how that theme is important at that place and time. Next, the significance of the property must be understood; in this step the evaluator explains how the property represents the context through specific important associations, values, or information potential, drawing upon the National Register criteria. Then the evaluator can specify (and justify) the years defining the period of significance for the property. At that point, the different property types can be considered and with them the essential aspects of their integrity. Once this process is complete, the evaluator can establish the boundaries for the property. There is obviously some overlap among these procedural steps and there will likely be some revisiting of earlier questions as information is gathered, but the sequence needs to be followed and the priority of establishing significance before examining integrity remains essential.

The actual eligibility (or contributing status) of a property is ultimately established by determining how a property represents the context, and this is done by the application of criteria used in the National Register of Historic Places. Thus, the question becomes whether a property represents the context through specific important historic associations (Criteria A and B), architectural or engineering values (Criterion C), or information potential (Criterion D). The vast bulk of Wyoming's Depression-era context-related properties nominated to, or eligible for, the National Register

will be evaluated under Criterion A, and this criterion is the primary focus of this historic context study. Some of those resources eligible in this context under Criterion A may also be eligible under Criterion C or, in fewer instances, under Criterion D and Criterion B.

Criterion A

Most remaining Depression-era historic resources in Wyoming will be considered and evaluated under Criterion A. While there is sometimes a tendency for nominations and evaluations under Criterion A to determine that a building is historically significant because it existed during the period of significance, the significance must be identified in terms of change over time, in terms of what came before and what came afterward, and what was happening elsewhere; and the specific resource must be demonstrated to hold an important association with those historical patterns and events.

In approaching the significance of particular resources under Criterion A, the significance can be established in several areas defined primarily by their function, both immediate and long term. The public works projects of the New Deal put people to work who had been out of work or dependent on the dole, infused money into local economies, created new public buildings and services, stimulated private business, reshaped agricultural practices, and expanded and enhanced public institutions of different kinds. In some instances, where a specific Depression-era-related event occurred (for example the creation of sewing centers to employ women), the association might be demonstrated by a direct linkage to those policies and programs without the resource having been constructed by the government. In any case, the association must be important and must be within the period of significance, 1929–1943. Ordinarily the significance of the resource under Criterion A (and also under Criterion B) will generally be established through research in historical materials so that the impor-

tant association is precise and clear, not speculative, and not assumed. To be associated with the government programs in an important way thus requires research and documentation.

Many of the resources will be evaluated under Criterion A in the Area of Significance **Politics/Government** because of their obvious connection to specific governmental programs and policies of the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations. While it would be hypothetically possible to connect all government-sponsored projects to **Politics/Government**, including everything from a storm drainage system or forest fire lookout to a county courthouse, this association is particularly relevant to those where the functions of governance and political activity are the central purpose. Likewise with the Area of Significance **Social History**, which can be construed to take in a broad array of changes and patterns. The resources evaluated in **Social History** will be those that are associated in important and demonstrable ways with aspects of social history and social issues such as unemployment, gender, ethnicity, race, class, family structure, and the broad patterns of social change.

Additional Areas of Significance under Criterion A include:

Agriculture, where the association of the resource was with policies and institutions established to influence the processes and patterns of crop and livestock production.

Art, where the resource was associated with the creation of visual arts or graphic design either as an outcome of that process or as a facility for the creation of art.

Commerce, where resources were associated with the business of exchange and distribution of manufactured and produced goods and services.

Communications, where the resource performed a role in the processing, dissemination, or transmission of information.

Community Planning and Development, where the particular resource served as an important part, or reflected in an important way, the pattern and direction of community development.

Conservation, where resources were part of a broad effort at conservation of natural resources. This Area of Significance may include features that were regarded as essential conservation programs at the time, such as range enhancement or water resource development, as well as the more strictly preservation-oriented practices.

Economics, where the association was important with actual economic policy or events (such as the Bank Holiday of 1933), where important shifts in economic structure (such as from agriculture to minerals or manufacturing) occurred, or where economic cycles (such as the actions leading up to the downturn of 1937 and its consequences) can be demonstrated. While some projects may be importantly associated with a local or statewide economic stimulus, that association will need to be important and demonstrable. Economics is not a blanket Area of Significance for all spending programs.

Education, where institutions or informal instructional programs were importantly associated. This area would obviously include schools and universities but can also include libraries and cultural centers. In some instances, community centers will also be important.

Entertainment/Recreation, where there was an important association with leisure, athletic, and entertainment activities. This area can include such resources as fairgrounds, city parks, and some community centers.

Ethnic Heritage, where the resource was directly connected to issues of ethnic identity.

Health/Medicine, where the resource actively

promoted health and hygiene, or where assistance or relief was provided to the ill, the infirm, or the physically or mentally challenged as a central mission of the facility.

Industry, where the resource was associated with extraction, production, and management processes whereby raw materials are transformed into either goods for consumption (or further production) or services for distribution.

Military, where the resource was associated with the armed services of the nation, or the affiliated state organization such as the National Guard.

Transportation, where the construction, improvement, or enhancement of roads, streets, sidewalks, and their related features (such as bridges and grade crossings) had a direct association.

Given this breadth of conceptualization, many features may be significant under multiple Areas of Significance. Those Areas of Significance, however, must be appropriate to the individual feature and must reveal the actual historical significance of the resource. There is, for example, a fine and shifting line separating some recreation-related features from conservation-related features. Park facilities in town would probably be evaluated in the Area of Significance **Entertainment/Recreation**, while the same kinds of features located in a national forest and constructed by the Civilian Conservation Corps might be evaluated either as **Entertainment/Recreation** or **Conservation**—or both. These are not rigid categories into which resources can be mechanically sorted but tools for thoughtful evaluation. Professional judgment, experience, and sensitivity to both the history of the resource and the National Register framework constitute the essential elements of resource evaluation. In addition, the concepts and patterns identified in the companion historic context study provide critical tools for that evaluation.

Criterion B

There will probably be few resources evaluated under Criterion B since the requirement for significance there has to do with (1) the significance of the individual, (2) the association of the resource with the individual *and* the Depression-era context, *and* (3) the association of the resource with that significant individual, when compared to other properties associated with the individual, as the most appropriate resource of all those possible for demonstrating that person's contribution. Thus an auditorium named for an individual would not establish significance under Criterion B, nor would the Wyoming residence of an important figure in the New Deal unless that residence could be demonstrated to have directly reflected or shaped her or his influence—that it was not peripheral or tangential to the activities for which the person became significant. This is not to rule out Criterion B, but to urge the same caution in its application as for the other criteria.

Criterion C

Depression-era resources may be significant under Criterion C if they embody the distinctive characteristics of a type or method of construction associated with Depression-era federal projects. Some work project-constructed buildings are almost immediately identifiable as New Deal in origin because of their particular style and building materials. Some projects used extensive hand labor and skilled craftsmen because they were trying to put more people to work, and that aspect is evident in the resource, making a basic utility structure actually an intriguing and attractive piece of construction. Often times standardized plans, or standardized plans a little modified, mark buildings as characteristic of New Deal projects. In addition, there were huge engineering projects, such as the Kendrick Project, where dams impounded rivers to form reservoirs and canals took irrigation water from



Wyoming Supreme Court and State Library Building, a PWA construction, was completed in 1937. The projecting entrance was added later. Photograph by Michael Cassity, 2010.



Wyoming Supreme Court and State Library Building, detail. Photograph by Michael Cassity, 2010.

the reservoirs to fields many miles away, and their engineering features remain important.

Sometimes it appears that there was even a New Deal style of construction that the government applied to its building programs, but that perception does not take into account the multitude

of construction programs, the variety of styles employed, and the local input into the design process. It is true that some of the largest buildings, those sometimes considered even monumental, tended to be associated with a style often known as WPA or PWA Modern. Derived from the Art



Grand Teton National Park Superintendent's Residence, constructed by the CCC, is an example of Government Rustic or Rustic Architecture. Photograph by Michael Cassity, 2010.

Moderne and Art Deco movements and, with the frequent use of local building materials and iconography, this style of building is indeed distinctive and can be found in a number of communities in Wyoming, especially in their courthouses and post offices. The assessment offered by Carroll Van West is as accurate in Wyoming as elsewhere: "By mixing concrete, steel, local building materials, patriotic imagery, classical motifs, and the forms and details of modern architecture, PWA Modern blended the old and new so that buildings were visually modern yet also evoked the past."⁸ West points to the Natrona County courthouse (actually the City-County building) as a prime example of this style of architecture, but he could just as easily have drawn upon the State Supreme Court building in Cheyenne, the Carbon County courthouse, the Hot Springs County courthouse, or a number of others.

If the WPA or PWA Modern buildings are easily identified with the New Deal, so too are the many Government Rustic, or simply Rustic, buildings in the national parks and forests of Wyoming. Con-

structed mainly with logs or rough stonework, the buildings suggest a close relationship with nature, but especially, as the National Park Service study of the design notes, "Whatever its style, its obviously intensive use of hand labor and its clear rejection of the regularity and symmetry of the industrial world, mark it as the work of another age, the product of an attitude far removed from our own."⁹ It is, in other words, as distinctive for what it is not as for what it is. That general configuration, or set of principles, had in fact been forming in the National Park Service, and also to some extent in the U.S. Forest Service, and had matured in the Hoover administration, but it became established and codified in 1935 and 1938 with the publication of *Park Structures and Facilities* and *Park and Recreation Structures* in those two years.

Because rustic architecture evolved, and because it is not exclusive to government buildings, it is important to realize that just because a building is rustic in appearance does not necessarily mean that it was associated with the Hoover or Roosevelt administration.

Under Criterion C, the Areas of Significance include not only Architecture and Engineering but also Art and Landscape Architecture.

Criterion D

Under Criterion D, in the historic context of the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations in Wyoming, archaeological investigation is best seen as complementing historical research rather than duplicating or replacing it, for the two fields draw upon different source materials with different potentials although they often address the same historical questions and issues. Thus archaeological investigations of work camps or other sites may utilize a research design that focuses on the historical processes and forces at work. In many instances the cultural resource professional may conclude that Criterion A is more appropriate than Criterion D.

It needs to be emphasized that a well-considered research design is the critical element in Criterion D. Just because information, and even interesting information, is available in a potential site is not sufficient to make it significant. Instead, the questions that the information can answer are of critical importance. Plus, not all archaeological sites will provide information in understanding history or patterns of history; they may even yield information in other areas, but in this context that information must illuminate the historical issues and patterns relevant to the Depression-era programs and, more broadly, to the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations' policies and impacts on Wyoming. That further means that not all Depression-era sites that have archaeological deposits should be considered eligible. In every instance research design is the determining factor. Original location will be an essential element of almost all archaeological sites in this context.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

The period of significance for properties associated with Depression-era federal projects in Wyoming is discrete, with a defined and meaningful beginning and end. The period of significance generally reaches from 1929, the beginning of the nationwide Great Depression, and also the beginning of efforts to cope with it, to 1943 when the remaining work projects terminated. More specifically, however, the period of significance for any particular resource will begin at the date at which the activity of historic significance (i.e., the activity to which the existing resources are demonstrably associated) begins. This may be the date when a courthouse was built, when a trail in a national park was constructed, when work on a dam was begun, or when another such constructive activity was undertaken. If, however, the date at which that courthouse, trail, or dam achieved historical significance is later than the date of construction, the later date must be used. (For example, if one of those features already existed but was significantly modified and improved by a Depression-era federal project, the date of that modification would mark the beginning of the period of significance, not the date of its original construction.) The point is that the beginning date is the date at which the activities began, the one that marked the existing resources' historical significance within this historic context. Significance in other contexts, of course, would conceivably use different periods of significance and would not be constrained to this historic context, and the full significance of a property should be reflected in the period of significance.

The end of the period of significance must be approached just as carefully. If the beginning marks the start of the historic significance of a resource, the end must mark the date at which that significance concluded, at which the association with the historic events or patterns can no longer be demonstrated. If a school built by a Depres-

sion-era federal project was abandoned or put to another, unrelated, use five years later, that would probably mark the end of the property's period of significance. The significance thus ends when the property no longer, in the words of the National Register bulletin, "made the contributions or achieved the character on which significance is based."¹⁰ This also means that many properties will retain their historic significance beyond the official period of significance in this historic context if they in fact continued to make the contribution or manifest the character on which their significance is based. Indeed, for the same reason, an end date for the period of significance for some properties may even continue up to or beyond the fifty-year threshold used by the National Register of Historic Places. The period of significance will depend on the period during which each property was associated with the themes and patterns identified in the historic context study. In each instance the beginning and end of the period of significance will need to be justified explicitly. For those features that are significant under Criterion C, ordinarily the year (or years) of construction will constitute the period of significance.

GENERAL INTEGRITY REQUIREMENTS

The issue of integrity is both complex and important. National Register bulletins variously define this as "the ability of a property to convey its significance,"¹¹ and "authenticity of a property's historic identity, evidenced by the survival of physical characteristics that existed during the property's historic or prehistoric period."¹²

The integrity requirements for these Depression-era resources emphasize primarily their historic function and appearance—the ability of an individual building or structure to convey a sense of past time and place by providing evidence of the specific function or role it served during the period of historic significance (not its ability to perform that function today). In this, the historic

resource evaluator must be careful in two different physical assessments that sometimes can be perplexing—condition and integrity. It is important to avoid confusing the two. Integrity refers to the authenticity of a property and depends especially on evidence of, again, the "physical characteristics that existed during the property's historic or prehistoric period." Because a property with historic integrity permits it to illustrate significant aspects of the past, the essential characteristics of that property must be authentic. This is different from the condition of the property. The property may have deteriorated over the years, it may be in need of repair, and its condition may be such as to render it unlivable or otherwise unusable for its historic purpose, but it can still possess integrity.

The property needs to be examined for the standard seven qualities of integrity indicated in National Register guidelines.¹³ Those aspects of historic integrity include:

Location: The building or other object must be in the location it occupied during the period of historic significance, although it may have been moved prior to or during the period of historic significance. While most buildings and structures that resulted from federal projects were stationary, some smaller items (such as privies) may have been moved around as needs changed. If that relocation took place during the period of historic significance, the integrity would not be compromised. Relocations of buildings or structures after the end of the period of significance would need to be evaluated according to the extent and purpose of the relocation. Moving a small structure a small distance to permit it to perform its (or a related building's) function more efficiently would not be a problem; moving the same building a greater distance or to a location where it could not perform its intended function and using relocation to allow the operation of a noncontributing

feature in its original location, however, would compromise the integrity of location.

Design: The organization of a property and its subordinate components (whether it is a single unit or a cluster of related resources) constitutes, in the words of the National Register, “the form, plan, space, structure, and style” of a property. The important factor here is not whether the design is especially artistic or even attractive, but whether it is authentic. In dealing with modest resources, such as, for example, those associated with administrative or utility functions in forest or grazing areas, it is important to avoid holding the design of a structure up to an outside standard, but instead to compare it to the building’s own historic design. And it is crucial to recognize that those buildings often evolved over time, in which case it becomes important to identify which changes came during, and which changes came after, the end of the period of historic significance.

Setting: Setting is a subtle aspect and has as much to do with the environment surrounding a property as with the property itself. Rural or other natural-setting resources (e.g., campgrounds, trails, corrals) that are surrounded by developments inconsistent with the historic character of the property will probably have been compromised if they are significant under Criterion A. On the other hand, the integrity of setting for a property significant under Criterion C for its design or construction qualities would not be so vulnerable to changes in surrounding development.

Materials: The historic materials from which a resource was constructed is a fundamental aspect of integrity. Of course, changes in materials during the period of significance, as

with other elements of integrity, will continue to have integrity.

Workmanship: Workmanship may or may not be of exceptional quality in the construction of a particular resource, but it must be authentic. To take a common, but inverted, example, a log utility building in a national forest constructed in a crude, but effective and time-situated manner, would retain integrity of workmanship if the evidence of that construction survives; if, on the other hand, that crude workmanship had been “improved” and refined after the period of significance, the workmanship would have been compromised.

Feeling: Feeling is an intangible aspect of a property that is all but impossible to define, and all but impossible to miss if in the presence of the property. If that property conveys the feelings of the past period of time and its associations, it retains integrity of feeling.

Association: Does the property carry a direct and important link to the person, theme, or event that makes it significant? Again, that association can be established by drawing upon the various themes and issues developed in the historic context study of Wyoming Depression-era federal projects.

As the guidelines explicitly state, “All seven qualities do not need to be present for eligibility as long as the overall sense of past time and place is evident.” And very, very few properties will possess 100 percent integrity. This places a critical burden on the evaluator to exercise careful and considered professional historical judgment in the evaluation. Two steps are involved in this evaluation of integrity, and both should be accomplished explicitly. First, the evaluator should determine what features must be present for a property to

represent its significance, and which aspects of integrity are especially vital in conveying that significance. A public building evaluated under Criterion C, for example, will require greater integrity of workmanship and design than a public building evaluated under Criterion A. Next, the evaluator should address the seven elements of integrity, one at a time, indicating where possible weaknesses or outright compromises in integrity exist and what general circumstances cause those compromises to disqualify a property as eligible for the National Register, or, conversely, to be insufficient to disqualify the property. Does the property retain sufficient integrity to convey its historic significance? Either it does or it does not.

BOUNDARIES

The boundaries of the historic resources related to Depression-era federal projects in Wyoming vary considerably according to the nature and number of resources they contain. The boundaries for a school building may be fairly straightforward while the boundaries of something like a dam and irrigation system may be complex and problematic, but in all cases boundaries must be carefully defined. Generally the boundaries depend on whether the subject property is a building, object, site, structure, district, or cultural landscape. The boundaries of these properties must conform to National Register guidelines. The National Register bulletin *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* offers helpful guidelines and explicitly spells out the steps for drawing the boundaries of properties, and these steps are further amplified in another bulletin, *Defining Boundaries for National Register Properties*. That bulletin states:

- Select boundaries to encompass but not exceed the extent of the significant resources and land areas comprising the property.
- Include all historic features of the property,

but do not include buffer zones or acreage not directly contributing to the significance of the property.

- Exclude peripheral areas that no longer retain integrity due to alterations in physical conditions or setting caused by human forces, such as development, or natural forces, such as erosion.
- Include small areas that are disturbed or lack significance when they are completely surrounded by eligible resources. “Donut holes” are not allowed.
- Define a discontinuous property when large areas lacking eligible resources separate portions of the eligible resource.¹⁴

District and landscape designations require the same careful attention as small areas, and the boundaries always must be justified; that justification has to do with historic usage, historic property lines, and relevant natural features. The features contained in these larger properties likewise need justification and explanation so that they are not just the “buffer zones” that the National Register proscribes. Moreover, the fact that cattle or sheep once grazed on public domain administered as part of a grazing district or in the national forest is not generally sufficient to warrant inclusion of vast areas as historic resources; there must be something particular and something demonstrable about the use and role of that land historically that makes it either eligible or qualifying as a contributing feature. (See also the discussion of rural historic landscapes, below.)

The fundamental consideration is that the boundaries include everything that is significant and no more. In many instances it will be sufficient simply to define the resource as the cluster of buildings and structures making up the property, such as a group of buildings at Forest Service or Division of Grazing ranger station locations,

the complex of structures at a dam and generating facility, or facilities at a fish-rearing station. Often there will be some kind of boundary associated with that cluster—perhaps an adjacent road or fence or line of trees—that will visibly (and often functionally) set it apart from adjacent property and that will serve as an important limiting reference for the property. As problematic as fences are when remote from other resources, they can serve a valuable purpose for the evaluator if they tie other resources together and define the flow of work and traffic. A nearby property line—either current or historic—may also serve to establish a boundary. Natural features such as streams, wooded edges of clearings, and sudden changes in elevations also can be useful determinants of boundaries. The boundaries may be a combination of legal, natural, and cultural features, but that combination will draw the line between what is of historic significance and what is not.

Some resources are especially challenging because they are remote from any other resources with which they might be associated. This raises questions of significance as well as of boundaries. Remote features may be associated with other features and may, in fact, have a historic significance that derives from that association, such as campgrounds that are physically isolated. It also needs to be emphasized, however, that just because a remote feature can be associated with a larger complex of developments, that does not mean that the landscape separating the various developments is also a contributing feature. Often these isolated features, if in fact they can be demonstrated to be associated with other features, are parts of a discontinuous historic district; in that case the features are related by significance but separated by geography. The distance between them remains separate and outside the eligible/contributing property. This formulation does not apply to resources that are separated or isolated because of demolition or new construction.

CATEGORIES OF PROPERTIES

Generally, five different categories of historic resources can be identified in the National Register framework, and historic resources associated with Depression-era federal projects need to be recorded according to those types:

Building. Buildings are primarily constructed to shelter any form of human activity. This would include not only courthouses and schools and city halls but also garages, sheds, and stables.

Site. The National Register is succinct on what constitutes a site: “the location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined, or vanished, where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archaeological value regardless of the value of any existing structure.”

Structure. Structures are those functional resources that were constructed and used for purposes other than human shelter. This would include bridges, roadways, dams, bandstands, forest fire lookout towers, stock tanks, corrals, and similar practical constructions.

Object. Objects consist of constructions that are not buildings or structures, and this generally means that they are either artistic in nature or are small and simple. While they may be (or may have been) movable to some degree, “an object is associated with a specific setting or environment.” This category could include sculptures, monuments, fountains, or other constructions that are artistic or relatively small in scale.

District. A historic district “possesses a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, or objects united historically or aesthetically by plan or physical development.”¹⁵

HISTORIC DISTRICTS

Depression-era resources may be considered as historic districts and sometimes also as historic landscapes. Historic districts and historic landscapes are important tools in the kit of the cultural resource professional, and the National Register recognizes this. As with any other element of the National Register evaluation process, careful judgment and analysis are important in ensuring that a district is appropriate for the group of resources. The National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* offers useful guidance: “District applies to properties having: [1] a number of resources that are relatively equal in importance such as a *neighborhood*, or [2] large acreage with a variety of resources, such as a *large farm, estate, or parkway*.”¹⁶ Districts are appropriate when there is a mix of resources or just when there are multiple historic resources. Districts may be small or large; they can be small and well contained; or they can be expansive. In all cases, however, the boundaries need to be carefully defined. While the boundaries need not follow modern legal boundaries because the patterns of historic usage may not conform to current boundaries, those usages need to be established and documented, and land managers will often be able to provide important information and guidance and should be consulted. Some historic districts may be discontinuous, and, in considering elements of a project (such as perhaps an irrigation project with separate, dispersed components), this kind of district will be of value since that formulation allows the association of those elements but does not include the intervening space between the main cluster and the remote element.

RURAL HISTORIC LANDSCAPES

Some Depression-era federal projects made their marks on the land in Wyoming in ways that reach

beyond the construction of a specific building or group of buildings or structures; sometimes they shaped the landscape itself, and they can be evaluated as landscapes under the National Register. As one contemplates the various projects of the federal government that related to the construction and development of municipal parks, state and national parks and forests, fairgrounds, public utility systems, irrigation projects, work camps, wildlife refuges, roadways and airports—and more—it is clear that there are instances in which a broader category of property is sometimes necessary and appropriate.

Cultural landscapes are a relatively recent tool, and their potentials and limits are still being explored, especially in regard to the different treatments appropriate for designed, vernacular, and ethnographic landscapes. A rural historic landscape consists of features other than scenery, buffer zones, and the broad expanses surrounding areas where historic activity took place. The National Register defines a rural historic landscape as “a geographical area that historically has been used by people, or shaped or modified by human activity, occupancy, or intervention, and that possesses a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of areas of land use, vegetation, buildings and structures, roads and waterways, and natural features.”¹⁷ That definition, however, remains broad, and the approach to evaluating historic landscapes is not easily structured into a step-by-step process that applies to the many different kinds of landscapes. But the National Register uses a framework for analyzing the natural and cultural forces shaping a rural landscape that includes both the *processes* that shape the land and the *physical components* on the land. The processes include: (1) land uses and activities, (2) patterns of spatial organization, (3) responses to the natural environment, and (4) cultural traditions. Generally these processes show the way humans on the land have used, responded to, adapted to, and/or shaped

its features, or have otherwise made an imprint on the land. In the context of Depression-era federal projects in Wyoming, these processes will often include changing, or competing, patterns of land management and policy.

The physical components on the land are those features of the landscape that allow it to be examined in relation to human activities. These components include: (1) circulation networks, such as trails or roads, (2) boundary demarcations that define the limits of land uses, including interior separations or protections, (3) vegetation related to land use—a category that includes natural as well as cultivated types and the patterns in which they appear, (4) buildings, structures, and objects, (5) clusters, a classification that includes groupings of features that reflect historical activities, (6) archaeological sites, and (7) small-scale elements, such as a foot bridge or road sign, abandoned machinery, or even scattered fence posts that mark the location of historic activity.

The analysis of the landscape is not a casual matter. Again, the National Register Bulletin covering rural historic landscapes is explicit: “An in-depth study is necessary to identify the significant historic properties of a rural area or to determine if the area as a whole is a historic district.” This kind of study requires significant expertise: “Examination of a rural area frequently requires the combined efforts of historians, landscape historians, architectural historians, architects, landscape architects, archeologists, and anthropologists. Depending on the area, the specialized knowledge of cultural geographers, plant ecologists, folklorists, and specialists in the history of agriculture, forestry, mining, transportation, and other types of land use may also be of assistance.”¹⁸

Finally, as Susan Calafate Boyle, who has studied the issue closely, observes, “The complexity and fluidity of the processes that influence the nature of landscapes are likely to preclude the development of rigid easily applied guidelines. Continuous dialogue with land management agencies can

assist in making decisions that take into consideration costs, political reality, and the nature of the resources in need of protection.”¹⁹

A WORD ON PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

The evaluation of properties for their eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places is not a mechanical operation, is not a matter of filling in the blanks on a form, and is not a process whereby resources are simply inventoried, categorized, and filed away. It is an active process, even an intellectual process, where questions are asked and answers are sought. It draws upon a body of historical knowledge that is more than the narratives contained in general textbooks or local chronologies. It is also an exciting and challenging effort and one that carries profound responsibilities—to the past, to the present, and to the future.

Ultimately the determination of eligibility is one of yes or no: does this property qualify for listing on the National Register either individually or as part of a larger group? Not every property will be eligible for the National Register, some because they lack historic significance and some because they lack integrity. Identifying those features that are not eligible, however, is a determination that comes *after* investigation, not as a matter of convenience, not as a way to avoid historical research.

The evaluation of historic resources related to federal projects in Wyoming during the years 1929–1943 relies at each step on professional historical analysis and judgment. The evaluation of a property will invariably combine careful examination of the resources in the field and research in the historical record to understand the significance of those extant resources. Moreover, just as history is an ongoing, fluid, evolving process, so too is the understanding of history always in flux, always subject to revision, refinement, and the formulation of new frameworks and questions for understanding significance. Ultimately, the evalu-

ator who is open to growth and understanding and who uses carefully drawn boundaries, professional historical conceptualization and judgment, critical thought processes, and the National Register framework will be able to determine the historic significance of each property in a way that is consistent with professional historical knowledge and concepts, with National Register standards and criteria, and with explicit historic values. In that way, the Depression-era historic resources of Wyoming will be managed appropriately, responsibly, and consistently.

*A Note on Programmatic Agreements,
Protocols, and Documentation Guidelines*

The Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office has in the past entered into formal programmatic agreements and protocols with other agencies to facilitate the systematic evaluation and documentation of cultural resources managed by those other agencies. In addition, the Wyoming SHPO has formulated a series of guidelines for inventorying, evaluating, and protecting historic properties. Those agreements and those guidelines are continually being refined and reviewed, and new versions may also be issued from time to time. The cultural resource professional is strongly advised to consult those guidelines and agreements before undertaking projects where they are relevant.

Property Types and Registration Requirements

The resources left by the federal programs in Wyoming during the Depression include representatives of virtually all kinds of buildings, structures, landscapes, sites, districts, and objects. They include work camps and city halls, roads and airports, ranger stations and swimming pools, dams and post offices, murals and fairgrounds, and

bridges and highways—and many, many more. In fact, it is difficult to come up with a single kind of structure, building, or object that was not created in Wyoming by federal programs and policies during the Depression. For that reason, although many different property types and subtypes are listed, and then further defined, below, the researcher will often be called upon to extend those property types conceptually into other areas and to exercise careful professional judgment and deep historical knowledge.

PROPERTY TYPES

1. Property Type: Civic and Government Buildings and Related Resources
Property Subtype: Post Offices
Property Subtype: Courthouses
Property Subtype: Municipal Buildings
Property Subtype: Military Facilities
Property Subtype: Hospitals and Medical, Charitable, and Social Service Facilities
Property Subtype: Public Art Project Resources
2. Property Type: Cultural, Social, and Recreational Facilities
Property Subtype: Community Centers
Property Subtype: City Parks, Swimming Pools, Band Shells, and Related Facilities
Property Subtype: Recreational Facilities in State and National Parks and Forests
Property Subtype: Fairgrounds
3. Property Type: Educational Facilities and Buildings
Property Subtype: Primary and Secondary Schools
Property Subtype: University Buildings
Property Subtype: Libraries and Museums

4. Property Type: Public Utility Buildings and Structures
 - Property Subtype: Power Plants
 - Property Subtype: Power Lines and Related Structures
 - Property Subtype: Waterworks
 - Property Subtype: Storm Sewers and Sewer Lines
5. Property Type: Conservation Structures
 - Property Subtype: Stock Tanks
 - Property Subtype: Range Dams/Reservoirs
 - Property Subtype: Major Dams, Reservoirs, and Irrigation Projects
 - Property Subtype: Work Camps
 - Property Subtype: Wildlife Refuges and Fish Hatcheries
 - Property Subtype: Forest Service and Grazing Service Stations, Lookout Towers, and Related Structures and Buildings
 - Property Subtype: National Park Administrative Facilities (entrance kiosks, housing, administration, transportation, etc.)
 - Property Subtype: Windbreaks/Shelterbelts
6. Property Type: Transportation Systems and Components
 - Property Subtypes: Highways, Roads, Streets, Sidewalks, and Related Features
 - Property Subtype: Airport Facilities

1. Property Type: Civic and Government Buildings and Related Resources

One of the most common, and commonly identified, fruits of work projects in Wyoming was the construction of buildings to serve the various branches and agencies of federal, state, county, and city government. They served sometimes as mul-

tifunction buildings, such as the combination of post office and other federal offices and sometimes as specialized buildings, such as a fire department or jail. They could be modest and inconspicuous in size and ambition or they could be elaborate, even iconic, buildings. There will sometimes be combinations of the various subtypes, especially in the smaller communities where specialization of function was not sufficiently developed on a scale to warrant separate buildings for each branch, function, or agency.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: POST OFFICES

Following up on the Hoover administration's vigorous campaign to build post offices in the nation's communities, the Roosevelt administration especially used the Public Works Administration to accomplish the same results. These were federal buildings with federal government purposes and thus generally required less in the way of local grants and matching funds than other projects, although they were commonly the result of organized political campaigns by merchants and civic leaders in the communities. They also brought, under both the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations, a permanent federal presence into many communities since they often replaced postal facilities that were adjuncts to (or contained within) local retail operations. Many of the new buildings, such as the post office constructed in Basin, were small, single-story, two-room buildings appropriate for small communities, while others, like those in Green River, Riverton, and Gillette, were substantial buildings that not only provided mail service for a larger population but included other federal offices.

Areas of Significance: The post offices significant under Criterion A must demonstrate an important association with important events/patterns of history. They will generally be evaluated in the Areas of Significance Communica-



Wheatland Post Office (now City Hall), constructed by the Department of the Treasury, 1935.
Photograph by Michael Cassity, 2010.

tions, Economics, Politics/Government, and Social History. Their significance usually derives from the increased federal role in the community, the efforts to hire unemployed workers, and, not incidentally, the effort to improve postal operations, including mail shipment and delivery—a function that is often neglected in studies of post office buildings. In addition, they may also commonly be significant in the Area of Significance Community Planning and Development since a permanent post office (as compared to the temporary and almost mobile quarters that they sometimes replaced) often served as an anchor for the development of businesses and thus shaped the direction and kind of commercial growth nearby.

Post offices may be eligible under Criterion C in the Area of Significance Architecture if they exhibit important values associated with architecture. Sheer size occasionally hints at their significance as some post offices, because of their massive and modern appearance, became the most prominent buildings in the community, but smaller buildings can also possess important values. The

design of the post office was often distinct, and these buildings, despite their different plans and materials, are readily identifiable as a discrete kind of government function and building in the various communities. Post offices may be significant architecturally because they represent a standard design or because of their individual architectural qualities. They were sometimes important examples of architectural styles not found elsewhere in the community, at least at the time of their construction.

In addition, post offices may be eligible in the Area of Significance Art. In the language of the National Register, “Artwork that forms an integral part of the building may possess significance that derives wholly or in part from its placement within the post office, and may make it eligible for listing.” The various murals, sculptures and other art forms commissioned by the federal government are explicitly included in the evaluation of post offices, and they “may be significant in the history of artistic expression, as the works of important artists, as representative examples of Federal policy, for their

social impact, or for the information they convey about American—including community—life and culture.”²⁰

In order to be eligible for the National Register in this historic context, the post office must demonstrate an important association with the government policies, programs, and events of the Hoover or Roosevelt administration in Wyoming. Construction as a part of one of those programs will establish the association. The importance of the association under Criterion A can be demonstrated by historical research indicating the origins and impact of the building on the local community or by other important historical association. While it would be unusual for a post office to be eligible under Criterion B, that possibility exists; in such a case, all the distinct requirements for Criterion B would need to be addressed specifically. Under Criterion C, the post office has to possess distinctive characteristics, be a true representative of a particular type, or be an important example.

Integrity: Under Criterion A and Criterion B, the property must retain integrity of setting, location, association, and feeling. Under Criterion C, those integrity requirements are necessary but must also include integrity of design, workmanship, and materials.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: COURTHOUSES

Courthouse buildings constructed by the PWA and other agencies remain visible symbols of the operation of the New Deal in Wyoming, and they can be found in several counties of the state. This is in addition to the courthouses built and encouraged by the Hoover administration in the final years of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s. Courthouses could represent a variety of seats of justice in the state’s system of jurisprudence and also in the administration of county government. They could house and facilitate the operation of

federal district court, the state Supreme Court, or county court. Moreover, it is essential to note that courthouses seldom were exclusively the quarters for the holding of court. Invariably other related offices were located in the same building, and federal prosecutors and other administrative offices would be situated under the same roof as the federal court. This proved important in the expansion of federal agencies during the years of the Depression. One form of courthouse located in some Wyoming communities would sometimes be known as a “federal building” and usually contained a myriad of activities and agencies, not just a courtroom. Moreover, at the county level, courthouses were the seat not only of judicial functions but also the offices of county commissioners and other administrators.

The construction of a courthouse historically represented not only the greater attention of the federal government to local needs but also the modernization of the physical and organizational structures of county government. While the PWA courthouses were generally substantial construction projects, there were also smaller courthouses; regardless of size, these buildings sometimes demonstrated significant attention to architectural features, materials, and design.

Areas of Significance: Courthouses may be eligible under Criterion A in the Areas of Significance Politics and Government, Economics, Community Planning and Development, and Social History. An individual building may also be significant under Criterion C in the Area of Significance Architecture if it possesses distinctive characteristics, is a true representative of a particular type, or is an important example.

In this historic context, the association with the policies, programs, and events of the Hoover or Roosevelt administration must be clear. Criterion A significance in the Areas of Significance Politics/Government and Social History will be established by historical research indicating the

alterations in county government activities and functions (not just moving from Building A to Building B); in the Area of Significance Economics research will document the role of construction in the local economy or other economic impacts the courthouse might have had. In a situation where a courthouse is evaluated for its significance because of its association with a significant individual, all the requirements for Criterion B would need to be addressed specifically. Criterion C significance in the Area of Significance Architecture will demonstrate not only the concrete association with the Hoover or Roosevelt administration but also the distinctive architectural qualities that make it important.

Integrity: In Criterion A and Criterion B the building must retain integrity of setting, location, feeling, and association; under Criterion C the integrity of workmanship, design, and materials will be more critical than under A.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS

City halls and town hall buildings, while not so conspicuous as county courthouses, did emerge in Wyoming among the building projects of the federal government during the Depression. Often dwarfed by the nearby courthouse of substantial size, city halls and town halls served a smaller segment of the population in this rural state. Yet the town halls served a variety of social and political functions that were undeniably important as more and more people left the countryside and moved to town. Those functions included not just serving as a place where the mayor or town council would meet, but also as a headquarters for police and utility operations and sometimes as a jail or fire station. In larger communities, the separate agencies of government (utility service, fire, police protection) would sometimes be assigned their own building. In smaller communities, a single build-

ing would suffice, and not infrequently that building would be taken over by one social group or another for activities that were primarily social, even convivial, in nature, and thus ultimately served to provide an element of community cohesion. Indeed, sometimes it is difficult to determine exactly where functions of governance and service left off and where functions of recreation began in these municipal buildings.

Areas of Significance: The municipal buildings may be significant under Criterion A in the Areas of Significance Politics/Government, Social History, Entertainment/Recreation, and Community Planning and Development. They may be significant under Criterion C in the Area of Significance Architecture.

The historical significance under Criterion A of these buildings can often be indicated by observing what kind of buildings they replaced and what actual need precipitated their construction. While public buildings were constructed, in part, to put people to work, part of their justification also had to do with the needs served by those buildings in operation, and those needs and those functions must be determined in the examination of historical significance. The convergence of construction program and social need provides an opportunity to identify the significance of the building under Criterion A and to establish the importance of its association with the Depression-era projects in Wyoming.

Criterion A (and, if appropriate, Criterion B) significance in the Areas of Significance Politics/Government, Entertainment/Recreation, and Social History will be clear if the building is importantly associated with the policies, programs, or events of the Hoover or Roosevelt administration in Wyoming, and will be established by historical research indicating the alterations in town or city government activities and social functions; in the Area of Significance Economics research will document the role of construction in the local econ-

omy or other economic impacts that building the town hall may have had. To be significant under Criterion B, all the distinct requirements for that criterion would need to be addressed explicitly. Criterion C significance in the Area of Significance Architecture will be clear if the building is importantly associated with the policies, programs, or events of the Hoover or Roosevelt administration in Wyoming, and if the building possesses distinctive characteristics, is a true representative of a particular type, or is an important example.

Integrity: Integrity under Criterion A and Criterion B emphasizes association, location, feeling, and setting and under Criterion C requires integrity of design, materials, and workmanship.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: MILITARY FACILITIES

Armories and other military facilities proved to be an important focus for federal work projects. Since 1920 the Wyoming National Guard had been supported by a mix of federal and state appropriations with generally the state providing facilities for training, administration, and storage and the federal government providing the equipment and probably some other logistical support. Even so, the state had few actual armories until the second half of the decade, when several more were constructed by the state. By 1932 eleven facilities of varying sizes and purposes (and also uneven adequacy) existed in Wyoming—some of them just rented buildings rather than actual armories.²¹ Moreover, by 1932 the state's revenues were down from what they had been and further appropriations for military structures and buildings were suspended. On the other hand, the work programs of the Roosevelt administration sometimes directed attention to these facilities, not so much for construction of new armories as for improvement and expansion of existing operations. With the assistance of newly available federal funding and

workforces, some of the National Guard armories of the state increased in size, training capabilities, and permanence.

Wyoming's armories have been surveyed and evaluated in recent years as a distinct property type, and the evaluator of Depression-era resources who encounters armories should consult those studies and their documentation of buildings to determine which armories, if any, need to be evaluated within this Depression-era historic context. It is essential that cultural resource professionals consult the *Wyoming Military Historic Context, 1920–1989*, as well as Mary Humstone, et al., *Wyoming Army National Guard Historic Buildings Field Inventory and Evaluation Report*, for the evaluation of armories.²²

In addition to armories, other military facilities received attention from various work relief programs, and several major buildings at Fort F. E. Warren represent some of the largest building projects in the state and also provide examples of cooperative endeavors among the WPA, the PWA, and the War Department. Likewise, the National Guard training and administration facility at Camp Guernsey was started, in part, as a WPA project. The significance of all these military facilities as federal work projects is substantial and warrants careful attention; for too long, and not just in Wyoming, military facilities and activities have been associated exclusively with World War II and not with the New Deal, while the reality is that military installations and facilities formed an important part of New Deal work.

The military facilities significant within this historic context under Criterion A must demonstrate an important association with important events/patterns of history, specifically the programs of the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations to address the Depression. Construction or substantial expansion/remodeling as a part of one of those programs will establish the association. The importance of the association under Crite-



Wyoming National Guard Armory, Niobrara County. This armory in Lusk was originally constructed in 1927 but was substantially remodeled and expanded in the 1930s as a WPA project. Photograph by Michael Cassity, 2010.

riterion A can be demonstrated by historical research indicating the origins and impact of the building on the local community or by other important historical association.

Areas of Significance: Military facilities will generally be evaluated in the Areas of Significance Politics/Government and Military under Criterion A (and conceivably under Criterion B). That significance usually derives from the increased federal role in the community, the efforts to hire unemployed workers, and the effort to improve the military capabilities of the state and nation. If a military facility is evaluated under Criterion B, once again the significance of the individual would need to be established and also the resource's association with that individual's significance. It may also be evaluated in the Area of Significance Architecture under Criterion C if

it can be demonstrated to exhibit important values associated with architecture. Armories were generally substantial buildings and were often distinctive in appearance, sometimes literally resembling fortresses; that distinctive appearance contributes to their significance under C. Sometimes buildings on a military base, such as those at Fort F. E. Warren, resemble their civilian counterparts (like theaters and gymnasiums), but that does not detract from their military historical significance and association. Integrity: Under Criterion A and Criterion B, the resource must be in its original location (unless it was designed to be mobile or portable), and it must retain integrity of association, setting, and feeling. Under Criterion C, the building must retain integrity of design, workmanship, and materials.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: HOSPITALS AND MEDICAL, CHARITABLE, AND SOCIAL SERVICE FACILITIES

Eleemosynary institutions of various types had existed in Wyoming for many years, but during the Depression years those institutions changed and grew in number and size. The role and place of those institutions in Wyoming society sometimes took on a new character as institutions for the housing of various categories of indigent, needy, or ill of health sometimes shifted from places of confinement to places of rehabilitation and treatment. Expansion of public medical facilities in the state was not dramatic, although a few instances—such as the construction of the Veterans’ Hospital in Cheyenne—are certainly notable. Much more common was the modernization (in a technical, mechanical, and structural sense) of facilities operated by the state or county. At the same time, it is also important to note that some of the older institutions, such as poor farms, were being replaced by newer systems of welfare and relief as a result (and as an indication) of the larger changes underway in society.

The institutions included in this property subtype encompass a variety of hospitals, medical clinics, treatment facilities, poor farms, and welfare offices. Some of these may constitute historic districts, and there is a possibility that some may comprise historic landscapes.

Areas of Significance: Under Criterion A these resources may be significant in the Area of Significance Health/Medicine, Social History, or Politics/Government. Criterion B would be appropriate only if (1) the significance of the individual can be established, *and* (2) if the resource’s association with that individual’s significance is explicitly developed. Under Criterion C these resources may be significant in the Area of Significance Architecture or Landscape Architecture and, in particular instances, Engineering (where notable technology was involved).

Integrity: Under Criterion A and Criterion B the resource must retain integrity of location, association, setting, and feeling. Under Criterion C the resource must retain integrity of design, workmanship, and materials.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: PUBLIC ART PROJECT RESOURCES

Some important examples of visual art remain in Wyoming post offices and other public buildings. This subtype—generally categorized as objects—includes art that was “by nature or design” movable, but it only includes art that was associated with a specific setting or environment. Small pieces of art that moved around, that were not associated with a specific place, “are normally not eligible.” While several programs associated with the WPA and CWA contributed to the creative arts in Wyoming, most art was generally produced as part of the Federal Art Project and a statewide WPA art project, while a smaller number of post office murals emerged as part of the Treasury Relief Art Project. Perhaps two hundred such art resources remain, and only a handful of works were produced to be displayed in Wyoming post offices. Yet the post office art remains much more conspicuous and prominent than other Depression-era federal art projects in the state. Produced by different artists, drawing upon different themes, in different parts of the state, the post office murals represent a broad range of artistic creations. The common element, however, is that they were produced to consciously pay homage to local cultures of work and life. Almost all the art resources were exhibited, moreover, in public buildings, from local art galleries to post offices, where virtually everyone, sooner or later, crossed the portals. While some of these works of art were not directly associated with employment relief, since they drew upon the talents of established and employed artists by invitation, they did in their content and in their display



Eugene Kingman, *Cretaceous Landscape* (1938), in the U.S. Post Office in Kemmerer . In addition to depicting the prehistoric landscape and its fossilized remains, important to the area, the border below the painting provides a cross section of the nation’s geologic structure, showing Wyoming directly beneath. One distinctive element of this panel is the inclusion of a narrative cycle in which different stages of geologic time encounter each other. Used with the permission of the United States Postal Service®. All rights reserved. Photograph by Michael Cassity, 2011.

represent a shift toward a more publicly accessible form of art and cultural openness in government buildings.

Areas of Significance: Public art project resources may be significant in the Area of Significance Social History or Art under Criterion A or in the Area of Significance Art under Criterion C. There may be an instance too where a work of art bears a distinctive and important association with an important individual sufficient to be significant under Criterion B, but the cautions that generally apply to Criterion B remain in this case. The significance of the objects under Criterion A in the Areas of Significance Social History or Art will be established when they are clearly connected with the federal program that sponsored them.

Integrity: The resource will retain integrity under Criterion A and Criterion B if it retains integrity of association, setting, location, and feeling. Under Criterion C, the resource must retain

integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Integrity of location is problematic since some of these pieces of art were moved in the ensuing decades when buildings in which they were originally installed deteriorated or were replaced. This raises two considerations: First, small pieces of art that are portable are normally not eligible, and second, if the art was moved, that art object, in the language of the National Register, “should be in a setting appropriate to [its] historic use, roles, or character.”²³

2. Property Type: Cultural, Social, and Recreational Facilities

In addition to building new facilities for the various levels and branches of government to carry on their business, and in addition to undertaking projects to conserve the state’s natural resources, and in addition to expanding and renewing the

state's educational and medical facilities, the projects of the federal government during the Depression also provided facilities for recreation, social gatherings, public meetings, and entertainment. From city parks to state parks, from square-dance halls to gymnasiums, from swimming pools to fairgrounds, from athletic fields to auditoriums, public facilities for living life, not just for conducting business, emerged in Wyoming's towns and cities.

The cultural, social, and recreational facilities built especially by the programs of the Roosevelt administration, in addition to those associated with other property types (like schools and civic buildings), represented new opportunities for socializing and for formal and informal recreation. In some instances this effort even constituted the provision of recreational facilities and opportunities to members of the public who were otherwise unable to afford or, as in the case of some parts of Wyoming, were unable to be near other forms of formal, organized recreation.

Areas of Significance: Cultural, social, and recreational facilities may be significant under Criterion A in the Area of Significance Entertainment/Recreation, Social History, Performing Arts, or Community Planning and Development, depending on the kind of facility and the function it served. Criterion B would apply only if the significance of the individual can be established as well as the resource's association with that individual's significance. Cultural, social, and recreational facilities may be significant under Criterion C in the Area of Significance Architecture or Landscape Architecture if the resource possesses distinctive characteristics, is a true representative of a particular type, or is an important example.

Integrity: These resources will need to retain integrity of feeling, association, and setting under Criterion A and Criterion B so that they especially convey a feeling of operation as a cultural, social, or recreation facility from the 1930s or 1940s,

one that came into being or that was significantly enhanced by the programs, policies, or events of the Hoover or Roosevelt administration. Under Criterion A and Criterion B the location, feeling, and setting of the resource needs to remain much as it was during the period of significance although it is expected that some deterioration and/or modification will often have taken place both during the period of significance (thus historic) and afterwards (not historic). Under Criterion C, the integrity of the feature's design, workmanship, and materials is especially important.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: COMMUNITY CENTERS

Wyoming's small towns and neighborhoods have a long history of community gatherings and interaction, much of it linked to the cycles of cattle ranching (roundups and branding) and agricultural crop production (harvesting), and those gatherings and social events often even defined a community, cemented relationships, and helped overcome tensions between neighbors. In many instances the rural school provided a place of congregation, but in the 1930s, with the assistance of New Deal programs, small towns and rural communities often developed their own community centers, where clubs would meet, dances and weddings and funerals were held, and people gathered to discuss issues facing the neighborhood. As those small towns faced increasing pressures with the social forces at work moving people away from farms and ranches in the 1930s and beyond, community centers became that much more important to the towns' stability and viability as more than concentrations of people—as actual *communities*. Community centers also appeared in the larger cities of the state, such as the North Casper Clubhouse built by the National Youth Administration. Because North Casper was a part of town separated by social and physical barriers from the rest of



North Casper Clubhouse, constructed by the NYA, 1938. Photograph by Michael Cassity, 2010.

the community, the construction of this clubhouse provided a place of congregation and cohesion for local residents.

Areas of Significance: Community centers may be significant under Criterion A in the Areas of Significance Social History, Community Planning and Development, and Recreation. To be significant under Criterion B, all the distinct requirements for that criterion would need to be addressed explicitly. They may be significant under Criterion C in the Area of Significance Architecture.

Integrity: Community centers need to retain their integrity of association, location, setting, and feeling under Criterion A and Criterion B. Under Criterion C they must retain integrity of design, workmanship, materials, and association.

**PROPERTY SUBTYPE: CITY PARKS,
SWIMMING POOLS, BAND SHELLS,
AND RELATED FACILITIES**

As more and more people in Wyoming began to live in towns and cities instead of being broadly dispersed in the countryside, outdoor recreational opportunities became more important. Because the United States was becoming a nation of cities in the early twentieth century, this migration away from the countryside was also a national phenomenon and one to which the various New Deal programs were attentive. In addition to meeting social needs in the kinds of facilities provided, the parks, swimming pools, and related facilities were especially suited to putting people to work; they were

labor-intensive, the materials used did not consume the budget, and crews could be larger than for many indoor projects. The number of these facilities built in Wyoming is not known, but a great many communities received this kind of recreational facility, perhaps more than any other kind. Parks were not uncommonly a single city block but could be a part of a block or could be two or three contiguous blocks. Ordinarily parks were characterized by developing some level of landscape plan including the planting of trees and foliage and constructing sidewalks, picnic tables, fire pits / hearths, and, in some instances, restroom facilities or latrines. Swimming pools, such as the pool in Buffalo, often used a combination of materials from the immediate location, like stone, and manufactured materials, like concrete. Some also used natural sources of water, diverting a stream into a pool or damming the stream and allowing for continuous runoff. While swimming pools usually were surrounded by parks, not all parks had swimming pools. Band shells were likewise prominent features in some of these municipal parks and provided a venue for outdoor socializing, cultural events, and the display of local talent. In a society not yet tethered to technology (although the radio was an increasingly common appliance), the band shell met a number of social and cultural needs. The parks, pools, band shells, and similar facilities represented an important development in the growth of Wyoming's communities as part of an effort to focus on the livability of towns, on making them pleasant, healthy, and wholesome (to use the language of the day), and not just places to work. These features will generally be categorized individually as structures, and collectively they may constitute historic districts and historic landscapes.

Areas of Significance: City parks, band shells, swimming pools, and related facilities may be significant under Criterion A in the Area of Significance Entertainment/Recreation, Social History, Community Planning and Development, or,

in some instances, Conservation. As with other property types and subtypes, the specific Area of Significance will be determined by research in historical records, and the importance of the resource to the community must be demonstrated, not assumed. To be significant under Criterion B, the significance of the individual would need to be established and also the resource's association with that individual's significance. Under Criterion C these resources may be significant in the Area of Significance Architecture or Landscape Architecture if they demonstrate important distinctive characteristics, are a true representative of a particular type, or are an important example.

Integrity: The integrity requirements for Criterion A generally include integrity of association, feeling, setting, and location (except for those features in a park that were intended to be movable). Under Criterion C, the elements of design, workmanship, and materials will be the critical factors that determine eligibility or contributing status and those aspects of integrity will be necessary.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: RECREATIONAL FACILITIES IN STATE AND NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS

The development of outdoor recreational facilities in Wyoming's municipal parks had a counterpart effort in the vast rural areas of the state. In response to the rise of tourism in the 1920s and 1930s, substantial development took place in the state's national parks and forests to provide picnic and camping facilities as well as hiking trails and fishing/hunting access. The dramatic surge of available personnel, especially in the form of Civilian Conservation Corps, Civil Works Administration, and Works Progress Administration workers, enabled the construction of developed areas where visitors could enjoy the outdoors with modest, though still rustic, comfort and within the management frameworks of the various parks and for-



“The Castle.” Guernsey State Park. Photograph by Richard Collier, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office.

ests. Picnic areas frequently consisted of picnic tables, hearths or fire pits, refuse areas, and parking areas; sometimes they included covered (but open) shelters and also restroom facilities. Campgrounds would be similar to the picnic areas although providing space for tents or other shelter and allowing room between designated campsites for some degree of occupation over days or a week without crowding. In some of the more developed campgrounds and picnic areas, drinking fountains, elaborate bathrooms, shelter houses for picnics and gatherings, footbridges, and stone steps emerged, almost as if springing from the earth itself. Additional structures and buildings in these recreational areas included boathouses, bathhouses, gazebos, ski trails, outdoor amphitheaters (or campfire circles with benches for seating), horseshoe pits, and other, sometimes unique features depending on

and emphasizing the particular attraction of an individual park or recreational site.

The features that were developed in the national parks and forests also extended to the state parks when federal resources were applied to those parks—either newly created parks or newly expanded and developed parks. While several state parks in Wyoming received significant stimulus and development by virtue of the assignment of CCC workers to them, and the concomitant sharing of park development expertise by the National Park Service and Bureau of Reclamation, the essence of this pattern came at Lake Guernsey State Park, where CCC workers literally built the iconic buildings and structures from the ground up, from design through to completion.

One important feature sometimes (not always) associated with this kind of recreational develop-

ment was the active design of the landscape. This undertaking extended from the protection and preservation (and access to views) of scenery to the modest stabilization of landscape slopes associated with roadways and the “naturalization” of roadside embankments, to planting and transplanting vegetation to enhance or obscure views (as of scars or developments). In addition, the inclusion of environmentally sensitive–designed buildings and structures (often in a rustic style) blended built features with natural features. These parks thus represent important opportunities (and needs) for management as cultural landscapes.

The multitude of features in these recreational areas ranges from the very small, like water fountains or fireplaces, through the intermediate constructions of picnic tables and shelters, to significant buildings like the museum and latrines at Lake Guernsey, to the broader landscapes of which these were important and contributing parts. The possibility of defining historic districts and historic landscapes is important and needs to be investigated carefully.

Areas of Significance: Under Criterion A, these developments, when importantly associated with federal Depression-era projects, may be significant in the Areas of Significance Entertainment/Recreation, Social History, and Conservation. In some instances, particular areas and parks or features may be significant in the Area of Significance Education (such as a museum in a park), Community Planning and Development (as when a state park, for example, contributes to the physical development of a directly adjacent or included community), or Politics/Government (as when the development in a park or forest represents a significant extension/revision of laws and management practices). To be significant under Criterion B, all the distinct requirements for that criterion would need to be addressed explicitly. Under Criterion C these resources may be significant in the Area of Significance Architecture or Landscape Architecture if they demonstrate important distinctive

characteristics, are a true representative of a particular type, or are an important example.

Integrity: Under Criterion A and Criterion B, these resources need to retain integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. Under Criterion C these resources need to retain integrity of design, workmanship, and materials.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: FAIRGROUNDS

The role performed by auditoriums and stadiums in many urban environments was often performed by fairgrounds in Wyoming’s smaller communities, a circumstance shaped by the rural nature of the state and the importance of agriculture in the economy and of farming and ranching activities in the culture and society. As a place for celebration, for entertainment, for demonstration, for competition, and for congregation generally, the fairgrounds were important social institutions as well as physical structures.

Ordinarily fairgrounds would include a variety of property types and subtypes found elsewhere, but these would be arranged in a way that brought different meanings and associations to them. They would generally include, for example, livestock stalls, show and performance arenas, bleachers or seats, exhibit halls, office buildings, barns, animal pens, dining facilities, storage facilities, and entrance kiosks. Most of these resources are not unique to fairgrounds, but when combined with others, as in a coherent historic district, they take on a different significance, where the whole is greater than the sum of the parts. Because of the variety of features represented in fairgrounds and because of the distinctive composition of that variety, fairgrounds will often be evaluated as historic districts. In some instances, as in those fairgrounds where a historic district no longer exists, individual properties may be eligible. Fairgrounds should also be investigated for the possibility of a cultural landscape.



Pavilion, Sheridan County Fairground, constructed by the WPA. Photograph by Michael Cassity, 2010.

Areas of Significance: The significance of the construction of fairgrounds often derived from the effort to continue, enhance, or resurrect agricultural practices and cultures, although the fairgrounds often broadened the public by serving them with contemporary entertainment attractions. The significance of these complexes under Criterion A will depend on the circumstances of the particular community and the role of the fairgrounds in those communities. Frequently the fairgrounds will be significant in the Areas of Significance Agriculture, Entertainment/Recreation, and Social History. To be significant under Criterion B, the significance of the individual would need to be established and also the resource's association with that individual's significance. Under Criterion C they may be significant in the Area of Significance Architecture or Landscape Architecture. Under Criterion C they need to demonstrate

important distinctive characteristics, be a true representative of a particular type, or be an important example.

Integrity: The integrity requirements for Criterion A and Criterion B include integrity of association, setting, feeling, and location. Under Criterion C, the elements of design, workmanship, and materials will be necessary.

3. Property Type: Educational Facilities and Buildings

The life of a community often revolves around its schools, whether in terms of providing opportunity for new generations or as meeting places and common ground for all members of the neighborhood. Education involves substantially more than the physical plants of the schools, but in some ways

the physical facilities provide an index of the evolution of educational systems, of their needs and goals, and also of their constituencies. Schools could be the pride of the community or its main challenge. Moreover, in a state like Wyoming, with only one university, and where, until after World War II, no other institutions of higher learning existed at all, the health and operation of that university was something widely viewed as symbolic of the state itself. Schools, and their related facilities, thus were an important focus of construction activities during the Depression. Whether the one-room school in the mountains, the new elementary or high school in town, or the building at the University of Wyoming, the construction of education buildings marked an enhancement of facilities as one of the central responsibilities of the state and community.

It is important to remember that this historic context addresses schools that were associated with various Depression-era programs. Other schools may be eligible for the National Register, but not as part of this historic context, and the cultural resource professional is advised and encouraged to consult the registration requirements in a separate historic context study: Clayton Fraser, Mary Humstone, and Rheba Massey, *Places of Learning: Historical Context of Schools in Wyoming* (2010). By contrast, the buildings related to the Depression-era programs must generally have been constructed as a school or university building or as a library associated with one of the programs of the Hoover or Roosevelt administration in the period of significance. Under Criterion A they must demonstrate an important association with those programs locally, and under Criterion C they need to demonstrate important distinctive characteristics, be a true representative of a particular type, or be an important example.

Areas of Significance: School buildings and structures may be significant under Criterion A in the Areas of Significance Education, Social History, and Community Planning and Development.

Since schools in some instances served other community functions and purposes and held distinct associations, they may be significant in other Areas of Significance (such as Health/Medicine, Military, or Ethnic Heritage). To be significant under Criterion B, all the distinct requirements for that criterion would need to be addressed explicitly. They may be significant under Criterion C in the Area of Significance Architecture or Landscape Architecture.

Integrity: The integrity requirements generally for Criterion A and Criterion B include integrity of association, setting, feeling, and location (except for those buildings that were intended to be mobile or at least movable to some degree). Under Criterion C, the elements of design, workmanship, and materials will be necessary for integrity.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Primary and secondary schools constructed in Wyoming during the Depression included a variety of buildings and related structures. In some instances they replaced facilities that were decaying or in sore need of improvement because of the circumstances of the Depression. Indeed, one of the problems was that city schools were gaining students because of in-migration at the same time that the financial resources were declining because of unemployment; in the countryside schools lost both financial resources and students because of out-migration, and with small enrollments already a problem, the loss of more students pushed them to the brink, or beyond, of sustainability. Thus the construction of new schools often came as a significant rescue to troubled school systems all across the state.

Areas of Significance: The historical significance of primary and secondary school buildings under Criterion A can be partly identified by determining what kind of school, if any, each replaced or what



Sinclair (Parco) School. Photograph by Michael Cassity, 2010.

purpose the school was intended to fulfill. That significance would be in the Area of Significance Education, Social History, Community Planning and Development, or even Health/Medicine when those schools were associated, as some were, with neighborhood hygiene (as in dental programs) or hot lunch programs. In some instances, especially in rural Wyoming, the construction of new schools was also associated with school consolidation and thus had a significant impact on the organization of rural life in general. To be significant under Criterion B, the significance of the individual would need to be established as well as the resource's association with that individual's significance. Under Criterion C, the building could be significant within the Area of Significance Architecture if the resource embodied distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction. As such, it needs to demonstrate important distinctive characteristics, be a true representative of a particular type, or be an important example. Once again, it is important to consider also the historic context study prepared for the Wyoming State

Historic Preservation Office examining historic schools in Wyoming that may be eligible for the National Register, but that were not associated with Depression-era government programs.

Integrity: The integrity requirements for Criterion A and Criterion B include integrity of association, setting, feeling, and location (except for those buildings that were intended to be mobile or movable to some degree). Under Criterion C, because the elements of design, workmanship, and materials will be the critical factors that determine eligibility or contributing status, those aspects of integrity will be necessary.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS

Although Wyoming had only one four-year institution of higher education, the University of Wyoming did indeed benefit from construction programs during the Depression. The buildings of the university generally represent a diverse ar-



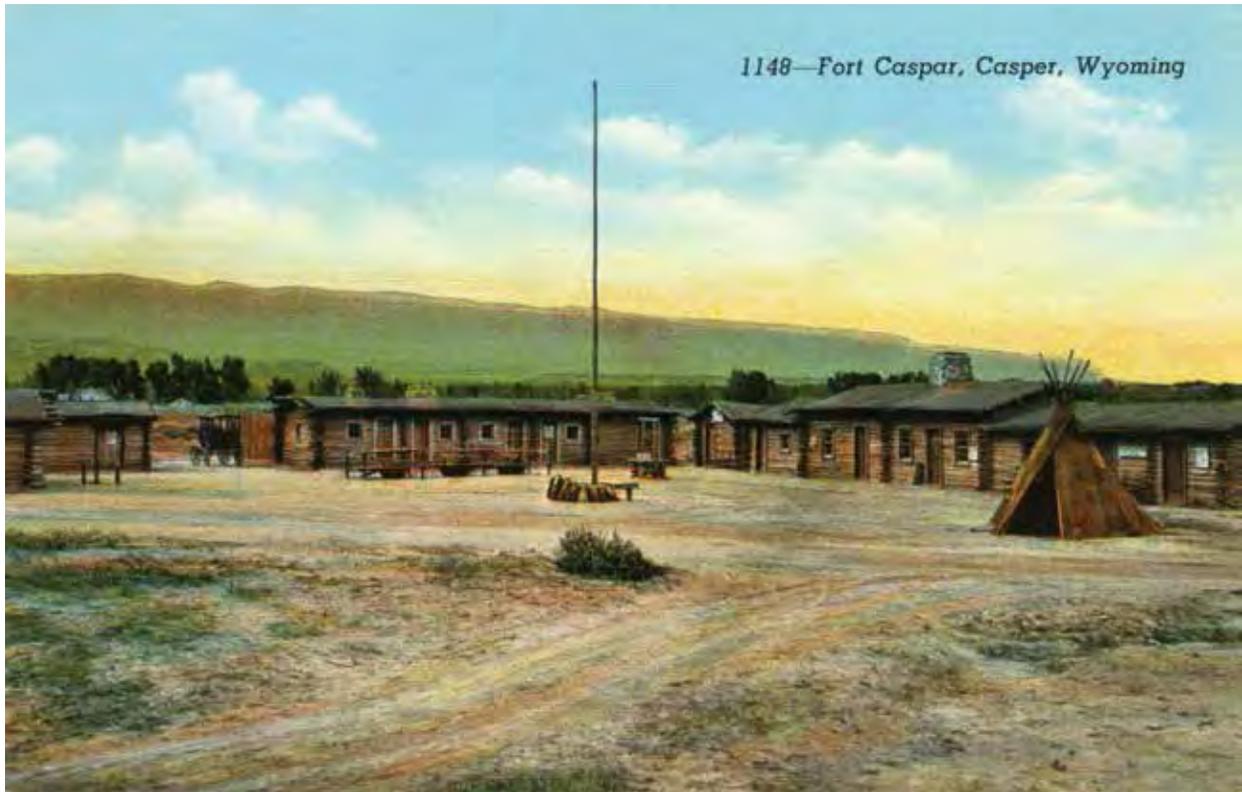
Liberal Arts Building (Arts & Sciences Building), University of Wyoming. This was a PWA project completed in 1936. Sanborn postcard from the collection of Michael Cassity.

ray of functions and include not only classroom buildings but administrative and student life functions. To be eligible for the National Register, those university buildings must have been associated with programs, policies, or events of the Hoover or Roosevelt administration within the period of significance. As with other property types and subtypes, that association must be demonstrably important. These features are primarily buildings, but there may be structures and objects related to those buildings as well. Given the dispersion of Depression-era resources on the campus of the University of Wyoming, a historic district under this historic context is unlikely.

Areas of Significance: Under Criterion A university buildings may be significant in the Area of Significance Education, Social History, or Eco-

nomics. Generally historical research in relevant documents will establish the importance of the association and significance of the buildings. University buildings may, conceivably, carry a distinctive and important association with an important individual sufficient to be significant under Criterion B, but the cautions that generally apply to Criterion B remain in this case. Under Criterion C, in the Area of Significance Architecture, the buildings may be significant if the resources embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction. As such, they need to demonstrate important distinctive characteristics, be a true representative of a particular type, or be an important example.

Integrity: The integrity requirements generally for Criterion A and Criterion B include integrity



WPA reconstruction of Ft. Caspar at site of original fort. Sanborn postcard from the collection of Michael Cassity.

of association, setting, feeling, and location (except for those buildings that were intended to be mobile or movable to some degree). Under Criterion C, because significance depends on aspects of design, workmanship, and materials, the integrity of those elements must be retained.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS

Libraries, and to a lesser extent, museums have long been important in Wyoming's communities, often serving as multipurpose community facilities that bring people together for a variety of educational, charitable, recreational, and social purposes. Many of these institutions, before

building their own facility, operated out of another organization, such as a women's club, the American Legion, or a church or school. The availability of construction funds under the various work programs of the 1930s enabled them, in some instances, to become independent, self-sustaining institutions, even if still modest in size. Museums can include an assortment of exhibition and commemorative structures ranging from the popular small, one-room buildings displaying mementoes of community settlement and development to larger constructions, such as the replica buildings and structures at Fort Caspar built by the WPA, with contributions by the CCC. These resources can include a wide range of properties including buildings, structures, objects, and sites, and they may constitute historic districts and landscapes.

Areas of Significance: Library and museum Depression-era resources may be eligible for the National Register under Criterion A in the Area of Significance Politics/Government, Social History, Community Planning and Development, or Economics. Those library and museum resources may, conceivably, carry a distinctive and important association with an important individual sufficient to be significant under Criterion B. (Once again, carrying the name of an individual does not establish such significance.) Under Criterion C, the resource has to possess distinctive characteristics, be a true representative of a particular type, or be an important example.

Integrity: The integrity requirements generally for Criterion A and Criterion B include integrity of association, setting, feeling, and location (except for those resources that were intended to be mobile or movable to some degree). The resource must especially convey its period of significance appearance and a feeling of operation as a library or museum. Under Criterion C, the integrity of the building's design, workmanship, and materials is especially important.

4. Property Type: Public Utility Buildings and Structures

The pervasiveness of utility systems for providing water, electricity, or gas to businesses and consumers and for also providing storm water drainage and sewage removal and treatment often obscures how recent and important they were when they were initially provided. Larger communities already possessed such public utility systems in Wyoming, at least in their core areas, but the smaller towns and outlying precincts of the larger cities especially benefited from the expansion or enhancement of public utilities during the Depression. Those systems were accompanied by three general kinds of properties: (1) buildings and structures in which offices and machinery essential to providing

the utility were housed; (2) power-generating, water-treating, or other engineering equipment; and (3) distribution or transmission systems, including power lines and poles, sewer systems, water mains, and similar such infrastructure elements.

The historical significance of these public utilities can be partly identified by determining what kind of system each replaced. A part of the significance, however, rests on the social philosophy underlying the provision of these public-owned utilities, something often referred to as a system of gas and water socialism, where (1) competition was not physically possible, thus forming what was often called a "natural monopoly," and (2) where the community served was also the owning and operating agent of the services provided by the utilities. In some instances variants emerged where the community would own the distribution system and a separate provider owned the power generator. In rural Wyoming, the Rural Electrification Administration made loans to cooperatives, companies, and public agencies that would construct distribution systems, extend power lines into the countryside, and purchase power from others, including the power-generating facilities at some of the publicly constructed dams.

Areas of Significance: Significance under Criterion A would be in the Area of Significance Politics/Government, Social History, Community Planning and Development, or even Health/Medicine. Depending on the circumstances and the individual system, utilities could also, however, be significant within the Area of Significance Economics. While it is unlikely that public utility buildings and structures would carry a distinctive and important association with an important individual sufficient to be significant under Criterion B, the possibility remains; as in other instances, the cautions that generally apply to Criterion B remain in this case. Under Criterion C, the building and structure could be significant within the Area of Significance Architecture and/or Engineering; equipment, transmission facili-



Salt River Hydroelectric Power Plant near Etna in Star Valley. Reportedly constructed with Rural Electric Association funds in 1938, this facility includes the building housing the power plant, a concrete inlet structure, an overflow spillway, and a tailrace canal leading away from it. Photograph by Richard Collier, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office.

ties, or waterlines could be evaluated in the Area of Significance Engineering if the resource embodies distinctive characteristics of the type, period, or method of construction.

Those resources eligible for the National Register under Criterion A (and also Criterion B) must have been associated with programs, policies, or events of the Hoover or Roosevelt administration within the period of significance. The critical questions to ask in establishing significance of these resources are: What agency financed, directly or indirectly, their construction and who built them? What functions did the resources serve and how were those functions historically significant? Historical research in relevant documents will establish the importance of the association and significance of the properties. Under Criterion C, in the Areas of Significance Architecture or Engineering, the resource must possess distinctive characteristics, be a true representative of a particular type, or be an important example to be significant.

Integrity: The integrity requirements for these resources under Criterion A and Criterion B include integrity of association, setting, feeling,

and location (except for those properties that were intended to be mobile or movable to some degree). The general appearance of the building, structure, district, or landscape needs to remain much as it was during the period of significance although it is expected that some deterioration and/or modification will often have taken place both during the period of significance (and thus historic) and afterwards (not historic). Under Criterion C, because the significance depends on design, workmanship, and materials, the integrity of those elements must be retained. Because public utilities are parts of larger systems, and not just isolated features, integrity of association and feeling is enhanced by the presence of related buildings and structures nearby.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: POWER PLANTS

Power plants contained the equipment to generate one form of power, and the configuration of the building will generally reflect the kind of equipment employed. To be significant in this historic context, power plants, must have been importantly associated with a program of the Hoover

or Roosevelt administration within the period of significance. Although the original equipment in the interior will probably have changed as technology has evolved, or as older equipment has become worn and dated, the buildings themselves may retain their historical significance and integrity. In some instances complexes of these resources may constitute historic districts or even historic landscapes.

Areas of Significance: Power plants associated with Depression-era projects may be significant under Criterion A (or, remotely possible, Criterion B) in the Areas of Significance Politics/Government, Social History, Community Planning and Development, Industry, and Economics. Under Criterion C the plants may be significant in the Area of Significance Engineering or Architecture.

Integrity: The integrity requirements generally for Criterion A (and Criterion B) include integrity of association, setting, feeling, and location (except for those properties that were intended to be mobile or movable to some degree). Under Criterion C, the building must retain elements of design, workmanship, and materials.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: POWER LINES AND RELATED STRUCTURES

Power lines and their related towers, poles, and other features represented an important aspect of social and economic change for the people in Wyoming who were acquiring electrical power from a larger grid for the first time. Extending from the power plants to the individual homes and businesses, both in town and in the country, these lines symbolized to many people the broad nature of change underway in the state, and they often remain as critical thresholds marking the end of one era and the beginning of another in local histories. While not ephemeral, these power lines nonetheless have not had permanent lives and have been frequently replaced, so that few of the original lines remain.

To be significant under Criterion A, power lines must be clearly associated with a program of the Hoover or Roosevelt administration within the period of significance. The importance of that association will be established through historical research in the relevant documents. It is unlikely that power lines will be significant under Criterion B. To be significant under Criterion C, power lines have to possess distinctive characteristics, be a true representative of a particular type, or be an important example.

Areas of Significance: Power lines may be significant under Criterion A in the Areas of Significance Politics/Government, Social History, Community Planning and Development, Industry, and Economics. Under Criterion C power lines may be significant in the Areas of Significance Engineering and Architecture.

Integrity: Under Criterion A power lines must retain integrity of association, setting, and feeling. They also must retain integrity of location, although general (not exact) location is sufficient. Under Criterion C, integrity includes design, workmanship, and materials, although materials may include replacements that do not alter the general appearance or design of the property (for example, a replacement of larger or heavier fabrication can force a reconfiguration of associated components).

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: WATERWORKS

This subtype includes community-wide systems and their components, including water treatment plants, pumping stations, water mains, secondary distribution lines, and water storage facilities such as reservoirs and water towers. An essential aspect of the physical modernization of community infrastructures, the extension of water lines providing clean water to the community marked a significant change in the lives of Wyoming's people. It not only meant clean drinking water, and thus the replacement of previous wells, pumps, and pur-

chased containers of water, but also the ability to acquire indoor plumbing and retire the privy. Waterworks, to be significant in this historic context, must have been associated with programs, policies, or events of the Hoover or Roosevelt administration within the period of significance. As with power plants, the original equipment in the interior will probably have changed as technology has been revised and as older equipment has become worn and dated, but the buildings themselves may retain their historical significance and integrity. Just as some of the features of the waterworks systems replaced dated and deteriorating earlier systems, so too have many of these Depression-era features been replaced and updated, especially those that were installed underground.

Areas of Significance: Under Criterion A (and remotely possible under Criterion B) these features may be significant in the Areas of Significance Social History, Community Planning and Development, and Health/Medicine. Under Criterion C they may be significant in the Area of Significance Engineering or possibly Architecture.

Integrity: The integrity requirements for Criterion A and Criterion B include integrity of association, setting, feeling, and location (except for those properties that were intended to be mobile or movable to some degree). Under Criterion C, the resource must retain elements of design, workmanship, and materials.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: STORM SEWERS AND SEWER LINES

One of the less visible, yet equally vital, projects of the New Deal programs in Wyoming's communities was the installation of systems for draining off surplus water that flooded the streets during storms and also when the spring runoff produced temporary surface flooding. Likewise, the installation of water systems so that households could have clean water meant also the provision of a means for removing waste from the same houses.

Thus the advent of storm sewers and sewer lines brought substantial change wherever they touched.

These systems, because of the nature of their routes and construction, usually were installed as part of street improvement programs, were buried underground, and were subsequently replaced as the pipelines corroded or needed to be enlarged. They are now also ubiquitous in the state, and the relative importance of a specific section or feature would need to be demonstrated for that resource to be considered historically significant under Criterion A or C. Probably only exposed features, such as gutters and drains that are for some reason especially prominent, will be evaluated.

Areas of Significance: Under Criterion A these resources may be significant in the Areas of Significance Social History, Community Planning and Development, and Health/Medicine. These features will almost never be significant under Criterion B. Under Criterion C they may be significant in the Area of Significance Engineering.

Integrity: Under Criterion A these resources must exhibit integrity of association, location, feeling, and setting, and under Criterion C they must retain integrity of materials, workmanship, and design.

5. Property Type: Conservation Resources

Although the Depression-era construction projects are sometimes associated primarily with iconic buildings in the state's towns and cities, the policies and programs of the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations were equally or more focused on the rural and natural resources of Wyoming. Conservation of land, water, and forests was the watchword of many of these projects, although conservation in the 1930s often carried a strictly utilitarian meaning, was often used interchangeably with development, and in Wyoming usually translated into range improvement, construction of irrigation systems, power development, and enhanced

or sustainable yield of harvested natural resources. Conservation resources were sometimes directly applied to the land and water, as with dams and irrigation systems, and sometimes indirectly, as when they housed administrative functions for land managers or provided residential and service buildings in national parks, monuments, and forests. The resources thus range from a major dam project, like Seminoe or Alcova, to a lonely lookout tower or sheep corral in the national forests, to a busy entrance kiosk at Grand Teton National Park.

These properties often reflected a new, or a newly recommitted, attitude toward natural resources, an attitude and perspective that saw them as fragile and exhaustible yet important to the state's economy. While restoring, replenishing, and harnessing natural resources, these projects also put people to work during the Depression. Sometimes it was the highly skilled (and already employed) engineers and attorneys in the huge dam projects and sometimes it was the unemployed and unskilled youth from the nation's cities who went to work for the Emergency Conservation Work/Civilian Conservation Corps programs. Perhaps no other general property type is associated with so many, and such diverse, federal agencies; those agencies included the CCC, the Division of Grazing/Grazing Service, the Forest Service, the National Park Service, the Public Works Administration, the Works Progress Administration, the Soil Conservation Service, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Biological Survey, the Civil Works Administration, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and possibly even others.

The kinds of conservation resources are many and varied, and consideration should be given to evaluating them as historic districts and rural historic landscapes in some instances.

Areas of Significance: Those conservation resources that are eligible for the National Register under Criterion A may be significant in the Area of Significance Conservation, Social History, Politics/

Government, or Agriculture. While it is unlikely that conservation resources would carry a distinctive and important association with an important individual sufficient to be significant under Criterion B, a possibility remains; as in other instances, the cautions that generally apply to Criterion B remain in this case. The resources may be significant under Criterion C in the Areas of Significance Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and Engineering.

Integrity: Under Criterion A (and Criterion B) integrity includes location, association, feeling, and setting. Under Criterion C, because the significance depends on design, workmanship, and materials, the integrity of those elements must be retained.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: STOCK TANKS

A stock tank is a receptacle (perhaps gouged from the earth) for holding water to be used by livestock, but it is usually of substantially greater size than a manufactured water tank and will get its water from a source other than a well. The stock tank (also often called a farm pond or stock watering tank) is ordinarily positioned at an optimum location where it can collect tributary water from rainfall or snowmelt. It provided an impoundment of drinking water for livestock. It is a feature commonly associated with both sheep and cattle operations, including those on the public domain. The Roosevelt administration, working through the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Agricultural Extension Service (and other agencies too, on lands that they administered) caused literally thousands of these tanks to be built in Wyoming. The government offered farmers and ranchers a nominal sum for each cubic yard of earth moved, and these stock tanks became ubiquitous features on the landscape in the 1930s. Many were not constructed to last and instead were built to provide some respite from the droughts that plagued the state in



CCC workers from a camp located near Basin, attached to the Division of Grazing, constructing a dam on the range for livestock use, 1936. Division of Grazing/Bureau of Land Management, Record Group 49, Entry 19, Box 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Rocky Mountain Region, Denver.

the 1930s; over the ensuing decades, stock tanks often succumbed to the forces of weather, erosion, and changed use. Others, however, may have been constructed more durably, for example by using rock instead of dirt to create the impoundment, and some of these resources still can be found.

As a solitary feature, the stock tank will ordinarily lack individual significance under Criterion A unless historical sources provide evidence of an important association with impacts on the system of agriculture the New Deal generated, such as the shift from small, decentralized farming and homesteading operations to extensive ranching or with specific land management policies, such as the leasing of grazing units on the public domain. Under Criterion C in this historic context, the stock tank may be significant if it possesses distinctive characteristics, is a true representative of a particular type, or is an important example, especially if those qualities are associated with the New Deal programs that sponsored them. In addition, a stock tank may actually be a contributing feature in a larger rural historic landscape.

Areas of Significance: Under Criterion A stock tanks may be significant in the Area of Significance Conservation, Social History, or Agriculture. Stock tanks will probably never be significant under Criterion B. They may be significant under Criterion C in the Areas of Significance Landscape Architecture and Engineering.

Integrity: The integrity requirements for stock tanks under Criterion A include integrity of association, setting, feeling, and location. Under Criterion C integrity of design, materials, and workmanship is necessary.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: RANGE DAMS/ RESERVOIRS

There were many small dams and reservoirs built across Wyoming that were of great significance to the individual operators using them. These dams and reservoirs may lack the iconic status of some larger irrigation/electrification projects on major waterways, but they were nonetheless significant and many of them endure. While it is always

hazardous to draw a line between big and small, these dams and reservoirs generally served a much more limited area than their kindred features on the state's rivers. The critical distinction between a dam/reservoir and a stock tank is that the dam is located on a stream, albeit often an intermittent stream, whereas the stock tank is not on running water. Located on the stream or creek, the dam creates a reservoir of water for livestock consumption and will sometimes feature spillways and in some instances mechanisms to release a continuing flow of water. While dams and reservoirs (and stock tanks too, for that matter) can be found that date to early homesteading and grazing activities, it was especially in the 1930s, with the increased number of tractors and with an active range conservation program by the U.S. government, that dams and reservoirs began emerging in very large numbers on the ranges of Wyoming.

The dams and reservoirs eligible under this historic context must have an important association with the government policies, programs, and events of the Hoover or Roosevelt administration in Wyoming. It is essential to establish the importance of the association with the federal programs in these years, and that can generally be accomplished through historical research in relevant documents. Ordinarily Criterion A significance will be established by historical research indicating the origin and role of the dam in one of the administration's range improvement, erosion control, water conservation, or other conservation programs in the period of significance. Criterion C significance will demonstrate not only the concrete association with the Hoover or Roosevelt administration but also the distinctive architectural or engineering qualities that make the specific dam important. Under Criterion C, the property has to possess distinctive characteristics, be a true representative of a particular type, or be an important example of a feature (such as a dam, spillway, or reservoir and their related surrounding features including landscape architecture).

Areas of Significance: Criterion A significance will be in the Areas of Significance Conservation and Agriculture. Range dams and reservoirs will almost never be significant under Criterion B. Under Criterion C significance will be in the Area of Significance Engineering or, possibly, Landscape Architecture.

Integrity: Integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association will be especially important under Criterion A. Under Criterion C the aspects of workmanship, design, and materials will be more critical than under A.

Note: Dams and reservoirs exhibiting signs of engineering and design that go beyond the simple act of digging out a shallow basin require careful analysis and evaluation, and they need to be recorded. Although some guidance notes that dams and reservoirs constructed after 1930 do not need to be recorded, these New Deal-engineered features do require documentation.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: MAJOR DAMS, RESERVOIRS, AND IRRIGATION PROJECTS

Although construction of dams, reservoirs, and irrigation projects had been important in Wyoming since the late nineteenth century, receiving a significant boost after federal sponsorship of reclamation projects in 1902, the 1930s saw a major expansion of these efforts with the construction of dams all across the state and their expansion into entire regional projects, like the Kendrick Project that provided water from Alcova and Seminoe to a vast area along the North Platte River. These projects were intended to fight the drought facing agriculturists in the state, reclaim the land eroded by nature and by abuse, and also provide work; in that last regard, they often became controversial because of their high cost compared to the small numbers of unemployed helped out (and factoring in also the highly skilled professionals and others they employed, personnel already otherwise



Irrigation flumes constructed by CCC Camp BR-7, attached to the Bureau of Reclamation on the Shoshone Project, 1939–1941. Bureau of Reclamation, Record Group 115, Entry 115, Box 1, National Archives and Records Administration, Rocky Mountain Region, Denver.



Alcova Dam on the North Platte River. The Alcova-Casper (Kendrick) Project was developed by the Public Works Administration and the Bureau of Reclamation. Sanborn postcard from the collection of Michael Cassity.

employed but necessary for construction). They not only provided irrigation water but in some instances electric power and quite often recreation opportunities too.

The dams, reservoirs, and irrigation projects include multiple features, and given their dispersed and continuous extension over an area, they will in some instances constitute historic districts and rural historic landscapes.

Areas of Significance: These resources may be significant under Criterion A in the Areas of Significance Conservation, Agriculture, and Social History. In some instances, they may also be significant in the Area of Significance Community Planning and Development or even Entertainment/Recreation. Significance may be established under Criterion B, but the evaluator needs to exercise the cautions that generally apply to Criterion B in other instances. These features may be significant under Criterion C in the Area of Significance Engineering or Architecture or possibly Landscape Architecture.

Integrity: Those reservoirs, dams, and irrigation projects that are eligible for the National Register under Criterion A (and Criterion B) will need to retain integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. Under Criterion C, the resource will need to retain integrity of design, workmanship, and materials.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: WORK CAMPS

Perhaps some of the most direct indications of the function of conservation measures as work programs are the scattered remnants of the camps where “Roosevelt’s tree army” lived, worked, and learned. It was not just the CCC that occupied these camps and others; workers for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in the early years of the New Deal also established camps. Some of those camps took on a semipermanent configuration while others, using tents on plat-

forms, were all but ephemeral. The camps housed and trained and put to work young men, and they served as quasi-military installations, very nearly self-contained, at least in the eyes of their denizens. Thus they also functioned as veritable communities in Wyoming’s forests and plains, in irrigation projects, and in state parks. Not many resources associated with those camps remain. Some took on new life during World War II, providing shelter and lodging for prisoners of war; some were uprooted and the sites abandoned to the elements; and some evolved into yet other uses.

The significance of these fragile or difficult resources may be seen in their direct connection with the multiple threads of the New Deal’s conservation programs. These work camps provided the nucleus of coordinated, systematic programs designed to address conservation issues, at least in some broad sense of the word. The CCC, for example, put unemployed young people to work, moving them from the city to parts of the country where most had never been. The pay they received, except for a small fraction, was sent to their parents to help them endure the hardships of their own lives at home. Army reserve officers and noncommissioned officers provided the training and logistical support. Engineers designed and sometimes supervised the construction projects they undertook. Locally Experienced Men (LEMs) provided labor for ECW/CCC camp construction and also supervised some work.

The resources that remain from these work camps may include lodging, storage, administration, service, and utility features. In some instances these resources may constitute a historic district, and the evaluator should examine carefully the potential for a rural historic landscape.

Areas of Significance: Under Criterion A these resources may be significant in the Areas of Significance Conservation, Politics/Government, Social History, Economics, and Community Planning and Development. These work camps will probably never be significant under Criterion B. Under

Criterion C, they may be significant in the Areas of Significance Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and Engineering, provided they possess distinctive characteristics, are true representatives of a particular type, or are important examples. Under Criterion D they may be significant under the Areas of Significance indicated for Criterion A and also the Area of Significance Archaeology if the formulated research design indicates questions and information related to the practice of archaeology.

Integrity: Integrity of location, feeling, and setting as well as association is important under Criterion A, and integrity of design, materials, and workmanship is important under Criterion C. Criterion D requires integrity of location first and then setting, association, materials, and design.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: WILDLIFE REFUGES AND FISH HATCHERIES

Although at first blush it may appear that the creation of a wildlife refuge involves mainly the cessation of development, many government leaders in the 1930s saw wildlife conservation as intimately related to constructing roads, trails, ponds, administrative and utility buildings, and fish hatcheries. Many of those constructions, of course, were modest and lasted only a short time, while others evolved into substantial developments. Generally the refuges, which lack clear and consistent character-defining features, will be identified in historical documents as well as disparate features on the ground. Hatcheries will be more readily identifiable than refuges because they will contain access to fresh running water and will include either tanks above ground or pools dug into embankments and floodplains of streams. Some hatcheries involved the construction of entire complexes of operational, administrative, and residential buildings and structures. The evaluator needs to be alert to the distinct possibility of historic districts, given

the multiplicity and variety of resources in an area, and in some cases also to the possibility of rural historic landscapes.

The effort to create refuges for wildlife and to nurture the restoration and rehabilitation of some species, such as at the fish hatcheries, represented a significant turning point in the use of this part of Wyoming's natural landscape. It presented the irony of modern, systematic organization of productive effort to restore or rehabilitate natural resources.

Areas of Significance: The resources may be significant under Criterion A (and, conceivably, Criterion B) in the Areas of Significance Conservation and Politics/Government and under Criterion C in the Area of Significance Architecture, Landscape Architecture, or Engineering.

Integrity: Under Criterion A (and Criterion B) the resource must convey a feeling of its function as a refuge or hatchery. Integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association will be especially important under Criterion A. Under Criterion C, the elements of design, workmanship, and materials will be critical to the integrity of a built feature like a hatchery while setting, feeling, and association will also be essential in the Area of Significance Landscape Architecture.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: FOREST SERVICE AND DIVISION OF GRAZING STATIONS, LOOKOUT TOWERS, AND RELATED STRUCTURES AND BUILDINGS

Ranger stations, fire lookout towers, and related structures and buildings began to emerge in greater numbers during the Depression era. This reflected both the increased emphasis on management and conservation and also the availability of a workforce to provide for that managerial infrastructure. Given the infusion of workers in the Emergency Conservation Work/Civilian Conservation Corps program, in the Forest Service, and also in the Division of Grazing/Grazing Ser-



Centennial Work Center, originally a ranger station in Medicine Bow National Forest, constructed by the CCC in 1938–1940. Photograph by Richard Collier, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office.

vice after 1935, and the expansion and creation of other agencies such as the General Land Office, the Resettlement Administration, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and the Soil Conservation Service, the federal government had an ability previously lacking to provide new facilities for conservation of the resources of the nation's forests. This included the construction of utility structures, ranger stations (which in turn included adjacent residences and various utility buildings), lookout towers, corrals, livestock driveways, and even some bridges and campsites. Some of those constructions are included in a separate historic context that covers ranching, farming, and homesteading in Wyoming,²⁴ and this property subtype includes the broader sets of conservation constructions.

As with other Depression-era resources, these ranger stations, lookout towers, and other properties, in order to be eligible for the National Register under Criterion A in the Area of Significance Conservation, must have been associated with the policies, programs, and events of the Hoover

or Roosevelt administration within the period of significance. That association, as with all features, must be important, not incidental. Under Criterion C, the critical factors that determine significance are whether the properties possess distinctive characteristics, are true representatives of a particular type, or are important examples. These facilities were often clustered together at a ranger station complex or similar multi-facility outpost, and these may constitute historic districts. And some resources will be part of a rural historic landscape.

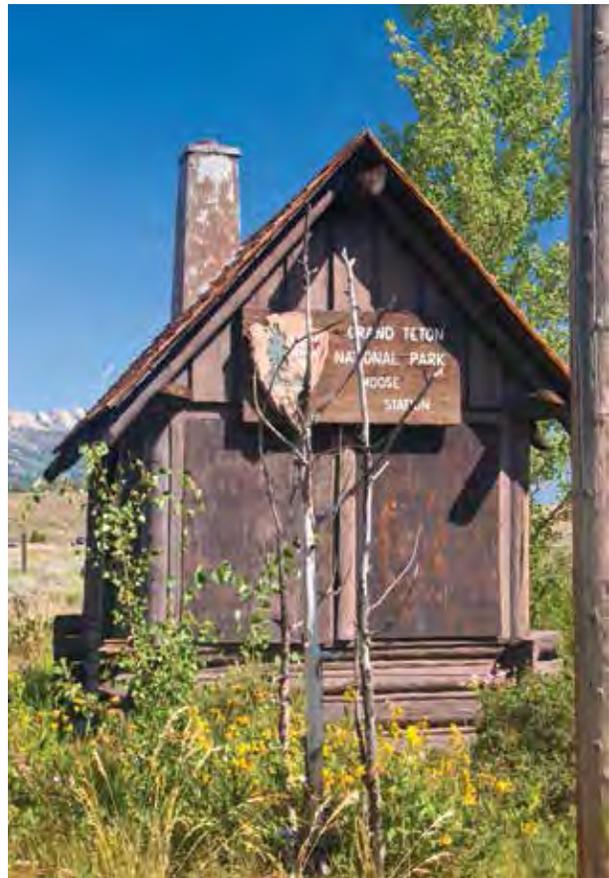
Areas of Significance: These resources may be significant under Criterion A because of the shift in direction in resource management that they reflected, providing a way for Forest Service and Division of Grazing managers to more actively conserve, manage, or regulate natural resources and their use. They will thus be significant under Criterion A in the Areas of Significance Conservation and Agriculture, and, in some instances, Politics/Government. Only in unusual circumstances will these resources be significant under Criterion

B. When the resource possesses distinctive characteristics, is a true representative of a particular type, or is an important example, it may be eligible under Criterion C in the Area of Significance Architecture, Landscape Architecture, or, in some instances, Engineering.

Integrity: Integrity of location, setting, association, and feeling is especially important under Criterion A although it is expected that some deterioration and/or modification will often have taken place both during the period of significance (and thus historic) and afterwards (not historic). The building or structure must be clearly identifiable as a lookout tower, ranger station, or related utility building distinct from other built features in the forest or on the range (such as line camps). To be significant under Criterion B, the significance of the individual would need to be established and also the resource's association with that individual's significance. Under Criterion C, because the significance depends on design, workmanship, and materials, the integrity of those elements must be retained.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: NATIONAL PARK ADMINISTRATIVE FACILITIES (ENTRANCE KIOSKS, HOUSING, ADMINISTRATION, TRANSPORTATION, ETC.)

The mark on the national parks and monuments was substantial as the mobilization of the CCC provided a labor force to accomplish a number of backlogged and new projects. Sometimes the mark was actually only slight and was evident in the removal of other features, such as the large CCC undertaking in removing dead wood from the shores and shallows of Jackson Lake in Grand Teton National Park. Sometimes the parks and monuments received new facilities both for administration and for park visitors. The variety of resources in this property type is substantial, but the common element is that they were associated with, and the



Grand Teton National Park entrance kiosk at Moose. The kiosk was constructed by the nearby CCC camp assigned to the National Park Service. Photograph by Michael Cassity, 2010.

product of, the work projects undertaken during the Depression, both under the regular budget and authority of the National Park Service and with the assignment of additional workers, as in the CCC. That association, as with all features, must be important, not incidental.

Some national parks and monuments date modern management, and the buildings and structures associated with that more systematic and professional management, to the late 1920s and 1930s. Building projects were extensive and varied, and the resources include residences, administrative buildings, sheds, garages, and other structures

such as fire lookout towers and agency gasoline tanks and dispensing stations.

Areas of Significance: The resources importantly associated with those programs may be significant under Criterion A in the Areas of Significance Conservation, Entertainment/Recreation, Community Planning and Development, Politics/Government, and Transportation, depending on the particular resource and its function. They will probably never be significant under Criterion B. They may be significant under Criterion C in the Area of Significance Architecture or Landscape Architecture, and, in instances where technology is particularly and importantly involved, Engineering.

Integrity: Integrity requirements for these Park Service properties under Criterion A reflect the same considerations as for their Forest Service counterparts and, as with those resources, the requirements emphasize location, setting, association, and feeling. Under Criterion C, the integrity of the building's or structure's design, workmanship, and materials is especially important.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: WINDBREAKS/ SHELTERBELTS

Although windbreaks and shelterbelts are features with technically separate purposes and configurations—the windbreak blocking the wind from farmstead buildings, gardens, and orchards and the shelterbelt providing a long line of protection for fields or roads—the two terms are often used interchangeably. In this historic context, this feature, because of its association with government programs, primarily consists of a linear vegetative configuration to provide shelter from severe winds for land so that it might be rehabilitated or used more productively for grazing.

Windbreaks and shelterbelts had been used on Wyoming's farms and ranches since early settlement and in the 1920s were actively promoted by the Agricultural Extension Service at the Univer-

sity of Wyoming. Federal funds from the Clarke-McNary Law encouraged their creation on private land. In addition, during the Roosevelt administration, actual government programs emerged to plant and nurture these lines of trees using government crews on public land. While not as large a focus of government projects in Wyoming as in states to the east on the Great Plains, this work was nonetheless performed in the state and most commonly by the Civilian Conservation Corps camps attached to the Division of Grazing/Grazing Service and Forest Service. These shelterbelts would sometimes consist of ten to sixteen rows of trees and stretch for a distance of a mile.

The historical significance of windbreaks/shelterbelts under Criterion A in this context is determined by establishing their association with Depression-era federal policies and programs. Generally this will involve research in the historical record to identify the program and project responsible for their planting so that the importance of the association can be evaluated. Because the agricultural programs involved both hiring people (sometimes on an in-kind basis to work off other assistance) to plant windbreaks and encouraging individual operators to plant windbreaks, both kinds of endeavors will meet the standard of historical association. The point is, however, that a definite association must be established; a windbreak is not significant just because it was planted in the 1930s. Windbreaks and shelterbelts will possibly constitute sites, districts, or landscapes.

Areas of Significance: Under Criterion A the Area of Significance will generally be that of Agriculture or Conservation. Criterion B will most likely never apply to these resources. The association with Depression-era policies and programs must also be present for significance under Criterion C where the resource possesses distinctive characteristics, is a true representative of a particular type, or is an important example; under that criterion it would be significant in the Area of Significance Landscape Architecture.

Integrity: Under Criterion A, integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association is important. Often individual trees will be missing and the arrangement will be less orderly than when the trees were originally planted because of subsequent overgrowth, self-reseeding, and the appearance of volunteers of other species. Windbreaks and shelterbelts will be considered to retain integrity if they still exhibit their clearly discernible linear configuration (straight, curved, or cornered), including the (imperfect) rows of different species. Under Criterion C, where the windbreak or shelterbelt possesses distinctive qualities of Landscape Architecture, emphasis is on integrity of design, materials (original species, even if replaced by subsequent generations of the same type), and workmanship (arrangement of rows by species in a systematic spatial organization, allowing for some variation and irregularity to occur over time).

6. Property Type: Transportation Systems and Components

Even more than in some other parts of the nation, transportation has always been critical in Wyoming, even defining aspects of the state's development. With declining revenues during the Depression, the state and its communities were hard pressed to maintain their streets and roads, let alone inaugurate new construction. Nonetheless, because of the work projects of the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations, Wyoming emerged from the Depression with substantial expansion of and improvement to roadways and streets and also airports.

Wyoming's transportation system holds a powerful importance in understanding the state's history for it represents at once the physical network binding different communities and neighborhoods together, the literal arteries of commerce within the state and beyond, and the challenges to cultural, social, and economic isolation, whether valued or reviled. In this regard, the construction

of a road, street, highway, airport, or other transportation feature was much more than a physical accomplishment; it was an event of profound social significance for the places that it touched, and also for the places that it bypassed. Not only did the currents of commerce and economic growth follow the paths of transportation, but the forces of social change also moved along those same channels.

Areas of Significance: The resources in this property type may be significant under Criterion A (and, conceivably, Criterion B) in the Area of Significance Transportation, Social History, Commerce, Economics, Military, or Community Planning and Development, or under Criterion C in the Area of Significance Engineering, Architecture, or Landscape Architecture.

Integrity: For this property type, integrity under Criterion A (and Criterion B) will emphasize location, feeling, and setting while under Criterion C eligibility will require integrity of materials, workmanship, design, and location.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: HIGHWAYS, ROADS, STREETS, SIDEWALKS, AND RELATED FEATURES

Beginning in the late 1920s, the public resources of the United States focused increasingly not just on the construction of roads but on that construction as a part of larger systems, of networks, of arrangements where roadways connected with others in a conscious, purposeful manner. This nationally funded and coordinated system replaced prevailing practices of volunteer construction of local roadways and of private organization promotion and construction of regional systems. During the Hoover and Roosevelt years the federal government became more involved as a director and financier of this development. As significant as Hoover administration road construction was, and those efforts have been too often neglected, the Roosevelt administration used the construction of



Bridge over Little Bear Creek (East) on Beartooth Highway. This is one of a handful of original bridges on the highway. Photograph by Michael Cassity, 2010.

highways as both a way to enhance the public commercial infrastructure and also to put unemployed people to work more extensively. The labor-intensive projects, in the early years often using horse and mule power along with crews equipped with picks and shovels, instead of heavy equipment, meshed well with the need to create jobs. The consequence was a massive infusion of assistance into building or rebuilding Wyoming's highway system. During the period 1935–1938 the vast majority of all highway funding in Wyoming came from federal sources and that was generally applied to roads on a sixty (federal) to forty (state) funding ratio. These funds went to not just the main highways but also to the “stub” or “feeder” roads.

It is important to note the social dynamics associated with roadways to understand their historical significance. The more the roads were improved—

and oil-surfaced roads were a significant improvement—the more traffic they attracted; the more traffic the roadways experienced, the more attention they needed—widening, paving, straightening; and the more developed the roadways became, the more traffic, once again, they generated. The cycle of growth and expansion was important and carried profound consequences for the communities along the right of way and also for those not in a position to benefit from the traffic. In addition to the roadways in the state or federal system, there were other roads built—in the national forests and national parks, for example—that were constructed directly or indirectly as part of other federal programs, and work projects also commonly built streets and avenues in communities and installed sidewalks, overpasses, bridges, and other features, performing on a microcosmic basis

for the neighborhoods of a community much the same functions that the highways did for the state. The modernization of the state, in a technical and physical sense as well as in a social and conceptual sense, was very much underway with road construction enhancing commerce and communication as well as putting unemployed people to work. Few parts of the public infrastructure represent that modernization as much as the transportation system of roads and highways and streets.

The specific resources of highways, roads, streets, sidewalks, and related features include a broad spectrum, from paved or unpaved roads and highways to the bridges, drains (culverts), and grade crossings associated with them, to the individual bridges or overpasses not part of larger transportation projects, to the sidewalks and streets in neighborhoods.

Areas of Significance: These roadways and similar features may be significant under Criterion A and Criterion B in the Area of Significance Transportation, Social History, Community Planning and Development, or, in specific cases, Commerce depending on the historical origins, functions, and impact of the feature. In addition, to be significant under Criterion B, the significance of the individual would need to be established and also the resource's association with that individual's significance. Under Criterion C, the individual features or segments may be significant in the Area of Significance Architecture, Landscape Architecture, or Engineering, depending on the distinctive characteristics of the features. The work camps associated with the construction of roadways and similar features may be eligible under Criterion D in the Area of Significance Archaeology or Social History, provided the research design is focused on pertinent issues in those areas.

The evaluation of roadways begins with a recognition that their historical significance generally is associated with the entire length of the road, not just a particular point along its alignment. The

function of the roadway, after all, was to move people from Point A to Point B (and beyond). At the same time, roadways are often made up of multiple discrete segments with distinctive, identifiable origins and purposes that can provide different historical associations and significance to the different parts. To understand the historical significance of a particular stretch of roadway it is thus necessary to understand the history—in terms of conceptual origins, evolution, uses, purposes, and connections to larger systems—of that defined length of roadway. The federal Depression-era projects often contributed to, and added an element of, the significance of those roadways and portions thereof.

Integrity: Under Criterion A and Criterion B the essential elements of integrity are setting, location, feeling, and association. The setting of the roadway is especially important since, as historic preservation specialist Laura Nowlin, who has studied the issue carefully, observes in her guidelines for the evaluation of Wyoming roadways for the National Register, “highways are often defined more by their settings than by their physical nature.”²⁵ Regarding location, the roadway must follow its general (not exact) Depression-era alignment. While it is necessary also to consider the integrity of materials, design, and workmanship, those elements are not as important, and the materials used in the roadway need to be only of the same general type, not the same exact type.

Under Criterion C the resource may be evaluated for its engineering or construction features. The most critical elements of integrity in that evaluation will be location, design, and materials while setting, association, and feeling, though needing to be considered, will be less critical to the overall integrity of the resource. In some instances where workmanship is essential to the significance of a resource, that element will also be important, but that depends on the particular resource.

PROPERTY SUBTYPE: AIRPORT FACILITIES

As part of the same dynamic that made roads beget more roads and that caused trucks to replace railroads in the nation's transportation system, the next stage of that development was also underway as airport construction surged forward. Whether just with the building of a landing strip and beacon near the state's small towns or as the development of sophisticated hangar, tower, and landing facilities at an airport like Cheyenne's, the state entered what some called at the time the Air Age. Requiring substantial resources, but especially labor-intensive construction, airports emerged at more places in Wyoming during the New Deal.

These airport facilities may be significant under Criteria A, B, and C if they were associated with the policies, programs, or events of the Hoover or Roosevelt administration. Historical research in relevant documents generally will establish the importance of the association and significance of the properties to the local community and to the larger air transportation system of which they are

a part. Groups of features may form a historic district or even a historic landscape.

Areas of Significance: Airport facilities may be significant under Criterion A in the Area of Significance Transportation, Communication, Commerce, Military, or Social History. To be significant under Criterion B, the significance of the individual would need to be established and also the resource's association with that individual's significance. Under Criterion C, if the property possesses distinctive characteristics, is a true representative of a particular type, or is an important example, it may be significant in the Area of Significance Architecture, Landscape Architecture, or Engineering.

Integrity: Under Criterion A and Criterion B, the resource must retain integrity of location, association, setting, and feeling. The landing strip, hangar, tower, beacon, or other feature must especially convey its original appearance and a feeling of operation as an airport feature. Under Criterion C, because the significance depends on design, workmanship, and materials, the integrity of those elements must be retained.

Notes

1. Judy K. Wolf, ed., *On the Road to Preservation: Wyoming's Comprehensive Statewide Historic Preservation Plan, 2007–2015* (Cheyenne: Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, 2007).

2. Gabrielle Esperdy, *Modernizing Main Street: Architecture and Consumer Culture in the New Deal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 65.

3. See the text of Roosevelt's radio address, "The Forgotten Man," April 7, 1932, at Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute and the Institute for Learning Technologies at Teachers College/Columbia University, online at: <http://newdeal.feri.org/speeches/1932c.htm>.

4. Lewis Mumford, *The Highway and the City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World., 1964).

5. Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrill Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1929), and *Middletown in Transition: A Study in Cultural Conflicts* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1937).

6. See the story of this rescue effort in Mary Hopkins, "Trash to Treasure from the WPA," *Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office News* 7 (Winter 2011), 1–2.

7. *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (n.p.: 1990, 1997), section 6, "How to Identify the Type of Significance of a Property," 12.

8. Carroll Van West, "Depression Architecture," in David J. Wishart, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 76; and Carroll Van West, "'The Best Kind of Building': The New Deal Landscape of the Northern Plains, 1933–42," *Great Plains Quarterly* 14 (Spring 1994), 129–41. See also the discussion in Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 429–42.

9. William C. Tweed, Laura E. Soulliere, and Henry G. Law, "Rustic Architecture: 1916–1942," originally

published in 1977 and now available online at http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/rusticarch/introduction.htm.

10. *National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms, Part A: How to Complete the National Register Form* (n.p.: revised 1997), 42.

11. *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, Section 8, "How to Evaluate the Integrity of a Property," 44.

12. See the glossary entry for Integrity in *National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms*, Appendix 4, p. 2.

13. Again, see *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, section 8, "How to Evaluate the Integrity of a Property."

14. Donna J. Seifert, Barbara J. Little, Beth L. Savage, and John H. Sprinkle, Jr., *National Register Bulletin: Defining Boundaries for National Register Properties* (n.p.: National Park Service, 1995, 1997), 2.

15. *National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms, Part A: How to Complete the National Register Form*, 15.

16. *Ibid.* Emphasis is in the original. In this quotation, bracketed numbers replace the bullets in the original.

17. Linda Flint McClelland, J. Timothy Keller, Genevieve P. Keller, Robert Z. Melnick, *National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* (n.p.: National Park Service, 1989, 1999), 1–2.

18. McClelland et al., *National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*, 7.

19. Susan Calafate Boyle, "Natural and Cultural Resources: The Protection of Vernacular Landscapes," in Richard W. Longstreth, Susan Calafate Boyle, Susan

Buggey, Michael Caratzas, eds., *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 160.

20. Beth M. Boland, *National Register Bulletin 13, How to Apply the National Register Criteria to Post Offices* (n.p.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1984, revised 1994), 10.

21. Toltest, Inc. and TEC, Inc., *Wyoming Military Historic Context, 1920–1989* (Cheyenne: Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, 2009), 144–45.

22. Toltest, Inc. and TEC, Inc., *Wyoming Military Historic Context, 1920–1989*, and Mary Humstone, Sheila Bricher-Wade, Jessie Nunn, Evan Medley, and Yu Jung Lee, *Wyoming Army National Guard Historic Buildings Field Inventory and Evaluation Report* (Cheyenne: Wyoming Military Department, 2005).

23. *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 5.

24. Michael Cassity, “Ranches, Farms, and Homesteads in Wyoming, 1860–1960,” Multiple Property Documentation Form, 2010.

25. Roadways are sometimes a problematic and subtle resource that challenges the analytic frameworks of even skilled evaluators, who are accustomed to working with other kinds of resources. The cultural resource professional is directed to Nowlin’s clear guidelines, “Evaluating Roadways,” at the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office. That document includes important and carefully considered guidelines that need to be considered in the evaluation of this distinctive group of resources. See also Minnesota Department of Transportation, “New Deal Roadside Landscape Features: Evaluating the Properties,” online at http://www.nps.gov/hps/hli/currents/newdeal/assess_page1.htm. I wish to thank Laura Nowlin for bringing this study to my attention.