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A HISTORY OF THE WPA IN UTAH

by

Larry H. Malmgren

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

History

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY  
Logan, Utah

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PREFACE

The purpose of this paper is to study the Great Depression in Utah, with special reference to the problem of relief and the works of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Work relief prior to and including the WPA is studied in detail with the hope of shedding new light upon these programs.

I am grateful to certain persons for able leadership and guidance which made it possible to see this study through. Dr. Everett L. Cooley began as thesis director and after leaving the University to direct the Utah State Historical Society still remained interested and provided assistance. Many hours were given by Mary Hyke to uncovering materials in the State Archives; in fact, the assistance of the entire Utah Historical Society staff has been most helpful.

To Dr. S. George Ellsworth, who served as major professor, I am most deeply indebted. He not only provided constant reminders and encouraging words, but through his influence and understanding I have a greater desire to continue studying, teaching, and writing history. I also feel a great amount of gratitude for Dr. Stanford Cazier and his demands for scholarship, and Dr. Leonard J. Arrington for his scholastic support and reminders of detail.

With the help from these people and the influences and encouragement of Dr. and Mrs. Daryl Chase, and other friends and relatives the final writing was completed.

To my mother for her many years of educational support and my wife for typing manuscripts and making sacrifices to complete this study, I dedicate this work.

May 6, 1965

Larry H. Malmgren

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE . . . . .	ii
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
Relief Prior to 1933 . . . . .	5
The Political Scene During the Depression . . . . .	8
Federal Participation in Relief . . . . .	11
Civilian Conservation Corps . . . . .	15
Public Works Administration . . . . .	16
Civil Works Administration . . . . .	16
Works Progress Administration . . . . .	18
National Youth Administration . . . . .	21
CHAPTER II - ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN UTAH PRIOR TO AND DURING THE DEPRESSION . . . . .	24
CHAPTER III - RELIEF IN UTAH PRIOR TO 1935 . . . . .	35
Federal Aid to Relief . . . . .	36
Federal Emergency Relief Administration in Utah . . . . .	37
Civil Works Administration . . . . .	38
Utah Emergency Relief Administration . . . . .	40
Works Division . . . . .	42
CHAPTER IV - ORGANIZATION OF THE WPA IN UTAH . . . . .	70
CHAPTER V - DIVISION OF OPERATION - CONSTRUCTION . . . . .	75
CHAPTER VI - SERVICES DIVISION - PROFESSIONAL . . . . .	81
Art Program . . . . .	83
Music Program . . . . .	86
Writer's Project . . . . .	88
Historical and Cultural Records Surveys and Inventories . . . . .	91
Adult Education . . . . .	94



Recreation Program . . . . .	98
Library Services Program . . . . .	100
Clerical Assistance Program . . . . .	101
Public Administration Program . . . . .	101
Surveys and Investigations Program . . . . .	102
Clothing Program . . . . .	102
Feeding Program: Commodity Distribution Phase . . . . .	104
Feeding Program: Food Preservation Phase . . . . .	104
Garden Project . . . . .	105
Feeding Program: School Lunch Phase . . . . .	105
Health Program . . . . .	108
Child Protection Program . . . . .	108
CHAPTER VII - OBSERVATIONS ON THE WPA IN UTAH . . . . .	112
Community . . . . .	112
County . . . . .	112
State Agencies . . . . .	113
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints . . . . .	114
Individuals . . . . .	115
CHAPTER VIII - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	118
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	121

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

During the 7th decade of the twentieth century, a period of prosperity and economic advancement, it is difficult to understand the tragedies of the "Great Depression" that began in the 1920's and lasted until the early 1940's in these United States.

Many of today's fathers and mothers remember their childhood as a period of want and hunger because they were "children of the depression." Many grandparents remember the loss of their jobs, empty cupboards, idleness, and widespread poverty, because they were the "parents of the depression." In today's society, relief is often taken for granted, and governmental agencies are expected to provide the needs of society both at home and abroad; this is a concept that did not exist thirty years ago.

The Great Depression was a tragic experience for everyone from the banker to the laborer. Many people experienced the pangs of hunger, and everyone saw the horrors of an economy that was at a standstill. Men who had formerly sold bonds found themselves selling apples or shining shoes. The parks of the large cities were filled with men and women who had lost their jobs and did not have the price of a bed for the night, and thus they slept on a bench or on the grass.

Many students were forced to leave school because they could not afford food, books, and clothing, and also meet their tuition bill.

Great drought and grasshopper plagues devastated agriculture and caused the depression to be much more intense, especially in the farming areas. With the destruction of thousands of farms, there were numbers of farmers who became destitute and dependent on public relief. The addition of farmers and farm laborers to the long list of unemployed, who had

provided goods and services for the farmers, greatly magnified the unemployment problem.

The sudden economic collapse, and birth of a "Black Thursday" on October 24, 1929, was not a completely new experience for the United States. But a sharp distinction can be drawn between the earlier and temporary dislocations and the economic difficulties of the decade following 1929.<sup>1</sup>

The differences in severity and length between the depression of the 1930's and the two earlier depressions are so great as to suggest a difference in kind. From 1929 to 1932 industrial production declined by almost 50 percent, as compared with a maximum decline in the nineties of 13 percent, and in the seventies of 7 percent. The contrast in the three recovery periods is quite as striking. In each of the earlier periods, it had far surpassed the previous prosperity peaks. Eighteen eighty-two was 70 percent of 1872, and 1902 was 55 percent above 1892.<sup>2</sup>

The decade following 1929 was marked by the failure of the economy to expand as it had in the previous situations. All major indexes, notably those on production and national income, attest to this fact. Since the labor supply was growing steadily throughout the decade, this failure of the economy to expand and create new jobs resulted in a very large-scale problem of unemployment.

Following the crash of 1929, the residents of rural areas were doubly victimized, since the world demand for American farm produce had

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<sup>1</sup>I have drawn heavily from Federal Works Agency, Federal Work, Security, and Relief Programs, Research Monograph XXIV (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1941) to obtain data for writing this section about the economic aspects of the depression. Federal Works Agency will hereafter be cited as FWA. For a detailed account of this period see John K. Galbraith, The Great Crash 1929, Dixon Wecter, The Age of the Great Depression 1929-1941, Dexter Perkins, The New Age of Franklin Roosevelt 1932-45, William E. Leuchtenburg, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal 1932-1940, and other works cited fully in the bibliography.

<sup>2</sup>Corrington Gill, Unemployment and Technological Change, Report on G-7, National Research Project, WPA, Philadelphia, Pa., April, 1940, 2.

come to a standstill after 1921. With the prices of manufactured goods remaining at a high level, the farmer now found that it took more unprocessed wheat, hogs, cotton, or corn to buy the necessary farm machinery, or processed food, than ever before. Many of the farmers were inclined to believe that the deflation was the result of policies originating in Washington by those who were unfriendly. When farm prices fell, there also resulted an effect on all financial institutions that dealt with farmers. By 1929 this economic shift went all the way back to Wall Street.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, the United States was experiencing a high rate of prosperity in industrial production during this period. The demand for rayon, cigarettes, refrigerators, telephones, radios, automobiles, cosmetics, and many other new luxuries had come to be of economic significance. As an example, in 1919 there had been 6,771,000 passenger cars in service in the United States; by 1929 there were 23,121,000.<sup>4</sup> In industry as a whole, the per capita output in 1929 was twice that of 1900; output in 1900 was twice that of the 1870's; after 1929, however, the trend had almost reversed.<sup>5</sup>

The steadily increasing labor force during this period was one of the most significant contributors to the depression, especially in the industrial areas. There was an increase from 29 million in 1900 to 55 million in 1940. During the first thirty years employment generally kept pace with the growth in labor force, but after 1929 the situation assumed a materially different aspect. Employment declined from its

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<sup>3</sup>R. G. Tugwell, "The New Deal in Retrospect," The Western Political Quarterly (December, 1948), I, 373-85.

<sup>4</sup>Frederick Lewis Allen, "Coolidge Prosperity," The Making of American History, Donald Sheehan (New York: The Dryden Press, 1950), 612.

<sup>5</sup>FWA, Research Monograph XXIV, 3.

peak of 47.9 million in 1929, to 37.7 million in 1932. In the subsequent recovery employment rose to 46.6 million in 1937, declined in 1938, and regained only part of the loss in 1940 due to rearmament and war orders.

Throughout the 1930's the labor force grew at an average rate of 600,000 each year, reaching the total of 55 million in 1940. As a result of the steady expansion of the labor supply with a decline in employment, the 1930's witnessed a problem of unemployment that had never been experienced in the past.

Further evidence of the lack of expansion during the 1930's can be seen in the data on national income. The previous long-term trend in national income had been upward, and had reached its high point in 1929. Then it declined drastically until 1933. In 1939 the national income reached its highest total for the 1930's and it was approximately at the 1929 total in terms of "real income."<sup>6</sup> It was thus a decade with a great increase in the labor force but without expansion and was in every respect a depression.

The restricted demand for labor during the 1930's reflects the pronounced decline in private investment expenditures and also the decline in the purchasing power of the consumer. Expenditures for durable producer goods -- roughly reflecting the volume of industrial investment -- declined from \$10.2 billion in 1929 to \$2.4 billion in 1933. Another measure of investment activity may be seen in the amount of "income-producing expenditures" which declined from \$18 billion in 1929 to \$3 billion in 1933. These expenditures did increase in the recovery following 1933; however, the average for the decade remained below the average of the 1920's. It was this type of expenditure that was primarily responsible

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

for the change in the general level of employment. The high levels of consumer purchasing power, national income, and employment were associated with large-scale outlays for industrial plant and equipment, housing, and similar investments.<sup>7</sup>

#### Relief Prior to 1933

Public relief to the needy was administered under the "poor laws" of various states prior to the changes that were made during the depression.<sup>8</sup> These poor laws were inherited from colonial days, and were largely based on Elizabethan poor laws. Few significant changes were made in the method of administering public relief during the whole period before 1929. The Great Depression tested the current relief methods to the utmost, and under the strain, the outdated systems broke down. There were more adjustments made in the relief policies and the methods of administering relief in the United States between 1930 and 1940 than had been made in the three preceding centuries. These methods of administering relief were based upon the predominantly agricultural nation of the past, not the industrial wage earning nation that had evolved after the industrial revolution of the 19th century.

During the formative period of poor laws in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the relief problem in the United States was a comparatively simple one. The unemployed, who constituted the bulk of those requiring assistance, were thought of as being primarily the responsibility of their relatives; care by the community was assumed only where private charity was unavailable and the relatives were unable to supply the need. The principle of local responsibility in

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 5.

<sup>8</sup>I have drawn heavily from FWA, Research Monograph XXIV, 11-16, to write about early relief progress. For a detailed account of the breaking-down of local relief, see David Shannon, The Great Depression (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), 35-54.

caring for the needy was supplemented by the usual availability of jobs for all able-bodied persons willing to work. Those few worthy cases who required public aid during short periods of unemployment looked to the localities and not to the national government. The locality was also charged with the responsibility of caring for its own aged and handicapped. Therefore, the early methods of administering and financing poor relief was entrusted to the county, city, town, or township. Local "poor-masters" were overseers of the poor and thus had the responsibility of caring for the destitute of their own communities.

Institutional care was regarded as the scientific method of administering public relief, and it resulted in the local almshouses becoming filled with all kinds of destitute people including the aged, insane, vagrants, prostitutes, and homeless children.

There were attempts to differentiate among the relief population and thus provide suitable care for the various groups. At the turn of the twentieth century, some localities gave outdoor relief, or home relief as it is now called. However, throughout much of the country, all recipients of poor relief were forced to live in institutions even as late as 1929.

Private charities played an important part in giving aid to the poor in some localities; in others, they were of little significance or were non-existent. The major portion of all relief provided in 1929 was extended by governmental agencies. It has been estimated that three-fourths of the cost of public relief in this country was provided by public agencies in 1929.<sup>9</sup>

It is generally believed that 1923 and 1926 were relatively prosperous years, yet in each of these years there were more than 1.5 million

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<sup>9</sup>FWA, Research Monograph XXIV, 14.

unemployed persons in this country.<sup>10</sup> This trend had caused the local authorities responsible for relief measures to begin feeling increased pressure early in the 1920's. In the modern economic society, which was characterized by a high degree of specialization and interdependence, unemployment was being recognized by but a few persons as a national problem, when the relief expenditures had been rising constantly for several decades prior to 1933. Public relief expenditures in 16 cities, for example, had increased from \$1.5 million in 1911 to \$20 million in 1928. Thus, the steadily increasing cost of relief led to state and, ultimately, federal participation.<sup>11</sup>

The unemployment estimates of the National Industrial Conference Board--estimates that were regarded as conservative--indicated that almost 4 million were unemployed in the United States in January 1930. By August there were over 4½ million persons without work; and in December the number of unemployed had reached nearly 7 million. Because a considerable number of these unemployed were without substantial savings, they were forced to apply for relief within a short period of time after their loss of employment.<sup>12</sup>

With the localities being forced to obtain more money for relief at a time of declining real estate values, the backbone of the local tax systems, state agencies began to appear. The first state relief organization was set up in New York in November, 1931. Many more state relief agencies came in 1932, and every state had some form of relief organization by 1933.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 15.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 16.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.



The Political Scene During the Depression

Looking at the political scene prior to the depression and changes made during the depression, one can see many changes in the philosophies of these times. President Calvin Coolidge believed the United States was a business country and wanted a business government, and twice vetoed farm relief legislation to the satisfaction of the industrial and banking community which constituted his strong support. President Coolidge took great pride in cutting down the cost of running the government by "systematic cheese-paring," reducing public debt, and reducing the Federal taxes. During this time his Secretary of Commerce was Herbert Hoover, who "ingeniously helped business to help itself . . . ." <sup>14</sup>

Succeeding Coolidge to the Presidency in 1929, Hoover, together with the conservative press, was constantly arguing against the outright gift of large-scale federal funds for unemployment relief. The belief was that such a practice would bring about a dangerous political centralization, tear down the character of the recipients, and violate the economic law "that the national debt cannot go beyond a fixed point without bankrupting the government." <sup>15</sup>

This concept lacked a plan of action to offset the newly arisen crises and the American scene was "turned topsy-turvy." "Over a hundred thousand American workers applied for jobs in the Soviet Union." The shanty towns that appeared in and around the industrial cities were bitterly named "Hoovervilles" by the inhabitants of these accommodations born of the depression. <sup>16</sup> Therefore, the campaign of 1932 came after

<sup>14</sup>Allen, The Making of American History, 620. Also, see Arthur M. Schlesinger, The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919-1933 (Boston: Houton Mifflin Co., 1957), 61-76.

<sup>15</sup>Edward N. Saveth, "Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal," Understanding the American Past: American History and Its Interpretation (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1954), 499. Also, see Broadus Mitchell, Depression Decade (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1947), 114-119.

<sup>16</sup>Shannon, Great Depression, 1.

almost four years of grinding deflation, succeeding more than a decade of agricultural depression. The smokestacks of many industrial plants had ceased to smoke; unemployment and hunger were felt throughout all parts of the United States. It was during this period that Franklin D. Roosevelt was governor of New York where he had been elected in 1928 and overwhelmingly re-elected in 1930. The chief features of his administration were provisions for public development of the water power of the St. Lawrence River and an old-age pension law.<sup>17</sup>

At the Democratic convention of 1932, Roosevelt was nominated when Texas and California delegates were released by John N. Garner, Speaker of the House who was named for the Vice-Presidency. The Republicans had renamed President Hoover and Vice-President Curtis to stand on the administration's record.

In the campaign that followed, Roosevelt attacked the Republicans for not solving the riddles of the depression. He promised ingenious corrective measures which were later tried, but "economy" and "balanced budget" which stood high on the campaign list were later forgotten. Hoover's replies were defensive, sincere, statistical and "uninspired." Roosevelt was victorious by a popular majority of 7 million, carrying all but six states; the electoral vote was 472 to 59, and the Democratic majority was 191 in the House and 22 in the Senate. Mr. Roosevelt was re-elected in 1936 over Governor Alfred M. Landon of Kansas by the largest marginal victory in presidential history to that date. He was less easily successful against Wendell Wilkie in 1940 and again over Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York in 1944.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Mitchell, 121.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 121.

Roosevelt believed that America had arrived at a stage where government must play a larger, more persistent, and planned part in the economy. His program was to later be named "The New Deal."

"At least half the members of Roosevelt's original cabinet were known as liberals favorable to governmental undertakings for rescue and reform of the economy."<sup>19</sup> Among these men were Cordell Hull, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and Henry A. Wallace. Probably more influential and prominent than most of the cabinet officers were the advisors composing what was called the "Brain Trust." Chiefly university professors, especially of Columbia and Harvard, they devised proposals, assembled data, wrote speeches and legislation, and many came to occupy important official positions. Included among this group were Raymond Moley, Rexford G. Tugwell, Felix Frankfurter, George F. Warren and A. A. Berle. Many other academicians and professional men could be mentioned, but for understanding the aspects of the "New Deal" as outlined in this paper, Harry L. Hopkins is the most important figure.

President Roosevelt brought Harry L. Hopkins into the government on May 22, 1933. Hopkins was made Federal Emergency Relief Administrator, and Washington had very little knowledge about various state and local relief organizations throughout the country; nevertheless, he had to take action immediately.<sup>20</sup>

Hopkins' immediate action was headlined by the Washington Post; "Money Flies," and stated, "the half-billion dollars for direct relief of states won't last a month if Harry L. Hopkins, new relief administrator,

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 122.

<sup>20</sup>Robert E. Sherwood, Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), 48.

maintains the pace he set yesterday in disbursing more than \$5,000,000 during his first two hours in office."<sup>21</sup>

During Hopkins' administration the Federal Emergency Relief Administration had a plan that "will work in the long run." Hopkins' reply was "People don't eat in the long run . . . they eat every day."<sup>22</sup> From the criticism that Hopkins received and the amount of work that he was able to accomplish it is evident that he held strong beliefs in expediency as a means for correcting the great American dilemma.

With the establishment of the FERA came the beginning of a new arrangement between the federal government, states, and the localities for meeting the relief problem. This partnership was maintained throughout the remainder of the federal program of the New Deal, and still exists in certain relief programs today.

#### Federal Participation in Relief

The first federal government relief was in complete conformity with the tradition of local responsibility.<sup>23</sup> President Herbert Hoover believed that the federal government could do its share by supplying advice and encouragement to the states and localities. Thus, in the latter part of 1930 the President's Emergency Committee for Employment was established. This committee, headed by Colonel Arthur Woods of the Rockefeller Foundation, was designed to be merely a coordinating agency and central clearing house for information; it did not have any funds at its disposal for distribution, and "failed to create enough new jobs to

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 56.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 19.

<sup>23</sup>In this section I have drawn heavily from FWA, Research Monograph XXIV, 16-35, and Federal Works Agency, Summary of Relief and Federal Work Program Statistics, 1933-1940 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1941), Chapter I.

build even a footbridge across the growing chasm of unemployment."<sup>24</sup> Thus, in August, 1931, a new committee was established. The president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, Walter S. Gifford, headed this new group which was known as The President's Organization on Unemployment Relief. The Gifford Committee continued the work of encouraging state and local officials and sponsoring private organizations, and thus maintained the status quo of limited federal participation.

Probably the greatest obstacle to federal aid for unemployment relief was the lack of clear precedent for such action. Many advocates of federal aid believed that the government should assume responsibility as it would in an emergency situation such as fire or flood. But between 1930 and 1932 very few Congressional advocates of federal financial aid for unemployment relief put their cases on recognition of unemployment as a national problem. "Emergency" was the main argument advanced at that time.

March 7, 1932, witnessed the first step toward federal aid for relief. On that date, a Congressional resolution was approved authorizing the Federal Farm Board to give the Red Cross 40 million bushels of "surplus" government wheat for distribution to the needy. In July, 1932, a similar resolution made possible the distribution of 45 million bushels of wheat of the Grain Stabilization Corporation and 500,000 bales of cotton of the Cotton Stabilization Corporation.

The first real break with the tradition of purely local responsibility for relief came with the passage of the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932. Title I of this statute made \$300 million of federal funds available for repayable relief advances to state and local governments. The sums advanced to states were to supplement the state

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<sup>24</sup>Dixon Wecter, The Age of the Great Depression 1929-1941, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948), 46.

and local resources and were to be repaid by deductions from future federal road grants. This method of repayment was cancelled in 1934, and the advances to states were converted, in effect, to straight grants.

While the distribution of this \$300 million fund gave temporary aid to some states and cities, which were in a serious financial plight, the trend toward greater federal participation in the unemployment relief problem continued. Under the circumstances of money being taken from vital services or schools, fire protection, hospitals, sanitation, and police protection, federal assistance in meeting the relief problem finally became a necessity.

On May 12, 1933, the Federal Emergency Relief Act was approved, and \$500 million were made available for outright grants to the states for relief. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration was designated as the agency to administer the granting of these federal funds to the states. By the end of 1933, state emergency relief administrations were functioning in every state, and they were all receiving grants from the FERA.

Under the provisions of the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933, the relief applicants did not receive their goods, orders, or work-relief checks from officials of the FERA. The actual administration of relief was in the hands of approximately 5,000 local relief agencies which were in existence until the end of the FERA in 1935. The FERA allocated funds to the governors of the various states. These officials then turned the funds over to the state relief organizations which in turn distributed federal funds, along with state funds, among local relief organizations. The local relief organizations spent these funds, together with locally

provided money, for relief purposes.<sup>25</sup> The functions of the FERA, in addition to granting funds to the states, involved the issuance of broad policy regulations designed to promote minimum relief standards and the proper use of federal funds.

A differentiation of the various relief groups, and policies designed to fit their individuals needs were accordingly undertaken as far as conditions permitted. One of the major objectives of the FERA was the development of work-relief programs for the employable workers on relief rolls. In certain areas this only involved the continuation, revision, and expansion of existing local work-relief programs. A large-scale, direct-relief program was created for those unable to work or where work projects could not be devised. The creation of the Rural Rehabilitation Program of the FERA was created to care for segments of the destitute rural groups. In addition, there were special activities such as a transient program, an emergency education program, and a college student aid program.

The philosophy of work relief was . . . based on the theory that needy workers may be jobless through no fault of their own; work relief is provided not primarily as a test of willingness to labor but rather as a means of conserving the skills, work habits, and morale of the able-bodied unemployed . . . True work-relief undertakings, therefore, cannot be selected in haphazard fashion; emphasis is placed, rather on securing projects which, when completed will be of value to the community.<sup>26</sup>

Many work-relief projects had been put into operation by local and state governments during 1932 and early 1933. Under many of these programs there was lack of funds and of experience. Both total and hourly wage rates were often very low, and the amount of work required bore little relationship to wages offered. Few attempts were made to provide jobs

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<sup>25</sup>Under the act of 1933, \$500 million were made available for allocation by the FERA to the states. Section 4 provided that out of this sum, a maximum of \$250 million was to be granted to the states on the basis of one dollar for each three dollars of public moneys. The balance was a discretionary fund from which the administration could make grants to the states.

<sup>26</sup>FWA, Research Monograph XXIV, 27.

in line with the past experience of relief workers. White-collar workers and skilled workers were lumped with unskilled laborers and put to work beautifying parks and repairing roads. Lack of funds or unwillingness to purchase materials often went hand in hand with insufficient supervision and resulted in projects of limited value.

Actual progress toward better work programs was extremely slow, and for various reasons it was decided that the federal government should undertake an experiment in providing work for the unemployed. Thus, new federal agencies such as the Federal Civil Works Administration (CWA), Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and the Public Works Administration (PWA) were established.

#### Civilian Conservation Corps

The Civilian Conservation Corps was established in April, 1933, with the objectives of relieving distress and unemployment, restoring depleted natural resources, and advancing a program of public works.

The following part of a CCC report gives some detail and explanation of CCC in operation across the United States:

Each CCC camp houses 160 enrollees. Camps also house army reserve officers, work supervisors, and technical personnel. In January, 1937, there were 2,084 CCC camps in operation; 1,500 of which were under the technical supervision of the Department of the Interior. Surveys conducted by the Department of Labor reveal that 75 percent of all young men entering the CCC during the past year were under the age of 21 when enrolled. Out of 93,336 juniors selected in October, 1936, 27 percent were 17 years old; 26 percent were 18; and 14 percent were 19 years old. The survey also indicated that about a fifth of these junior enrollees had never held a steady job until their enrollment in the CCC.<sup>27</sup>

An impressive record of physical accomplishments was built up by the corps during the first eight years of its existence (from April, 1933, to April, 1941). A partial listing of conservation projects completed

<sup>27</sup>WPA, Report on the Works Program (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, June, 1937), 72.



by the CCC included the planting of several million trees, the construction of 118,400 miles of truck trails and minor roads, erection of 85,000 miles of telephone lines, the building of 45,000 bridges, and the construction of over 6,800 large impounding and diversion dams.<sup>28</sup>

#### Public Works Administration

The Federal Administration of Public Works was established under Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and continued by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935. The PWA was authorized to make loans and grants for non-federal construction projects of states, counties, cities, territories, and possessions, and to conduct federal demonstrations of slum clearance and low-rent housing. Projects in the non-federal classification were financed by PWA grants from FERA funds for a portion of the project cost. The remaining funds were provided either by PWA loans, largely from funds made available prior to the FERA Act or directly by the local bodies sponsoring the projects.<sup>29</sup>

Under the Act of 1933, the maximum grant supplied by the PWA for any state or local project was 30 percent of the cost of labor and materials. In 1935 the federal share was raised to 45 percent of the total cost of a project.<sup>30</sup>

#### Civil Works Administration

The Civil Works Administration was established November 9, 1933, and was created for the dual purpose of providing employment and stimulating recovery. The CWA was entirely separate, theoretically, from the

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<sup>28</sup>WPA, Report on the Works Program (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, March, 1936), 39.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>FWA, Research Monograph XXIV, 71.

grant-in-aid program of the FERA. The FERA, however, participated in the financing of the Civil Works Program during its brief period of operation.

The Emergency Relief Administration discontinued nearly all work relief activities while the CWA Program was in operation during the winter of 1933-34. Employable persons who had been receiving relief were transferred to the new program as rapidly as possible after it was created in November. In January, 1934, when CWA reached its maximum, approximately two million of the four million workers employed on the program were former relief recipients.<sup>31</sup>

Considerable federal control was possible because the personnel of the CWA, both in its state and in its local offices, were federal employees. However, the states and localities played an important part in the operation of the CWA program. Most of the work projects were planned by localities or states; in a few instances, projects were sponsored by various federal agencies.

Certain general principles and policies concerning work projects were outlined at the outset by the Civil Works Administration. The work was to be of a social and economic value and to be performed on public property. Because of certain restrictions concerning the use of funds appropriated under the act creating CWA, the CWA was obliged to limit its activities to construction or to such white-collar projects in the planning of construction projects. However, since many of the unemployed white-collar workers were left unemployed because of this provision, a Civil Works Service Program (CWS) was set up to make possible the operation of non-construction projects. Funds were provided to state relief organizations through grants by the FERA. Both the CWA and the CWS programs were administered by the State Civil Works Administrations. When new

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<sup>31</sup>FWA, Final Statistical Report of the FERA, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1942), 8-9.

funds were appropriated for the Civil Works Program, the money was made available for construction and non-construction purposes; CWS projects then were transferred directly to the Civil Works Program.

In two months time the CWA reached its employment peak of more than 4,200,000 persons, and then it was practically terminated at the end of four and one-half months. A major difficulty encountered was the planning of projects.<sup>32</sup> Another possible reason for the short-lived CWA was the idea placed before President Roosevelt that people might feel secure and not want to leave the payrolls of the government. The CWA was liquidated and the former FERA program of direct relief resumed. There were many protests about the ending of the CWA, and thousands of telegrams and letters were sent to Washington as a result. The people didn't want tickets for groceries; they wanted work.

The Civil Works Administration had been headed by Harry L. Hopkins. "It was the parent of the WPA (Works Progress Administration) and marked the real establishment of the principle of the right to work from which there could be no retreat."<sup>33</sup>

#### Works Progress Administration

After many months of discussion and study, plans for a new federal work program were put into effect with the passage of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act in April, 1935. Acting under authority of this Act, the President created by executive order the Works Progress Administration.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>FWA, Reserach Monograph XXIV, 29-35.

<sup>33</sup>Sherwood, Roosevelt and Hopkins, 52.

<sup>34</sup>Known as the Works Projects Administration after July, 1939, at which time the WPA was made a part of the newly-created Federal Works Agency. For an early account of the Works Progress Administration, see Corrington Gill, Wasted Manpower (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1939), Chapter IX.

Designed primarily to give direct employment on locally sponsored work projects to employable persons in need of public assistance, the WPA was also given the broad task of coordinating the work of other federal agencies receiving emergency federal funds for construction.<sup>35</sup>

When the WPA was created, there was a big question in Washington as to who might head the new organization. Harry L. Hopkins had handled the FEPA and the CWA, but during this same time Harold Ickes had administered the operation of the PWA. Finally, Hopkins was made the administrator, and Ickes became chairman of the advisory committee on allotments over the entire works program. Thus, the fast-moving Hopkins was placed in check by the more careful deliberate administrator Ickes. The PWA kept public buildings and larger projects under its jurisdiction, while the newly formed WPA was more concerned with getting people from relief rolls and putting them to work on the smaller projects. This new arrangement of administrator versus administrator-chairman did present some conflicts. President Roosevelt took nearly a billion dollars away from Ickes and entrusted the spending of it to Hopkins. This was the first step toward controversy.<sup>36</sup> Hopkins remained administrator of WPA until he became Secretary of Commerce in 1939. That same year WPA and PWA were merged into the Federal Works Agency.

The Federal Works Agency had F. C. Harrington as its commissioner in 1939, John M. Carmody in 1940, followed by Major General Philip B. Fleming.

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<sup>35</sup>Thus, the term "Works Program" as used in 1935, referred to the activities of a group of agencies. When Congress later began to make separate appropriations for these units, the WPA dropped its functions of coordinating and reporting the work of other agencies. For an account of the changes within the various programs, see Report on Progress of the Works Program, issued monthly by the WPA from March through August, 1936, and thereafter in October and December, 1936, and March, June, and December, 1937; and Report on Progress of the WPA Program, June 30, 1942 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office).

<sup>36</sup>Sherwood, Roosevelt and Hopkins, 52.

The program of the Works Projects Administration was financed jointly by the federal government, local government agencies, and non-profit private organizations, which sponsored projects. The WPA funds (federal) were obtained by annual appropriations made by Congress, which were used chiefly to pay the wages of project workers. The sponsors' share of funds was used principally for materials, equipment, and other non-labor costs. Sponsors' contributions increased from ten percent in the first year of the program to thirty-one percent in the year ending June 30, 1942. The proportion of total funds supplied by the WPA also decreased correspondingly.<sup>37</sup>

The procedure used for approving projects was somewhat long and detailed. The proposed project was first submitted from the local office to the state office. All applications from other governmental agencies or individuals were referred by the division to the proper federal agency having supervision over the project. Upon receipt of an application for an allotment, the division transmitted copies to the Works Progress Administration for review and recommendations, or comments, if no recommendations were made. Such recommendations and comments were transmitted with the allotments application to the advisory committee for recommendations to the President. The WPA had the responsibility of reviewing all proposed projects in order to evaluate the extent to which they would reduce the relief problem and aid in accomplishing the aim of the Works Program to put 3,500,000 persons from public relief rolls to work with the funds available. Because of limited funds, many desirable projects had to be cancelled.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>WPA, Report on Progress of the Works Program, June 30, 1942, 33.

<sup>38</sup>WPA, Report on Progress of the Works Program, March, 1936, 76-77.

The WPA was in many respects a combination of the CWA and the work relief program of the FERA. The WPA provided work for everyone from the professional person to the manual laborer. WPA projects were designed to provide work while providing food and clothing for people on relief. Some of the purposes of the Division of Community Services Programs writing, painting, and music utilized these talents to stimulate cultural development throughout the entire United States. The construction and conservation projects were operated under the Division of Operations. Streets were paved, airports and airways built or improved, and many other construction projects were operated by this division.

In 1936 Harry L. Hopkins, Works Progress Administrator, wrote a letter of introduction to a short publication entitled, Jobs the WPA Way, and herein he stated the underlying purposes of the WPA.

Our task has been and is to provide JOBS instead of a dole-- for those men, women and youths, regardless of religious creed or political belief, whose need of work has been verified . . . But over and above all of those considerations there are restored human values in self-reliance, self-respect, renewed faith and hope on the part of millions of people which transcend everything material and provide the practical assurance that the American idea and ideal will persist.<sup>39</sup>

#### National Youth Administration

The National Youth Administration was established on June 26, 1935. The NYA patterned its student aid after the program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration which, during the school year, 1933-34, first began helping college students in continuing their educations. This type of aid was extended under the NYA to include high school students (and some grade school students, sixteen years of age or older) as well as graduate students of colleges and universities. The student aid program, conducted for youths who were no longer in regular attendance in school,

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<sup>39</sup>Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1936, 1.

was the work project program of the NYA through which part-time employment was provided for young persons in need. These work projects for youths constituted a specialized type of public assistance that had not existed as a separate program prior to the establishment of the NYA. Completing the undertakings of the NYA were activities directed toward the establishment of job training, counselling, and placement services for youth,<sup>40</sup>

The work project program of the NYA was very similar to the WPA in the work performed and authorization of employees. Preference in employment on the NYA work program was given to young persons certified by public relief agencies as in need of relief. Any public, quasi-public, or non-profit private agency could cooperate in the operation of a work project.

Initial assignments of young persons to projects were made by the employment division after the state youth director had interviewed the young persons as to their qualifications and then made recommendations concerning their proper placement and occupational classification.

Construction projects included highways, buildings, and other projects similar to the WPA. Non-construction projects included sewing, school lunches, workshop projects, and other programs similar to WPA work.<sup>41</sup>

The maximum monthly wage for students was uniform throughout the United States. Secondary students could not exceed \$6 a month; college up to \$20 a month but could not average more than \$15 per month over a nine-month period; graduates up to \$40 a month but not more than \$30 a month average for a school year.<sup>42</sup>

The work of the NYA was carried on under the general supervision

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<sup>40</sup>WPA, Report on the Works Program, December, 1937, 63.

<sup>41</sup>WPA, Report on the Works Program, June 30, 1938, 62-64.

<sup>42</sup>WPA, Report on the Works Program, December, 1937, 63.

of the WPA administration and under the immediate supervision of an executive director appointed by the President. In 1940 the NYA became part of the Federal Security Agency.

These are some of the agencies as they were set up on a national basis. All of these were established in Utah, and the operation and accomplishments of the agencies closely related to, and including the WPA, will be described in later chapters.



CHAPTER II  
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN UTAH PRIOR TO AND  
DURING THE DEPRESSION

In the preceding chapter a description of the depression on a national level has been given along with the political, economic and social changes that resulted. This chapter will describe the economic and political situation in Utah during the depression years. In subsequent chapters efforts to overcome the depression will be described.

Utah was basically an agricultural state at the time the depression hit. A number of comprehensive manufacturing programs had been attempted as early as the late 1870's, but Utah had remained basically a producer of raw materials. The basic industries were crop agriculture, livestock, and mining, with manufacturing becoming of great importance to the state's economy only since the end of World War II. During the period of the Great Depression, manufacturing was mainly the processing of raw materials produced locally by the agricultural and mining industries.

Utah experienced significant economic difficulties in the 1920's. There was a post-World War I depression in agriculture. Farmers and stock raisers, plagued with a decade of insufficient rainfall, were hurt badly, and found their reserves depleted to the vanishing point. Then came the disastrous drought of 1934 to intensify the severity of the existing depression.

The economic crash of 1929 was especially disastrous to Utah's mining industry, with mining operations being reduced to fifteen or twenty percent of normal, and in many cases ceasing entirely.<sup>1</sup> Thus, a most important

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<sup>1</sup>A Report of the Works Division, Utah Emergency Relief Administration (Salt Lake City: 1936), 12. Utah Emergency Relief Administration will hereafter be cited as UERA. Also, see Leonard J. Arrington, From Wilderness to

local outlet for agricultural products was closed. The great numbers of unemployed from agriculture and mining were placed on the labor market, with no chance of local employment in other pursuits. Retrenchment of employment in agriculture, and in other industries dependent upon agriculture and mining, added another large volume of workers to the lengthening list of unemployed. This situation resulted in many cases of choosing between starving or seeking public relief.

The following table is useful for showing the relative importance of economic activities in Utah during the late 1920's and early 1930's.<sup>2</sup>

<u>Source</u>	<u>Aggregate value for years 1925, 1927, 1929, 1931 and 1933</u>	<u>Percent of total</u>
Mining	\$ 359,881,000.	43.0
Manufacturing	212,672,000.	25.4
Livestock	162,743,000.	19.5
Crops	<u>101,532,000.</u>	<u>12.1</u>
TOTAL	\$ 836,828,000.	100.0

Mining was the most important basic source of income in Utah during the period 1925 to 1933, but during the depression its relative importance declined from 48.6 percent of total income in 1929, to 23.6 percent in 1933. In the latter year it accounted for a lower share of income than did either manufacturing or agriculture. This resulted because of the extremely serious effect of the depression upon the durable goods industries.

The technological advancements in mining methods and a declining

Empire: The Role of Utah in Western Economic History, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1961), 5-17, for a descriptive account of Utah's economy from settlement to World War II.

<sup>2</sup>Report on the Economic Background of Salt Lake City, Utah, April 27, 1936, prepared by K. C. Beede of the Federal Housing Administration will be drawn upon for writing this section. (Located in the Utah State Archives, hereafter cited as Utah Archives.)

market not only reduced the number employed, but effected a large drop in individual income per mining employee.

<u>3</u> Full-time Employees	<u>Average yearly Employees</u>	<u>Average yearly payroll</u>	<u>Income per Employee</u>
1928-30	12,828	\$22,600,991.	\$ 1,683.
1930-32	8,434	12,796,616.	1,517.
1932-34	6,239	7,878,598.	1,263.

Utah did have an exportable surplus of mine products with the average total balance of originating over terminating carloads from 1929 to 1934 being 31,944 carloads per year. Bituminous coal accounted for the bulk of the exports, with crude petroleum, zinc ore, and salt following.

Crops as a basic source of income was ranked lower than mining, manufacturing, and livestock, mainly because of the low proportion of land available for crop farming in the state. Utah had 6,239,318 acres of land in farms on January 1, 1935, of which 1,706,174 acres were available for crops, and amounted to only 3.2 percent of the total land area of the state. The ratio of income from crops to total income averaged only 12 percent from 1925 to 1933; and the movement had been very erratic and definitely unfavorable from 1925 to 1931, when the ratio was only 9.9 percent. However, it did rise to 15.3 percent in 1933.<sup>4</sup>

The unfavorable balance of trade due to increased imports in crop carloadings averaged 5,100 carloads from 1929 to 1934, with the greatest deficit for that period being wheat, with 3,041 carloads, followed by 1,021 carloads of corn. Many of the imported products represented fresh vegetables, watermelons, grapes and other products brought from areas

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 6. Chart prepared by Dilworth Walker, Professor of Economics, University of Utah.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 5.

with longer growing seasons, such as California and Arizona.

The largest surplus commodity for the same period was 339 carloads of potatoes, with 289 carloads of onions following second. The remaining important surpluses used were apples, peaches, cabbage and tomatoes.

The gross income from livestock production in Utah averaged \$31,400,000 annually from 1925 to 1935. The year of largest income was 1929 with \$43,482,000; the lowest was 1932 with \$19,225,000. The ratio to total income for Utah increased rather steadily from 16.4 percent in 1925 to 22.7 percent in 1933. The average for that period was 19.4 percent.

Utah averaged 4,454 surplus carloads of livestock annually between 1929 and 1935. The main portion of these shipments were of sheep, goats and cattle. The largest markets for these animals were in California and New York, with Los Angeles being the largest single outlet.<sup>5</sup>

Another economic factor that might be mentioned to portray the economic situation in Utah during the Great Depression is finance. Because Salt Lake City was the financial center of the intermountain area, a branch of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco was located there, and this bank still serves Utah, 31 counties in Idaho and 4 counties in Nevada. The Bank's debits rose from \$775.8 million in 1923 to \$1,024.9 million in 1929, then declined to \$489.3 million in 1933, and rose to \$660.5 million 1935. The bank thus recovered from approximately 49 percent to 66 percent of the 1929 level by 1935.<sup>6</sup>

This economic chaos and worker displacement created a very serious problem of vast migration. There were many programs attempted at both state and national levels to correct this situation. This vast movement

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 5.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 15.

of people made it very difficult to establish programs that would correct the unemployment problem and thus get the economy moving forward. In an attempt to correct this at the national level, the United States government established a House Special Committee on Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens. From a study made by this Committee, it was stated that "Utah looms as both a problem and a state that can contribute greatly in bettering the welfare of these thousands of destitute persons."<sup>7</sup>

Dr. Robert K. Lamb, Chief Investigator for the House Special Committee, was sent to Salt Lake City on September 9, 1940, to speak to Governor Blood and either President David O. McKay or Dr. John A. Widtsoe, of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. After visiting Utah, Dr. Lamb went to San Francisco, California and wrote a letter to Governor Blood the following day, inviting him to appear at a hearing to be held there on September 23, 1940. In his letter Dr. Lamb stated that "The long history of working together and of mutual assistance which marks the people of Utah has facilitated the development of a program of cooperation which is outstanding among the States of the Union."<sup>8</sup> "Faced by a period of desperately low farm prices and severe drouth, federal, state and church authorities have all taken steps to alleviate the situation."<sup>9</sup>

Governor Blood accepted the invitation, appeared at the hearing and reported that an insufficient supply of water contributed to migration in Utah. He further stated "taking the migration losses by counties for the period 1930-40 . . . it is possible to observe the influence of water upon migration," and pointing out that nine out of ten counties which had

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<sup>7</sup>Western Union Telegram Sept. 5, 1940, to Governor Henry H. Blood from Elbert D. Thomas, U.S. Senate. (Governor's correspondence, hereafter cited Gov. Corr. Utah Archives.)

<sup>8</sup>Letter to Governor Blood, Salt Lake City, Utah, from Robert K. Lamb, San Francisco, California, Sept. 10, 1940. (Gov. Corr. Utah Archives).

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 2.

less than 40 percent of their farm lands provided with first-class water rights had an average loss of 74 percent of their natural increase through migration; the counties having over 40 percent of their lands provided with first-class water rights had lost 46 percent of their natural increase. The difference of 28 percent in loss is a significant amount and indicates that water shortages might have forced many people to leave the more arid areas of the state. Although there was a great number of migrants during the depression, Utah's loss in population through out-of-state migration was one and one-half times less between 1930 and 1940 than the previous decade.<sup>10</sup>

California was not only the largest purchaser of Utah's livestock, but was also "the greatest importer of Utah people . . . primarily those who have reached maturity and ready to be gainfully employed."<sup>11</sup> Considering the great amount of movement and the agricultural situation, there were two fallacies, the first being that "we should as Utah citizens take care of our own; that we should not receive Federal assistance. The second is that the best method by which we can avoid the necessity of taking Federal funds is that of returning to the farm."<sup>12</sup>

Utah did not exist as an independent and isolated state, but like many of the remaining 47 had citizens moving out and new members taking their places, without the functioning market system and agricultural abundance to absorb them and provide for their needs. During these times

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<sup>10</sup>A typed copy "The Problem of Population Migration in Utah" submitted by Henry H. Blood, Governor, State of Utah, at Los Angeles (sic San Francisco), California, September 23, 1940, at the Hearing of the House Investigating Committee of Destitute Migrants. (Gov. Corr. Utah Archives.)

<sup>11</sup>A typed copy of a speech by Dean R. Brimhall that he had delivered in August, 1937, enclosed in a letter to Governor Blood from Mr. Brimhall Dated Sept. 20, 1937, on WPA letterhead, Washington D.C. (Gov. Corr. Utah Archives.)

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

of helplessness, many people began to question the true value of free enterprise, the Constitution, and the democratic process of government that had been functioning so well since the nation's birth. Letters began to pour into the Governor's office asking such questions as "Where Oh where is that good old document which was framed by our fore-fathers and handed down to their posterity [sic]?"<sup>13</sup>; "It would seem it may as well be discarded then we could all try to for get it, along with thoes [sic] other old fashioned ideas such as 'pease [sic] on Earth, good will toward man'."<sup>14</sup>

Many of those who were unemployed did not want handouts, they wanted to earn their living by working and receiving a fair share of that which was available.

I don't feel as I have been treated right; there is going to be other road work going to be done here in the county for the state can you advise me where to go to get it and to whom they are giving Red Cross food away here. I don't want any of their food if I cant have any of their work.<sup>15</sup>

Another example of wanting fair treatment was associated with the animal purchasing program that was initiated by the federal government.

. . . with the new campaign in operation, we small men are left out entirely. It seems our government, that which we have stood out and fought for all our lives, is moving contrary to their many promises. They are playing directly and solely into the hands of the large packers and we must be perfectly content to play the dummy . . . This condition is indeed encouraging communistic ideas --- no, we are not communists and far be it from us to become such --- but are we being given encouragement to do otherwise?<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Letter from Bingham Canyon, Utah, December 11, 1936, to Governor Blood signed "We beg to remain ever your friends, the commit. of six." (Gov. Corr. Utah Archives).

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Letter to Governor Blood from Ammon J. Earley, Paradise, Utah, January 25, 1934. (Gov. Corr. Utah Archives).

<sup>16</sup>Letter to Governor Blood from A. P. Rasmussen, Mgr., Rand R. Whole-sale Dressed Meat Co., Midvale, Utah, dated Dec. 17, 1934 (Gov. Corr. Utah Archives).

There were many people who did join the Communist Party, Socialist Party, Utah Workers Alliance, Civic and Relief Worker's Protective Union of Utah, and other similar organizations. In general, these organizations believed that the government was responsible for the economic dilemma, and should provide jobs at a wage level comparable to the union scale in private enterprise. These groups did not look upon the government work projects as temporary programs designed to provide work relief, but asked for benefits beyond wages, and were also very vocal every time a reduction of the relief works took place.

The Civic and Relief Workers Protective Union of Utah was incorporated December 5, 1934, and one of its "purposes" was for the "promotion of foundational principles of the true equality of man and for the carrying out of such purposes".<sup>17</sup> Anyone who had ever been a "strike breaker" could not join this union.

An organization having a similar name, "Relief Workers Protective Union of Salt Lake City," used some influence during the operation of the CWA to try getting:

1. An increase of wages on CWA projects to \$4.00 per day;
2. Free transportation to and from place of work;
3. Assignment of workers to projects nearest their homes;
4. Workmens compensation . . .
5. Regular pay days on the job;
6. Guarantees against arbitrary discharge of CWA employees;
7. Shoes and adequate clothing to be furnished all CWA workers, fuel to be issued free . . . as well as pork and other government allotments for the unemployed.<sup>18</sup>

During 1939 there were many appeals made by the Utah Workers Alliance, which had its greatest support in Utah County with the main office being

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<sup>17</sup>Articles of Incorporation of the Civic and Relief Workers Protective Union of Utah, Dec. 5, 1934, 2, (Gov. Corr. Utah Archives).

<sup>18</sup>Letter to "Governor of Utah the State Relief Adm." from the Executive Committee, Relief Workers Protective Union of Salt Lake City, Dec. 18, 1933, (Gov. Corr. Utah Archives).



located at Provo. At a convention held in Payson on April 1, the Alliance adopted four resolutions and sent copies to the Governor. The requests were for: adequate unemployment insurance for WPA workers; more liberal old age assistance and lowering of age limit to 60 years of age. The third resolution asked that the state stop the officials of the State Training School at American Fork from "hiring out of inmates" to local farmers. The fourth resolution requested the "Giving to the citizens of Utah the right of referendum and recall to all political officeholders."<sup>19</sup>

The Alliance sent many letters to government officials at all levels. They wanted all non-certified WPA timekeepers, clerks, stenographers, etc., discharged and replaced by certified relief clients, also to be applied in the state and county welfare departments, and stated "Our slogan is - - - ' a job at decent wages for all who needs one.'" (their quotation marks)<sup>20</sup>

The Socialist Party of Utah submitted a resolution to Governor Blood "for the immediate convening of the legislature of the state for the express purpose of finding ways and means to provide the necessary funds to meet this extraordinary [sic] condition,"<sup>21</sup>. This resolution was followed by another of a similar nature adopted by the "Bill Haywood Branch, Communist Party of Utah, Communist Party of the U.S.A.", which protested a cut in the relief rolls of Salt Lake County. This resolution

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<sup>19</sup>Letter from Gov. Blood to Mrs. Stanley Jorgensen, State Secretary Utah Workers Alliance, Provo, Utah, April 12, 1939, (Gov. Corr. Utah Archives).

<sup>20</sup>Letter to Gov. Blood on Workers Alliance letterhead, April 22, 1939, (Gov. Corr. Utah Archives).

<sup>21</sup>Resolution written by "The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Utah," July 24, 1939, C. W. Bushnell, Chairman, (Gov. Corr. Utah Archives).

stated that "The way to recovery is not in reducing the living Standards of the working class . . . and demand that the Governor of the State of Utah meet this crisis . . ." <sup>22</sup> There were also many individual agitators who were writing letters and trying to incite riots and discontent in the larger cities of the state.

There were many serious problems confronting the farmers and ranchers who were attempting to feed animals without food and at the same time without a market place to sell their animals. An example might be the angora goat situation with approximately 65,000 of these animals in Utah during 1934, with some of the owners holding two years' past shearings of mohair because there was not a market. The "Watering holes are drying up and there is no place to put these animals." <sup>23</sup> These goats were very destructive to the ranges and at the same time mortgaged and building up interest debts for the owners.

Mining was seriously affected by a strike being called by the District Union No. 2, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelters Workers, to begin October 5, 1936. These workers had voted for "an increase of 50¢ in the daily wage, and an eight-hour day from collar to collar or portal to portal." <sup>24</sup> This strike was supported by most of the mining areas in the state of Utah.

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<sup>22</sup>Resolution written by Bill Haywood Branch Communist Party of Utah, Communist Party of the U.S.A., no date, but asked for a special session of the legislature to be called first part of January, 1940, (Gov. Corr. Utah Archives).

<sup>23</sup>Letter written to Director C. W. Warburton, Office of Cooperative Extension Work, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington D.C., from William Peterson, Director, Extension Service, Utah State Agricultural College, Oct. 18, 1934, (Utah Archives).

<sup>24</sup>Letter from District Union No. 2, to Mr. J. O. Elton, General Manager, International Smelting & Refining Co., Kearns Building, Salt Lake City, Utah, October 1, 1936, (Utah Archives).

From the many letters received by Governor Flood during the months of October, November and until mid-December, 1936, it is apparent that the efforts of organized labor were taxed to the fullest degree before they reached a satisfactory settlement.

The plight of many citizens in Utah was of a very difficult day-to-day existence and it was truly a time when all efforts had to be made to regain the way of life that had prevailed in the state for so many years. It didn't matter whether you were a goat herder, an industrialist, crop farmer, or a newspaper carrier -- the depression was felt in all walks of life, with everyone facing and meeting his own individual problems and in most cases not being able to do much about them.

## CHAPTER III

## RELIEF IN UTAH PRIOR TO 1935

In Utah, as in most other states, except for certain limited groups in need of institutional care, public relief was basically local in character until 1932. Because of extensive private and church charities, which were traditional with the early settlers of Utah, the statutory provision of 1888 was in effect without change until after the crash of 1929. The early law had placed the county commissioners in charge of caring for their "poor and indigent residents," and until the problem of relief was recognized as one which had outgrown the local communities, this form of relief had served its purpose.<sup>1</sup>

A preliminary step toward state participation in public relief had been taken in 1929 when Governor Charles R. Mabey appointed a State Welfare Commission to

. . . study and investigate the laws, conditions, practices and institutions of this and other states and counties relating to public health and to the dependent neglected, delinquent, and defective classes, and upon the basis of such a study to prepare amendments to and a codification of the laws of Utah pertaining to health.<sup>2</sup>

This was a temporary measure and until 1935, Utah did not have a permanent State Department of Public Welfare.

In the fall of 1930, municipalities in the larger urban counties gave the county commissioners additional support by providing work programs such as woodcutting and snow shoveling. By the fall of 1931, unemployment and dependency became a much greater problem and many new programs of a local nature were begun. The city and county governments, chambers

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<sup>1</sup>First Biennial Report, Utah State Department of Public Welfare (Salt Lake City, 1939), 1.

<sup>2</sup>Laws of Utah, 1921, Chapter 56.

of commerce, private social agencies, churches, fraternal and labor organizations, and other community groups formed civic cooperative organizations. Two organizations of this type were the Ogden Community Service Committee and the Salt Lake Citizens' Advisory Committee. These committees solicited money, shoes, clothing, food and fuel; provided work relief; established employment exchanges; and operated commissaries. Existing private and public welfare agencies operated by volunteer workers distributed many needed supplies for these organizations. Their resources were exhausted by the spring of 1932, and the great burden of relief was once again placed in the hands of the private agencies and the counties.<sup>3</sup>

#### Federal Aid to Relief

With the passage of the Emergency Relief and Construction Act in July, 1932, money was made available to the states through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

These loans were made upon certification that resources within the state were inadequate to meet the relief needs. In Utah these RFC funds were made available to the counties through the Governor's Committee on Emergency Relief for Utah, appointed August 24, 1932, by Governor George H. Dern. Within each county there was an emergency relief committee appointed to assist the five unpaid members of the state committee. The function of this new organization was:

. . . to cause relief surveys to be made in each county to determine the relief needs and the most suitable projects of a public character which would provide relief work; to advise the Governor concerning application for public relief; to assist in the preparation of applications; and to administer all relief activities throughout the state.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>First Biennial Report, Utah State Department of Public Welfare, 4.

<sup>4</sup>A Report of the Works Division, Utah Emergency Relief Administration, Salt Lake City, 1936, 12, (University of Utah Library).

The first RFC funds for public assistance in Utah were disbursed by Salt Lake County in August 1932, and all counties were participating in this program by January 1933, and continued to receive funds until May 31, 1933, when the appropriation was exhausted.<sup>5</sup> This committee directed the disbursement of \$2,923,439 between September 1, 1932, and May 21, 1933. During the same time period, the counties contributed \$259,325 from their own funds, not including such funds as old age, widow's pension, etc. Churches, civic organizations and private charities also expended a total of \$375,216.<sup>6</sup>

Relief given under the RFC program consisted mainly of direct relief in "kind" such as food, clothing, fuel, shelter, etc. However, a locally directed program of "make work" relief compensated by cash payment was also undertaken. On September 20, 1933, the granting of funds directly to the counties for disbursement was changed to a plan of central accounting and disbursing from the state offices.<sup>7</sup>

#### Federal Emergency Relief Administration in Utah

The approval of the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 marked the second stage of federal aid to relief in Utah. To assist in administering the new relief program, which had assumed broader aspects under 1933 legislation, Governor Henry H. Blood appointed a committee of twelve on May 16, 1933. The new group was known as the State Advisory Committee of Public Welfare and Emergency Relief. This committee succeeded the committee of five which had functioned until that time.

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<sup>5</sup>First Biennial Report, Utah State Department of Public Welfare, 4.

<sup>6</sup>A Report of the Works Division, UERA, 12.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 12.

This new advisory committee administered the FERA program in Utah until appointment of the State Board of Public Welfare on May 9, 1935.<sup>8</sup>

By request of the federal government, the Utah State legislature, in special session, passed an unemployment relief revenue act, approved August 4, 1933. This new Act provided a two-percent sales tax and contributed approximately \$115,000 per month to the Emergency Relief Administration (ERA) fund, while the federal government contributed \$1,000,000 per month. This total sum of money was spread very thinly among the 120,000 or more men, women, and children receiving their subsistence from relief agencies in Utah.<sup>9</sup>

#### Civil Works Administration

The Civil Works Administration (CWA) began operating in Utah on November 19, 1933.<sup>10</sup> Because of the great number of unemployed people in Utah, the state administrators were directed to put relief clients and a percentage of unemployed to work immediately. Projects were hastily conceived and approved by telephone and 2,801 persons were given employment during the first week. During the second week of operation, 10,788 men and women received paychecks, and a peak of 20,451 persons employed was reached during the third week in January. From this peak, the number employed decreased uniformly in accordance with national policy until March 31, 1934, when the Utah Emergency Relief Administration assumed the responsibility of providing work programs.

The CWA projects were provided by state, county, and municipal

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<sup>8</sup>First Biennial Report, Utah State Department of Public Welfare, 9.

<sup>9</sup>The National Emergency Council, Manual: Federal Agencies in Utah by Utah State Director Allen T. Sanford.

<sup>10</sup>A Report of the Works Division, UERA, 96, has been used for writing about the CWA.

officials. The projects were required to be of "a worthwhile nature, of social and economic value to the communities, and not a part of the regular municipal or governmental operations." Following is a list of the accomplishments of the Civil Works Administration, classified by types and with percentages of expenditures under each classification, followed by a chart showing the expenditures by counties in Utah.

City streets and sidewalks . . . . .	21.4
Farm-to-market roads . . . . .	24.4
Construction and repair of public buildings . . . . .	3.3
Parks and playgrounds . . . . .	4.6
Construction and repair of school buildings . . . . .	9.9
Waterways . . . . .	5.4
Municipal water supply . . . . .	5.8
Sewers . . . . .	1.3
Drainage . . . . .	5.1

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURES OF CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATION<sup>11</sup>  
AND CIVIL WORKS SERVICE FUNDS BY COUNTIES OF THE STATE OF UTAH  
FROM NOVEMBER 1933 TO JUNE 1934

- - - - - C.W.A. & C.W.S. - - - - -

<u>Counties</u>	<u>Federal Funds</u>	<u>State &amp; Local Public Funds</u>	<u>Total C.W.A. and C.W.S.</u>
Beaver	\$ 48,290.04	\$ 6,069.78	\$ 54,359.82
Box Elder	116,269.47	27,383.19	143,652.66
Cache	222,911.69	60,480.55	283,392.24
Carbon	142,215.53	25,871.09	168,086.62
Daggett	2,867.80	788.16	3,655.96
Davis	89,439.34	30,803.38	120,242.72
Duchesne	50,238.06	6,004.31	56,242.37
Emery	60,578.35	20,637.12	81,215.47
Garfield	30,285.49	6,849.42	37,134.91
Grand	19,197.50	3,040.85	22,238.35
Iron	50,497.36	14,305.49	64,802.85
Juab	68,475.89	6,208.07	74,683.96
Kane	12,169.25	1,680.14	13,849.39
Millard	88,006.05	18,149.91	106,155.96
Morgan	16,046.44	5,051.11	21,097.55
Piute	15,624.72	1,637.21	17,261.93
Rich	8,086.31	652.85	8,739.16
Salt Lake	1,531,238.05	230,964.57	1,762,202.62
San Juan	23,019.27	1,916.67	24,935.94
Sanpete	119,592.35	12,056.41	131,648.76

<sup>11</sup> CWA Report, located in Utah State Archives, in a folder of miscellaneous information.



Statement of Expenditures of Civil Works Administration (Continued):

Counties	----- C.W.A. & C.W.S. -----		
	Federal Funds	State & Local Public Funds	Total C.W.A. and C.W.S.
Sevier	90,977.26	16,937.62	107,914.88
Summit	83,659.47	6,239.89	89,899.36
Tooele	92,548.09	20,448.97	112,997.06
Uintah	67,449.51	19,793.23	87,242.74
Utah	355,927.41	87,184.90	443,112.31
Wasatch	40,238.91	4,353.48	44,592.39
Washington	40,873.74	24,022.80	64,896.54
Wayne	18,336.68	2,156.47	20,493.15
Weber	519,794.29	53,842.67	573,636.96
TOTAL	<u>\$4,024,854.32</u>	<u>\$705,530.71</u>	<u>\$4,730,384.63</u>

The balance, with minor percentages, comprised airport construction, pest control, sanitary improvements, clerical, research projects, engineering and administration.

The total amount expended under the program was \$5,228,952. Of this amount, \$4,521,234 was expended from federal funds, and \$707,717, or 13.6 percent of the total represented contributions of local funds by the state, counties, municipalities and school districts. These contributions were used for purchasing materials and equipment, because the federal money was used only for labor in most cases.

The CWA was significant in that it was the beginning of a policy of public works on a national scale by the federal government. From the funds expended, Utah along with other states, received many tangible and useful public improvements such as buildings, roads, waterworks, and sewers.

During the period of operation under the CWA, "direct relief" to unemployed clients was continued by the FERA.

Utah Emergency Relief Administration

With the termination of the CWA, a new policy of relief was put into operation. The "social service" principle was introduced and relief

was granted on a basis of need. The requirements of relief applicants were determined by case workers on an impartial and uniform basis after investigation. A budget was set up for each client and if employable, he was allowed to work out the value of his budget deficiency on a work project planned and supervised by the Works Division.<sup>12</sup>

The Utah Emergency Relief Administration (UERA) had a state director, and under his immediate supervision were the employees of the state office. From the state office, authority was given to county administration in every county in the state and the counties took care of the particular requirements of that locality. The committees serving the counties were described as "public-spirited men and women, who preside over the administration of relief in their jurisdiction without compensation of any kind."<sup>13</sup>

The Utah citizen finding himself without any means of support had only to apply to the nearest county relief administration or its agent, state his case, fill out the proper financial statement, submit to the necessary investigation and be given his requirements.<sup>14</sup>

That the typical citizen of Utah preferred an "honorable means of caring for himself and his family through his own exertion, to any dole," was the experience of the UERA. From the 30,000 families on the relief rolls, only five percent of the cases preferred to receive food orders in place of employment. The people wanted to work in occupations for which they had been trained.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>A Report of the Works Division, UERA.

<sup>13</sup>Manual: Federal Agencies in Utah, 72.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 72.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 72.

Works Division

On April 1, 1934, the Works Division of the UERA was organized as directed by the FERA and was charged with the responsibility of planning and supervising work projects of a "nature which would utilize the class of labor available and would provide work for those relief clients who were able to work." These workers had to be certified by the newly formed Social Service Division.<sup>16</sup>

The Social Service Division of the UERA was created April 1, 1934, and established a department in each county of Utah for investigation of monthly needs of the relief clients and determining the eligibility of applicants. This new program required the establishment of a case work program in each county where none had existed before, plus the enlargement of the organization in counties where some case work was already operative. For most of the counties this was a new experience because very little was known about the requirements of case work procedures and the standards for determining relief needs and making up budgets to meet those needs.

There were few case workers available who could meet the minimum requirements set by the Federal Administration. The counties were instructed to select the best qualified people on the basis of one case worker for each 150 relief cases. Even with special training courses and FERA scholarship grants to thirty-two students, the Social Service Division was understaffed and forced to function with inadequately-trained personnel during its entire period of operation.<sup>17</sup>

The Social Service Division had the responsibility of caring for county nonresidents. Beginning September 20, 1935, the responsibility

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<sup>16</sup> A Report of the Works Division, UERA, 13.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 15.

of caring for out-of-state residents was also transferred to this division. In addition to the handling of cases, the social workers were responsible for the designation of families to whom surplus commodities were distributed; for the enrollment of boys for CCC; and in some of the smaller counties, for the supervision of women's projects. Many surveys were also made by these case workers. With all of these added responsibilities, it was impossible for the workers to give full attention to their main assignment of handling family problems.<sup>18</sup>

The Works Division was created to plan and supervise construction of suitable work projects to absorb relief clients who were certified and able to work. This division was placed in charge of a director acting under the state administrator. The Works Division included the following major departments: (1) Engineering Department; (2) Department of Safety and Workmen's Compensation; (3) Women's Division; and (4) Commodity Distribution Department.

#### The Department of Safety and Workmen's Compensation

This department was responsible for safety instruction, for appointment of safety men and first aid men on work projects, and for the observance of safe practices during construction. A second responsibility was the handling of claims for compensation and medical treatment arising from injuries sustained while employed on the various projects.

Under the Civil Works Program, compensation for lost-time injuries had been handled by the United States Compensation Commission. The maximum compensation payable was \$25 per month or \$5.75 per week. Under the UEFA program, compensation was paid through a state insurance fund. The rate of compensation for lost-time injuries was set at two-thirds of a day's wages per day during the period the worker was incapacitated.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 16.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 27.

Women's Division

The Women's Division was charged with the planning and supervision of work projects employing women. This included some of the following programs: sewing, nutrition, home nursing, school lunch, experimental school camps for women, instruction for the blind, recreation, music, art, food preservation.

Sewing project. Sewing projects provided employment for the largest number of women. Many unskilled women who could not have been employed were given instruction and training in sewing by experienced seamstresses. The purpose of this project was not only to provide employment, but garments were also produced for relief clients throughout the state. Projects were conducted in twenty-four counties with 106 projects being donated by the local communities. The centers were in unoccupied buildings, churches, schools, or library rooms, with communities paying for the rent or donating the occupied buildings. Equipment used on most projects was also furnished by the sponsoring community.

Materials were either donated, purchased, or secured from government surplus commodities. The sewing program in Utah made 312,019 articles of clothing such as aprons, overalls, caps, and dresses.<sup>20</sup>

State art project. This project was designed to give needed employment to artists, and to "increase the cultural assets of the state." The artists were allowed to work in their homes and at other convenient centers. There were fifteen male artists and seven female artists employed in Utah. The works of art produced were murals, pencil sketches, wood blocks, pottery, water colors, and posters, with oil painting as the largest item.

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 29.

Upon completion of this project an exhibit was held at the Union Building at the University of Utah and was open to the public for one week. The exhibit was shown for two more weeks in another city, and finally the pictures were presented as gifts to schools and public institutions throughout Utah.<sup>21</sup>

School lunch program. The purpose of this project was to give employment to women while providing one hot dish at lunch time for undernourished children. The food was prepared in schools or convenient places near the schools. The preparation was a vegetable and other produce necessary to provide a hot dish of soup or rice for the noon lunch.

Twenty-two counties participated in this program and over 95,331 children were served a total number of 1,551,254 meals. Results showed that the health of many children was improved. There was less disease, and school work was generally improved upon by the children who received these supplementary foods.<sup>22</sup>

Nutrition program. The underprivileged families were taught the proper methods of preparing food, food purchasing, diet, nutrition, and similar important lessons. Classes were conducted for groups, and individual instructions were given in homes and through the schools.

There were twenty-seven counties that participated, with 407 communities, 643 classes, 3984 homes visited, and over 12,314 women served.

If the depression is to leave its mark upon any class or group, it will be the undernourished or mal-nourished child whose body will be marked by deformities or by structural deficiencies because of malnutrition. . . .<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 30.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 30.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 30.

The school lunch and nutrition program was designed to correct the possibility of such a mark being left upon the underprivileged citizens of the United States.

State recreational program. A recreation project was conducted in selected centers where there was a large number of relief clients. The purpose of this program was to provide guidance for health and leisure time activities for untrained and underprivileged persons. Eight counties participated and eighteen centers were operated, with 31,308 children and 10,788 adult participants.

Activities included playground games, winter sports, handicrafts, dancing, music, dramatics, art, picnics, and hikes. The programs were generally conducted in school buildings, church amusement halls, club buildings, and similar places.<sup>24</sup>

Federal experimental school camp for women. Two camps were conducted under the ERA program: one in 1934 and a second in 1935. The program in 1934 was conducted in two groups for four weeks and enrolled 100 girls. The 1935 program enrolled one group of 50 girls for six weeks.

The camps were conducted by a highly-trained director with counselors trained in homemaking, domestic service, child care, handicrafts, recreation, cooking, and worker's education. The candidates for the camp were girls between the ages of 15 and 25 years, and were from families on the relief rolls. The girls were high school students, college students, factory workers, and housekeepers. Most of them were single, but married students were accepted.<sup>25</sup>

Food preservation projects. The purpose of the food preservation project was to take care of any food available for preservation and

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 30.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 31.

storage. These projects were operated during the summer months of 1934 and 1935. The drought of 1934 had created a special effort, and many community gardens were planted to furnish a large supply of food for this project.

All projects were under the supervision of trained women and the local centers were supervised by women taken from the relief rolls. During the two years of operation there were 27 counties participating, with 280 community canning centers. Five hundred and four women and 213 men were employed, with over 18,000 people who attended demonstrations. There were 32,872 relief families assisted and 3,145 "near relief" families that also received assistance.<sup>26</sup>

Library and reading. This project provided a reading room for transients and created deposit stations for the outlying districts. It was supervised by the librarian of the Ogden Free Library. The value of this program was the encouraging of young people to read good books, and the providing of a library service for the people who did not have access to the Ogden Library.<sup>27</sup>

Nursery school - University of Utah. The primary purpose of the nursery school was to increase the physical welfare and wholesome mental development of the underprivileged child.

The nursery school employed four well-trained nursery school teachers who were on the relief rolls. It also served as a training school for women from the relief rolls who were in need of specialized training in child welfare. Regular classes were held weekly for the parents and they studied nutrition, behavior, and disciplinary problems.

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 31.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 32.



The enrollment consisted of 24 relief children who were certified through the County Welfare Relief Organization. The children gained an average of one and one-half pounds per month and many behavior problems were corrected.<sup>28</sup>

Survey for the collection of historical data - Washington County.

This project was planned for collecting social and historical data for Washington County. Two men and six women were taken from the relief rolls for this project. They conducted personal interviews, and did research in private papers, records, and pioneer diaries.<sup>29</sup>

Instruction of the blind. The director of this project was Murray Allen who was a "very well-educated and well-informed" blind person. A survey was taken of the blind persons throughout the state and follow-up work was done with these people. There were 106 cases, unknown to the blind commission, discovered by this survey.

The project provided for seven blind instructors to work in the field, covering 27 counties in Utah. These men and women taught Braille reading and writing, typewriting, English, music, and vocational therapy handicrafts to the adult blind.<sup>30</sup>

Public health nursing. In 1933 there were only three public health nurses employed outside of Salt Lake County, and Utah had never had a state public health nursing program. In some counties there were no medical and nursing services, with most babies being delivered by midwives with "questionable technic and qualifications."<sup>31</sup>

Following the CWA nursing program, the Women's Division of the ERA planned projects for graduate registered nurses to develop a generalized

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 32.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 32.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 32.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 33.

public health nursing program. The program was formulated with advice from the National Organization of Public Health Nursing and the State Board of Health. The project provided for an average of 50 graduate registered nurses, with one or more placed in each county; five supervisors trained in public health nursing; one state advisory nurse; and one physician was employed as medical relief advisor.

The benefits resulting from the nursing program were many: more healthy babies and mothers due to proper nursing care; proper sanitation and supervision; women were taught personal hygiene and care of the sick in the home; communicable diseases were reduced in the schools; malnutrition and correctable defects were discovered in school children; and the program was of "untold value to the scattered residents of rural counties where medical and nursing care are too difficult and too costly to obtain."<sup>32</sup>

#### Surplus commodity distribution

Distribution of surplus commodities played an important and interesting part in the general relief program in Utah. There were surplus commodities existing in communities with want and hunger. The hungry could not buy surplus products even at the very low prices asked; thus, hunger prevailed in the midst of plenty.

Through the activities of the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation (FSRC), a planned program of surplus absorption and redistribution to the needy not only provided a market for a price depressing surplus and restored its price, but also provided foodstuffs and clothing for distribution to families.

In Utah, ERA projects were established for the distribution of commodities received from the FSRC. The work was handled from the

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 33.

state office by a state director, and accounting was done by the accounting department of the UERA. In each of the counties a commodity distribution agent was appointed to receive and disburse commodities for that county, although in seven of the small counties the county manager also acted as commodity distribution agent.

Surplus commodities, such as dairy products, dried and canned fruits, eggs, and cereals, were delivered only to eligible clients who had been certified by the case workers of the Social Service Division. The commodities were additional and supplemental to other forms of relief that may have been given to these clients.

Commodity cards were issued to relief clients and they would receive a quota based upon the size of the family. Each client would sign a form covering all items delivered to him and the county relief manager was held responsible for the proper distribution and care of these commodities.

Certain commodities were received in the raw state and required processing before distribution for use. This provided work projects in many cases, especially with the processing of cattle and sheep under the drought purchasing program, and also in the handling of raw cotton and its conversation into textiles, clothing and bedding.<sup>33</sup>

In Utah, 126,370 cattle were purchased under the drought cattle and sheep purchasing program, and of this number, 64,817 were slaughtered by commercial packing houses and distributed within the state. The better cuts were distributed as fresh meat and amounted to 2,453,705 pounds. The remainder was canned and 945,188 cans were held for distribution within Utah. Seventy-nine carloads containing 3,223,200 cans were shipped from Utah by the FSRC for distribution to relief clients in the State of Illinois. The canned meat included beef, veal,

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 47-48.

hamburger, tongue, and beef broth.<sup>34</sup>

Skins from sheep and goats also purchased under the drought live-stock purchasing program were processed through work projects set up by the ERA and the wool recovered was used in the manufacturing of blankets and woolen cloth. There were thousands of blankets, comforters, mattresses, and assorted items of wearing apparel distributed to the relief clients from this program. The total number of sheep purchased was 205,512, and of these, 86,430 were packed for use by the FSRC, and 119,082 were condemned and killed at the place of purchase. The skins of this latter group were utilized for providing relief work.

Commodities handled by this department amounted to 332 carloads of foodstuffs and approximately 92 carloads of commodities besides food. The total wholesale value of the commodities distributed in Utah amounted to \$2,027,367.<sup>35</sup>

#### Engineering department

The Engineering department was subdivided into three divisions: (1) Work division proper; (2) Drought relief division; and (3) Drought range department.

Drought relief division. This department supervised the conservation and development of water in drought stricken parts of the state. The projects included the drilling of deep wells and equipping them with pumps, pumping from open sumps, re-claiming waste and seepage water, development of springs, lining streams and ditch channels, construction of reservoirs, replacing leaky pipe lines, etc. This work was conducted by a separate staff of hydraulic engineers and geologists who were responsible to the chief engineer of the Works Division.

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 48.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 50.

The total amount expended under the drought relief program to December 31, 1935, was \$1,640,869 of which federal funds amounted to \$1,312,385 and local contributions by sponsors totaled \$328,484.<sup>36</sup>

One of the interesting features of this program was that the sponsors furnished the labor. Under the CWA and the FERA it had been the policy of the government to furnish funds for labor and the sponsor to supply the materials. It was believed that expediency was of greatest importance and if the sponsor supplied the labor, "the success of the work would be more nearly assured and the project more speedily completed."<sup>37</sup>

Drought range development. This department provided for the conservation and development of water on the livestock ranges of the public domain. Projects were for the development of springs, piping spring water into storage tanks and watering troughs, drilling deep wells on the trails and grazing areas and equipping them with storage tanks and troughs, and the construction of stock watering reservoirs. There was a separate engineering staff, and geologists were also assigned to this department; these men reported directly to the chief engineer.<sup>38</sup>

The cost of the program through December 31, 1935, was \$269,142 of which \$144,825 was spent for labor and \$124,317 for materials.

The value of this program was not only its emergency aid, but also it laid a foundation for the maximum utilization of the state's grazing areas and aided in the prevention of over-grazing and the destruction of the trail routes to and from the ranges.

Engineering department - Works Division. The function of the engineering department of the Works Division was to plan projects, put

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 56.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 54.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 19.

approved projects into operation, and supervise construction. In the counties it required a planning engineer and project supervisors. In the state office an office staff was organized with a corps of district engineers to supervise field construction and to coordinate the work of the state office with the county officer.

It was the responsibility of the county manager to choose and supervise the work projects. Under his direction a county planning engineer assisted the taxing units in the preparation of projects, made investigations, determined quantities involved, made estimates of costs, and determined the availability of labor for the classification required.

To be eligible for approval, a work project had to be of "a public character, and of economic or social benefit to the general public or to publicly-owned institutions,"<sup>39</sup> nor were projects to cover expenditures which were a part of normal municipal or governmental operations.

In the agricultural counties, unskilled labor made up an average of approximately 95 percent of the certified relief workers, and the projects were planned to utilize this labor class. Projects included roads, sidewalks, bridges, sewers, pipelines for culinary water supplies, reservoir excavation, cemetery and park improvements, and grading and improving school grounds. The few skilled workers were employed in painting and renovating municipal buildings, and constructing concrete sidewalks.

In the urban centers and industrial districts the projects were planned to take care of a larger number of skilled workers. These projects involved the construction of school buildings, city halls, recreational centers, concrete sidewalks, tennis courts, swimming pools, sewers, water supply reservoirs, and replacement of water mains.

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 20.

### Coordination department

The coordination department was responsible for maintaining the routine of office management, including the provision of proper facilities and conveniences for the expedition of work; and employment and assignment of personnel and the procurement of office equipment and supplies. This department was also the information bureau for the department and was responsible for public relations.<sup>40</sup>

### Rural rehabilitation

The rural rehabilitation division of the FERA rehabilitated "worthy and destitute rural families." Their purpose was to make such families self-supporting by providing federal aid in re-financing farm operations through farm and household planning. This division supplied seed, farm animals, feed and equipment, and encouraged these families to work part time in industry or other occupations to get supplemental cash incomes.

Under the Emergency Drought Program, the Rural Rehabilitation Corporation was authorized to receive feed and forage during the drought of 1934. This feed was sold at current prices for cash or on feed loans or rural rehabilitation loans, to both relief and non-relief persons. There were 179 dairy cows loaned to relief clients who had sufficient food to care for them during the winter.<sup>41</sup>

### Division of finance and statistics

This division handled the disbursements for the entire UERA program, purchased all supplies and equipment, and had a system for centralized auditing and accounting. There was a fourth department of research and statistics that was recognized as a pioneer "in the field of research and statistical reporting in Utah." The activities of this

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 36.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 36.

department involved the collection, tabulation, and presentation of pertinent data for the state and nation. The department also conducted research into many phases of public life which would be influenced by, or might influence, the status of employment, relief load, economic or social conditions. The direction of these projects provided approximately 670 jobs for professional and clerical workers.<sup>42</sup>

#### Department of transient relief service

During the early summer of 1933, there was a great increase in the number of transients moving from state to state in search of employment.<sup>43</sup> These transients were mainly young men 18 to 20 years of age, but many were mature, and sometimes included whole families. Many peace officers ran them out of town as vagrants, only to send them to the next town for the same treatment. Finding themselves without funds, these people called upon local authorities for help and those with automobiles were generally furnished enough gasoline to get to the next settlement. Using this process many transients crossed the entire continent. Certain small towns reported gasoline bills for transients in excess of \$200 per month.

Finally the problem of caring for these people became too great for the local officials and the department was created and financed by funds from the Emergency Relief Act of 1933.

In December, 1933, the granting of organized relief to transients in Utah was placed under the direction of the UERA. A headquarters was established in a remodeled box factory in Salt Lake City, and this center provided sleeping quarters and service kitchens for temporary shelter and food for male transients.

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 37.

<sup>43</sup>Most of the material for writing this section is taken from the Report of the Works Division, 40.



Early instructions from Washington were that all transients should be returned to their state of legal residence, but many returned again after being sent home. A survey showed that almost eighty percent of these youths were from broken home conditions, and it was necessary to modify this ruling.

In addition to the transient shelter in Salt Lake City, an additional shelter was opened at Ogden and work camps were organized within the state. One of these was located on the national forest in the North Fork of American Fork Canyon. A second camp was between Ogden and Salt Lake City, and a third was at the Dinosaur National Monument at Jensen.

When a transient applied at the shelter for relief, he was registered, and his personal history was recorded; he was then required to take a bath while his clothing was being fumigated. Each transient was given a medical examination, and if he wished to continue his journey he was allowed only one meal and one night's lodging. If he preferred to stay, a record was made for him and he was assigned to one of the work camps. Here he might be employed in flood control work, road construction, trail building, highway landscaping, craftsmanship projects, or excavation work at the Dinosaur National Monument. There was no compensation for working at these projects except an allowance of one dollar per week for personal necessities. After two weeks' service the new member was entitled to an issue of clothing.

There was a great amount of conservation work accomplished in the forests, and great strides were taken in recovering dinosaur skeletons at the Dinosaur monument. Besides the work program, there was also a recreational program, and night classes conducted in geology, mineralogy, and other useful subjects. It was the aim of this department to "Transform an aimless, wandering youth to a contented young man, with a new perspective and the potentialities of a useful citizen."

With the beginning of the Works Program of the WPA, the transient relief service was discontinued. Transients were notified that they could not receive food, clothing, or lodging. They were encouraged to apply to the WPA in their state of legal residence for certification for employment on WPA projects. The transient shelters were converted into work camps for the single and unattached men who were residents of the state. These men were given food, shelter, medical and dental care, and employment on work projects.<sup>44</sup>

#### Mosquito abatement

The abatement of the mosquito nuisance in Utah is a problem of great concern as the mosquito is not only a pest, but is also a disease carrier. Mosquito abatement was therefore qualified under the ERA program for its economic and social value and a large percentage of common labor was required with very little material necessary.

A good foundation had been laid for this work by the Salt Lake Mosquito Abatement District. This district was organized in 1923 under state law and was supported by general taxation. A board of five non-salaried trustees directed the program and the research and entomological control was furnished by the Department of Zoology at the University of Utah.

Early in July, 1934, the UERA Engineering Department prepared estimates and made application for the approval of control projects in the following six counties: Box Elder, Cache, Davis, Salt Lake, Utah, and Weber.

These projects were first sponsored and supervised by the State Administration, and later projects were sponsored by county commissioners, using the same engineers and supervisors.

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 40.

The construction projects included open drain ditches requiring some rip-rap, drops, checks, culverts, bridges, and tile drains. The tile was contributed by city, county, state, or property owners, and most culverts and other materials were also contributed by the sponsoring agency.

Each labor crew had a foreman, first aid man, and timekeeper. All of the labor furnished was taken from county relief rolls, and more than one-half of the foremen and timekeepers were also relief clients. On many projects, trucks and other equipment were furnished by the relief clients.

Through the planting of "mosquito fish" in breeding pools that could not be drained, plus hundreds of man hours of hard labor on the work projects, the mosquito problem was greatly abetted. Marsh lands were reclaimed by drainage; badly infested breeding areas were eliminated; and the water that had been impounded in these areas was carried to canals, lakes, and rivers for irrigation purposes.<sup>45</sup>

#### Community sanitation program

The community sanitation program was sponsored by the Utah State Board of Health and operated under the supervision of the U. S. Public Health Service. In Utah the program was operative in twenty counties, under the UERA, for the "elimination of unsanitary devices and conditions by the construction of sanitary privies in rural areas where sewers were impractical or not available."<sup>46</sup> In many towns and cities where sewers were available, a few connections were made for clients who had installed the necessary plumbing. Some septic tanks were installed to eliminate old cesspools in areas where homes were modernized and sewers were unavailable.

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 71-2.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 73.

Materials were furnished by the sponsoring individual and the UERA furnished the labor for these projects. The value of this program was in the providing of labor for relief clients while improving the sanitation in the homes and communities of the state.

The program was responsible for the passing of sanitary ordinances in a number of cities and towns in Utah. These ordinances followed the rules and regulations of the State Board of Health and the United States Public Health Service. This greatly improved the sanitary conditions of these communities.

Under the UERA program there were installed 2,172 sanitary privies, 276 sewer connections, and 433 septic tanks. A total of \$77,446 was spent for labor and \$78,935 was spent by clients for the necessary materials.

This program was a great step forward in Utah, with the removal of unsightly old privies around the homes. Many sanitary projects were conducted in the parks, playgrounds, and camping areas, with new sanitary privies being provided where such facilities were in a questionable state of repair throughout the state.<sup>47</sup>

#### Predatory animal control

Livestock production has always been one of the largest industries in the state of Utah. The mountains of the state provide the summer pasture for great numbers of sheep, cattle, and horses, and the deserts provide the winter pasture for these animals. In the 1930's approximately 85 percent of the state's area was used for grazing, and the government owned or controlled 69 percent of the total area. The national forests, parks, and public domain are under the direction of the Taylor Grazing Act, for the grazing of livestock. By charging the stockmen a fee, he can

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 73.

demand a measure of protection for his animals.

With the drought conditions the stockmen had been forced to borrow money through loans from federal agencies, and it was estimated that 70 percent of the livestock in Utah was mortgaged to some federal agency. This could have made the federal government interested in protection of its collateral, when in 1935 there were 2,168,000 sheep, 403,000 cattle, 81,000 horses, and 3,000 mules in the state of Utah.

Predators in Utah include the coyote, timber wolf, bear, mountain lion, lynx or bobcat, and fox. These animals not only kill for food, but many kill as a fiendish delight. It was estimated that the annual loss to livestock was from 2 percent to 10 percent of the increase.

Predatory animals kill countless thousands of game birds and game animals for food each year. One survey showed that a mountain lion will kill between one and three deer per week. This also made the control of predatory animals of concern to the state.

Under this UERA program there were reported from the skins or scalps taken 79 mountain lions, 2,888 coyotes, 345 lynxes, 1 bear, 20 skunks, 11 foxes, and 6 badgers. In addition, there were 52 unborn lynxes, 410 unborn coyotes, and 8 unborn lions destroyed. There were also over 2,000 additional poisoned animals found by stockmen and hunters that were not recovered.

In addition to the benefits to relief clients, an estimated \$250,000 worth of livestock and game were saved. The pelts taken by the ERA workers were sold at public auction for \$3,298, and the money was returned to the relief funds.<sup>48</sup>

#### Rodent control program

Under the Utah Emergency Relief Administration, rodent control

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 79.

projects were supervised and directed by the trained personnel of the U.S. Biological Survey. Salaries and subsistence for the surveys were paid out of regular appropriations. The laborers and project foremen were taken from relief rolls in the various counties.

Among the rodents which are especially injurious to crops in the state of Utah are ground squirrels, jack rabbits, prairie dogs, pocket gophers, and rats. Considering that it takes only 59 jack rabbits, or 128 prairie dogs or pocket gophers to consume as much feed as a two-year old steer, the value of destroying these rodents can be more easily understood.

Control methods involved the baiting of infested areas with poisoned grains and vegetables. In rat control, trapping was used as a check on the success of baiting. The poisoned grain and other materials used were, in most cases, paid for by the county in which the control work was undertaken.<sup>49</sup>

#### Noxious weed eradication

A program for eradicating noxious weeds was undertaken by the UERA in cooperation with the Extension Division of the Utah State Agricultural College operating through county agents. The major portion of this project was conducted in Salt Lake County.

White Top and wild Morning Glory were the two most devastating noxious weeds in Salt Lake County. The control method to eradicate these costly and fast-spreading weeds was the cultural method.

Due to a lack of ERA funds, it was impossible to assign workmen to the project until May 20, 1934. At that time thirteen teamsters and teams, plus forty hand laborers were put to work. By June 1, the number was increased to eighteen teamsters and teams and sixty hand

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 82-83.

laborers. By the end of June there were one hundred hand laborers employees, and this number remained until November 1, 1934.

During June the project cooperated with the Rural Rehabilitation Department. They employed approximately sixty rural rehabilitation clients who were able to pay back their loans by working on this project.

A total of 452 acres of Morning Glory and White Top infested lands were culminated during that summer. Each area received an average of 15.47 cultivations, which kept the areas entirely free from weeds. Most cooperators were satisfied with the weed control program and applied for participation in the new project to be undertaken by the WPA.<sup>50</sup>

#### Potato beetle control

A project for the control of the Colorado potato beetle was undertaken in Weber and Davis counties. The cooperation of farmers in that area was very satisfactory. It was the opinion of the district agricultural inspector and county agents, that the project saved Davis and Weber counties from a very serious infestation of beetles and prevented their spreading into other districts.<sup>51</sup>

#### Fish and game conservation

The conservation of fish and game became accepted as a state policy at a very early date in Utah. The work of the Utah Fish and Game Department included the following types of projects: restocking of fishing streams and lakes, protecting game animals and birds, providing breeding and feeding grounds for migratory birds, and controlling the fishing and hunting sports in Utah.

Through projects conducted by the ERA program, additional rearing ponds were constructed at the Kamas, Midway, Logan, and Springville fish

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 86-87.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 87.

hatcheries. There were also several natural rearing ponds constructed in the Ogden River and other streams of the state. At Logan a caretaker's residence was built, and construction of a complete new fish hatchery was begun at Loa. There were countless numbers of improvements made at all of the hatcheries located in Utah.

A refuge was constructed in Utah County for the artificial raising of migratory waterfowl. In Box Elder County there were dikes, canals, fences, roads, and trails constructed at the public shooting grounds. The nesting and resting grounds of the waterfowl refuge were also repaired and improved.<sup>52</sup>

#### Self-help cooperatives

The self-help cooperative movement was a part of the general relief program in Utah. The Utah Emergency Relief Administration participated in this program by encouraging the organization of units, and in making loans to the units where the plan was approved, and in the payment of a small administrative staff to organize and coordinate the operation of the cooperatives.

Although membership in the various units was not restricted to relief clients, a large proportion of the membership came from relief rolls. If these people became self-supporting, they were then removed from the relief rolls.

The self-help movement was given legal status by an act of the state legislature in the spring of 1935. This act provided a board of seven members, with four members being appointed by the governor and three members to be elected by the self-help groups in Utah.

The primary objective of the self-help organization was to aid groups in organizing themselves into productive units which would be

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 88.



self-sustaining. Consumer groups were also organized to provide a market, or exchange of products system for the different units, and to utilize bulk purchasing.

Thirty-five cooperatives were organized in Utah. Among the more successful units were the Castle Dale Coal project; Manti Lime Kiln; Mt. Pleasant Wheat Farm where benefits of \$1.67 per hour were earned; Payson canning project; Utah County canning project; Spanish Fork Peach Farm; Martha Lee Frock Company; Soco Manufacturing Company; Daggett County Saw Mill and Sanpete County Saw Mill where lumber for CCC camps was purchased by the government; and the State Self-Help Warehouse which was the central exchange agency for all of the groups.

Through October 26, 1935, allocations to the various units amounted to \$38,428.29. From this amount only \$15,505.03 was used to put all of the units into operation, and the gross benefits received amounted to \$29,277.07. After the loans were deducted, the net benefits amounted to \$13,722.04. There were 1,366 persons working on the projects on a space-time basis and the average hourly wage was from \$.25 to \$1.67 per hour.

Some of the units failed, but many of the cooperatives were successful and became a permanent part of the state's production and exchange system. Several of the successful units were incorporated and organized into a state cooperative association, which in turn affiliated with the national cooperative associations. These national outlets provided markets for many excess products, and in turn the units and members were also able to make large savings through bulk purchases from the state and national organizations.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 93.

The emergency education program

This program was developed as a result of concerted planning and studying by the representatives from the State Departments of Public Instruction of California, Arizona, Nevada, and Utah.<sup>54</sup> The primary purpose of this program was to employ needy teachers in adult education and nursery schools. Early success resulted in the enlargement of the program to include: (1) rural school extension; (2) student aid; (3) literacy classes and Americanization; (4) vocational training; (5) vocational rehabilitation; (6) general adult education; and (7) nursery schools.

The operation of this program was placed under the direction of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, acting jointly with the State Relief Administration. State supervisors operating out of the State Department of Education office were appointed to coordinate the activities of the program. Careful study was given to the program to test certain features for incorporating them into the permanent educational program of Utah.

Rural school extension. The rural school extension program operated in communities of less than 5,000 population and allowed the employment of school teachers at a maximum salary of \$100 per month. In order to qualify for relief funds for teachers' salaries, rural school districts were required to show that they had made the maximum financial effort to continue their school term with their own resources. To qualify for this program, teachers had to be teaching 50 percent of the time, and this included supervisors, superintendents, clerks, and other personnel. There were 18 rural districts that qualified under this plan for

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<sup>54</sup>Report of the Works Division, 89-90, has been used for obtaining data for this section on the Emergency Education Program.

extensions of schools for periods of from 2 to 10 weeks, with a maximum employment of 1,339 teachers.

Student aid. As an aid to college students, this program enabled them to continue their studies through part-time employment. The students were chosen by the school officials on the basis of need, character, and ability. A maximum of \$20 per month was set; however, the funds made available only allowed \$15 per student. The hourly rate of pay was \$.30 with a maximum of 30 hours per week or 8 hours per day. The students generally received work in connection with their course of study, but many were employed in repairing and reconstructing the school grounds and equipment.

There were 10 colleges that qualified for participation in the program and a maximum of 1,820 students received aid.

Literacy classes and Americanization. This phase of the program was designed to reduce illiteracy, particularly among the adult foreign-born population, and to qualify applicants for citizenship. Subjects offered for the literacy classes included elementary English, writing, spelling, community civics, national civics, current social and economic problems and recreation.

The method of recruiting students for the Americanization classes included consulting consuls and pastors for recommendations. Personal contact with these people at their homes and places of employment or recreation was also a valuable factor in the success of this program.

The Americanization groups met in 14 centers and were divided into 25 classes for instruction. Sixteen teachers were employed, with some conducting two or more classes. There was a total of 870 pupils, averaging 35 to a class. Classes were held three evenings each week, with an average daily attendance of 76 percent.

During the month of March, 1935, there were 70 pupils that passed the naturalization examinations in this federal court district. This was the largest number acquiring citizenship in the United States from this district in 10 years.

Vocational training for adults. The objective of this program was to retrain and rehabilitate adults whose previous occupations were lost during the depression. This project was popular throughout the state, but it was greatly handicapped in giving practical instruction because of a shortage of equipment.

Vocational rehabilitation. A special service was rendered in the vocational rehabilitation of physically-handicapped persons. This phase of the program attempted to place such persons into occupations that would make them self-supporting. These trainees, which included the adult blind, were enrolled in ten centers, principally colleges. They were registered in courses to prepare them for employment in teaching, business, stenography, agriculture, accounting, dairying, forestry, law, and domestic sciences.

General adult education. This project was available to all adults over 18 years of age. The selection of subjects to be studied was determined by the groups receiving the education. Classes were conducted in about 60 different subjects. The following 9 courses had the highest enrollment: (1) public forum; (2) domestic art -- sewing, dressmaking, and drafting; (3) recreation and physical education; (4) English; (5) social dancing; (6) drama; (7) music; (8) Americanization; and (9) current problems -- social and economic trends.

Thirty-four school districts participated in the program, with a maximum of 454 teachers being employed. These classes were very popular with a maximum monthly enrollment of 14,007 students.

Brickmaking under the emergency educational program. Under the emergency educational program there was a brickmaking project organized in Iron County during the summer of 1934. This program was to assist men who were not eligible for relief employment or the CCC placement.

This project was begun with two groups of men. The first group, composed of 6 married men, planned to use the brick for constructing homes of their own. The second group was made up of 6 boys between 18 and 21 years, who were high school or junior college graduates wanting to complete their education. They wanted to manufacture the bricks and sell them to obtain enough money to continue their schooling.

None of the men were experienced in brickmaking, so a trained supervisor-instructor was provided by the Iron County ERA. Payment for this man's services was the complete federal cost on this project, and before the project had received final approval, three of the first group were employed and that part of the project was abandoned.

Equipment for making the brick was rented and coal for burning the brick was purchased by the boys, using their product as security. There were 112,000 bricks made, with 7,000 of these being sold as adobes and the remainder being baked.

Each boy had the opportunity of working in every phase of the brickmaking process. As a result, at the completion of the project there were six young men skilled in a productive trade. The project had a net gain of approximately \$1,000 from the sale of bricks, and the boys were also able to continue with their educations.<sup>55</sup>

Utah was very similar to other states, since welfare was administered by local governments, private charities, and churches. Among the federal agencies operative in Utah were the Emergency Relief

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 91.

Administration (1932), the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (1933), and an Advisory Committee to administer the program. This chapter has been very detailed in telling of the FERA, to lay a foundation for understanding the basis upon which the WPA was to begin operation. Under the WPA, the federal government assumed the responsibility of furnishing employment for the employables, and the caring of the unemployables was made a responsibility of the separate states; therefore leading to creation of the Utah State Board of Public Welfare in 1935.

The Works Division projects under the Utah ERA were gradually closed out or transferred to the new program. This transfer commenced in August, 1935, and was completed during the following December.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid., 13.

CHAPTER IV  
ORGANIZATION OF THE WPA IN UTAH

Entry of the Works Progress Administration into Utah might be dated July 1, 1935,<sup>1</sup> because at 9:30 a.m. at a meeting in Salt Lake City, the Regional Conference of the Works Progress Administration began the task of organizing the 11 western states into a central functioning unit of the new program. The regional headquarters was established in Salt Lake City and remained there until February 15, 1939, when it was decided to divide the region as follows: (1) Montana, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado and New Mexico; and (2) Washington, Oregon, Nevada, California and Arizona. At the same time it was decided to move the Utah regional office to Denver, Colorado. Mr. Harrington, who was the administrator of the Works Program, believed that it would be more efficient to divide the region and would provide a great savings in transportation and communication between Washington D.C. and Denver, as compared to Salt Lake City.<sup>2</sup>

Newly-appointed state administrators were accompanied by their assistants to the Regional Conference to learn of the changes that would be made as the former FERA was closed out and the new program begun. At the first meeting of the two-day session, Robert S. Hinkley, national

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<sup>1</sup>The "Official Report of the Proceedings Had at the Regional Conference of the Works Progress Administration Held at the Hotel Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, July 1, 1935" will be used for writing much of this section concerning the administration and philosophy of the WPA in Utah. This Report will be cited as the "Official Report", which consists of over 100 unnumbered pages, and contains the minutes of the two-day session (Planning Board Records, Utah Archives).

<sup>2</sup>Letter from F. C. Harrington, Administrator, to Governor Flood, Feb. 13, 1939, (Gov. Corr. Utah Archives).

assistant administrator, presided, and Utah's Governor Henry Blood gave the welcoming address. Following this first general meeting the group was divided into special sections to better concentrate on the problems at the different administrative levels. Section (A) was for State Administration; Section (B) for Women and Professional; and Section (C) for Labor Relations.

According to Mr. Hinkley the principal objective of the WPA was "to put 3,500,000 people to work." The policy was "to put 3,500,000 people to work," and the objective was "to put 3,500,000 people to work, and I think that covers it." There were very few restrictions on the power of the WPA and the district organization was the operating organ, responsible for the detailed inspection and approval of all projects. Local organizations were established only where district headquarters were not in the center, and further local control was secured through local advisors in these instances.

It was further explained that there would be a need for close cooperation and coordination between the Relief Administrator of the state, the National Reemployment Service,<sup>3</sup> and the WPA. The major task for the State Relief Administrator was to certify the eligibility of those persons who were to receive direct relief and those eligible for relief employment. Everything was routed through the NRS, and eligible names were then passed on to the WPA office. The NRS was instructed to give preference to private industry and to look upon WPA employment as "security, not earning wages, but security." It was pointed out that projects would undoubtedly be left before completion, as "private industry revives further," and this was the

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<sup>3</sup>National Reemployment Service will hereafter be referred to as NRS. This organization was established in 1933 as a supplementary service to aid state services.



case in most instances. However, in many cases the projects were abandoned due to a lack of funds rather than a revival of industry.<sup>4</sup>

With the inception of the WPA and its emphasis upon employment, the state was required to "take over and make full provision for all unemployables -- that is, for those needy persons who cannot be fitted into the government's work program because of age or bodily condition."<sup>5</sup> Effective September 1, 1935, each county was requested to assume this responsibility at the local level.<sup>6</sup>

The coordination between the Utah State Department of Public Welfare and the WPA moved with a great amount of ease because Mr. Darrell Greenwell was the State Administrator of the WPA and also the Director of the State Department of Public Welfare (SDPW). This dual role eliminated his having to go to the state or the federal government, but as he stated, "I could just turn my hat around and be WPA one minute and state man the next."<sup>7</sup>

However, this did create many problems for Mr. Greenwell. For example, when the WPA dropped 4,676 workers from their rolls in the period from June, 1938 to June, 1940 the state cases of employables receiving general assistance increased from 438 to 2,433 during the same period.<sup>8</sup> On the positive side, the SDPW received two-thirds of the

<sup>4</sup>Direct quotes are taken from the opening address given by Mr. Hinkley at the Regional Conference.

<sup>5</sup>Letter from Mr. Darrell J. Greenwell, Director, Utah State Dept. of Public Welfare, to Hon. Board of County Commissioners, Cache County, Logan, Utah, as recorded in the Commission's Minute Book L, Cache County, Logan, Utah.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Personal interview with Mr. Darrell J. Greenwell at his home in Ogden, Utah, June 27, 1961.

<sup>8</sup>Second Biennial Report of the State Department of Public Welfare, Salt Lake City, 1940, 77.

cost of maintaining the commodity and surplus food-stamp office from contributions of "WPA paid help."<sup>9</sup>

The SDFW was also responsible for certifying eligible workers, with preference being given to heads of households. The WPA assigned to projects only those workers whom the department certified as being in need, with the exception of certain professional and technical supervisors and the SDFW did not have any power over employees once they were certified.<sup>10</sup>

In the struggle to overcome the depression a greater amount of planning was done at the state as well as the national level. By 1937 Utah had created a State Planning Board. The Board was created by the Governor April 9, 1934, and made official by enactment of law on March 26, 1935. The major responsibility of this Board was to exist as a clearing house for all information on government, industry and education. The membership of this Board was comprised of engineers, geologists and many other professional consultants, with the Governor acting as chairman ex-officio. Each county had a planning board to work closely with the state in determining the needs at the local level. The work done by Mr. William R. Wallace as executive chairman until 1937, and later by Mr. Sumner G. Margets, was of great value and assistance to the over-all coordination of the executive department of the Utah government and the WPA in finding the major needs of the state and providing work projects to alleviate the depressed situation.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Third Biennial Report of the SDFW, Salt Lake City, 1942, 79.

<sup>10</sup>Report of SDFW, Salt Lake City, 1938, 103.

<sup>11</sup>Refer to Deseret News, Salt Lake City, Utah, December 25, 1939, or a publication U.S. National Resources Planning Board, State Planning, December, 1936, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1937, 78-79, for a detailed account of State Planning. For an organizational chart of the WPA see Alma Vernon Rasmussen, "The Government Work Relief Program in Utah 1932-1940," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1942), 55.

Operation of the WPA in Utah was in harmony with the political attitudes of the state during those times. For example, it has been said that the 1935 legislature under the leadership of Governor Herbert B. Maw, "was the most liberal in the state's history."<sup>12</sup> From 1933 to 1951, "the dominant Democratic political personality was soft spoken United States Senator Elbert D. Thomas. . . . his strength lay in his intelligent demeanor in Congress and in his unswerving loyalty to his political credo."<sup>13</sup> A second person to play a very important role at the national level was another Utah Democrat, Abe Murdock, Congressman from the First District (1933-41), and United States Senator (1941-47). "He was a typical crowd-pleaser" and "won almost completely the following of organized labor."<sup>14</sup>

In this political climate and under the able leadership of Darrell J. Greenwell as the State Administrator of the WPA and Director of the State Department of Public Welfare, the operation was generally very smooth. The two following chapters are devoted to explaining the many programs operated by the WPA in Utah, and show the great variety of activities involved.

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<sup>12</sup>Frank H. Jonas, Western Politics (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1961), 279.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 293.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

CHAPTER V  
DIVISION OF OPERATION - CONSTRUCTION

The main objective of this chapter is to point out some of the more important types of projects and how certain selected counties structured their programs to utilize the personnel and funds made available by the WPA. Other construction projects will be mentioned in a later chapter.

Due to the relationship between the WPA and the sponsors, there are no summary reports or records (as in the case with FERA) to show the buildings and other construction projects on a state-wide basis. If projects were approved by the WPA, then financial assistance and supervision was granted, but the final WPA records do not include any final or total tabulations of these projects. Therefore, some of the various appraisals made by the cities and counties have been used along with other local reports and letters to give a brief picture of the WPA construction program in Utah. There is also a chart at the end of this chapter showing "Selected Items of Physical Accomplishments on Construction Projects Operated by WPA," up to June 30, 1942.

From the very beginning the "pet plan" for Utah was construction of "small dams and reservoirs."<sup>1</sup> These dams were of the earth-filled type and would employ a great number of common laborers, along with horse and mule teams. Projects of this type could also "fall admirably into this \$900 per man year" program, which would provide \$50 per month for labor, plus \$300 for materials. A second area of importance was

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<sup>1</sup>From the WPA "Regional Conference," no date or page number given. These are direct quotes of Mr. Harry C. Jessen's speech.

"highway and road work on state, county and farm to market roads."<sup>2</sup>

These projects were placed under the state and county highway departments depending upon the type of road and the jurisdiction within the state. The state of Utah received a beginning appropriation of \$11.6 million for road and grade crossing projects, as compared to 12.5 for Idaho, 12.6 for Nevada, 14.4 for Arizona, 19.1 for Colorado, 12.4 for Wyoming.<sup>3</sup> Work on highways and roads constituted a very important phase of the WPA program in the rural areas. The third area of importance was the construction of new schools, and additions to older school buildings.

The following counties represent typical different emphases in the program.

#### Uintah County

Uintah County was very much in harmony with the concept of small dams and reservoirs being the pet plan for Utah.<sup>4</sup> It was stated that their "first need was reservoirs" and during the summer months all other projects were stopped to allow WPA workers to aid with these projects. Many workers from the Dinosaur National Park were released for these projects and then returned to the mountains to continue their work at the Park during the winter months. The largest projects were the Oak Park and Montez Creek dams and reservoirs, and the Long Park reservoir. The carrying capacity of Oak Park irrigation ditch was enlarged, and other irrigation facilities of the county were improved.

#### Summit County

Highway and road work was of primary importance to Summit County.

<sup>2</sup>"Regional Conference", Mr. Keys (no first name given).

<sup>3</sup>Business Week, May 11, 1935, 53.

<sup>4</sup>"WPA - In Uintah County," John W. Weaver, County Commissioner (no date given) was used for writing about Uintah County. (Planning Board filed, Utah Archives, contain all appraisal reports used hereafter.)

According to the Summit County appraisal, "The most outstanding single project is the O'Driscoll dugway, just southwest of Francis."<sup>5</sup> This improvement provided a connection to the main highway for the people living in the eastern part of the county, and "a year-round outlet to the whole area of the Kamas Valley."

Many construction projects in Summit County were for recreational and scenic improvements. Included in this was the construction of Log Cabins, a lodge, and a cookhouse along with other facilities at Mirror Lake. The Boy Scout and Girl Scout districts of Salt Lake were the sponsors of these projects. Included in the area of recreation were the additions of an athletic field, football field, baseball diamond, bleachers, toilets, fences, and other improvements at Park City.

#### Sanpete County

Sanpete County regarded their "building program" as the most important phase of the WPA.<sup>6</sup> Projects included the completion of a new County Courthouse, Armory at Manti, Municipal Building and Mechanical Arts Building at Ephraim, Armory and Airport at Mt. Pleasant, shop and domestic building at Moroni. There were new water systems, swimming pools, recreation grounds and other projects completed in the smaller towns and cities of Sanpete County. Included among the road and highway improvements were "graded and graveled" roads for the small towns of Fayette, Axtell, Fountain Green, and other communities.

#### Cache County

The Federal Work Programs were used at many different levels in Cache County. Projects included road construction, improvements and

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<sup>5</sup>"County Appraisal," Coalville, Utah, John E. Wright, Clerk, March 8, 1938, was used for writing about Summit County.

<sup>6</sup>"County Appraisal," Sanpete County, Seventh Judicial District Court, Manti, Utah, O. L. Hansen, Clerk of the Board, March 4, 1938, is used for writing about Sanpete County.

buildings at Utah State Agricultural College, and major improvements at the local airport. There were also some projects suggested but never approved, such as the "grant of \$202,500 as set forth in their (WPA) offer to aid in financing the construction of the city and county building, at Logan, Utah."<sup>7</sup> The county did, however, accept an appropriation of \$4,000 from WPA funds to aid in the "Fire Hall Project."<sup>8</sup>

The cost of additions to the airport were estimated at \$180,000 to get it up to the standards as outlined by J. E. Garn, Regional Airport Supervisor, Department of Congress.<sup>9</sup> One of the projects was the joint venture of Logan City and Cache County in the construction of a "standard hangar 100 feet by 60 feet." They furnished the materials, "with the exception of approximately \$600 which was furnished by the NYA." The NYA furnished all labor, and resident supervision, and the Utah State Agricultural College furnished the equipment, tools, general supervision, and transportation to and from the airport.<sup>10</sup>

On January 6, 1937, \$14,000 was appropriated from the County General Fund for the purpose of remodeling the brick house at the "County Poor Farm," as provided in the plans and specifications submitted to the WPA department. The purpose of the above project was to "provide a home for the old and infirm."<sup>11</sup>

Major projects at the Utah State Agricultural College included the construction of a concrete amphitheater on the southwest slope of the

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<sup>7</sup> Cache County Commission Minute Book M, 370, Meeting Sept. 19, 1938, Logan, Utah.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 394.

<sup>9</sup> Cache County Commission Minute Book L, 596, Meeting Dec. 20, 1935, Logan, Utah.

<sup>10</sup> Minute Book M, 460, Meeting Dec. 12, 1939, Logan, Utah.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 179.

campus during the school year 1934-35, with the aid of FERA labor. Later under the WPA, the Stadium House was built at the southern entrance of the football stadium, to provide pressing rooms for the teams. This project was completed by using materials furnished by the college, and labor furnished by the WPA.<sup>12</sup>

From the sketches of the selected counties and the following chart, one can see that the physical accomplishments in the state of Utah did fulfill many of the proposed objectives as outlined in the Regional Conference, by building many roads, reservoirs, school buildings, airport facilities, and other such public facilities.

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<sup>12</sup>Interview with Dr. Joel E. Ricks, Utah State University, May 12, 1961.



Selected Items of Physical Accomplishment on  
Construction Projects Operated by WPA in Utah<sup>13</sup>

(Cumulative through June 30, 1942)

Highways, roads and streets and related facilities:

Miles of highways, roads and streets (new and improved)	Number of bridges and viaducts (new and improved)	Number of culverts (new and improved)
4,796	1,206	12,494

Number of public buildings:

Schools		All other	
New construction and additions	Reconstruction or improvement	New construction and additions	Reconstruction or improvement
36	209	385	537

Outdoor recreational facilities:

Number of parks (new and improved)	Number of playgrounds and athletic fields (new and improved)	Number of swimming and wading pools (new and improved)
30	161	23

Public utilities and sanitation:

Number of utility plants (new and improved)	Miles of water mains and dist. lines (new and improved)	Miles of storm and sanitary sewers (new and improved)	Number of sanitary privies (new construction)
29	487	343	28,775

Airport facilities:

Number of landing fields		Linear feet of runway	
New construction and additions	Reconstruction or improvement	New construction	Reconstruction or improvement (includes surfacing)
6	6	77,130	15,288

Number of airport buildings:

New construction and additions	Reconstruction or improvement
5	6

<sup>13</sup>WPA Report, " June 30, 1942, 83-4.

CHAPTER VI  
SERVICES DIVISION - PROFESSIONAL

Besides the Construction Division of the WPA, there was set up the Services Division to provide projects for women, and create employment for artists, writers, musicians, clerical workers, teachers, and others who were not involved in areas of construction. Not only did this program provide employment, but the cultural heritage of Utah and the nation was kept alive and before the people. Many of the programs also provided trained people for the war industries, and gave special training for those who have continued in school lunch and other programs to the present time.

Dr. Dorothy Nyswander became the first director of the Professional and Women's Division as it was titled prior to becoming the Services Division.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Nyswander was placed in the regional office a few weeks after operations began, and Mrs. Ruby S. Garrett directed this division until the WPA was terminated in 1943.<sup>2</sup>

This division included everything that was not classified as "construction." Many of the projects to be included had begun with the earlier programs of the FERA, UERA, and CWA. However, the philosophy of the WPA was to include more professional people and also recognize the problems of unemployed women who were heads of households. Dr. Dean R. Brimhall, Labor Relations officer, stated "that, two things might well be

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<sup>1</sup>For writing this chapter I have drawn heavily upon the "Final Report of Darrell J. Greenwell, Utah WPA Administrator 1935-1943" submitted to George H. Field, Deputy Commissioner of Work Projects, February 6, 1943. This report is on microfilm and is now in the library of the Utah State Historical Society. The report was edited and changed, with certain sections being omitted. The report was microfilmed and never published. Hereafter cited as Final Report.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 3, Part III.

considered because they mark a new policy, one being that there is to be no discrimination in wages for women, and that it is to be seen there are better working conditions for women."<sup>3</sup>

It was also pointed out that "on projects for making things for people, I would suggest that your local relief administration or Public Welfare Dept. sponsor those projects." It was explained that if a project of making mattresses was undertaken, for example, and discontinued, the WPA would have ownership of these items.<sup>4</sup>

It was recognized that these projects would be more difficult to sell than construction projects and this was later proven to be true. But it was the objective of this division to not only provide work for women, but also provide professional jobs for professionally trained people. The four billion dollars appropriated for WPA was recognized as only "a drop in the bucket" compared to the public investment in professionally trained workers. "It is not our job to throw away public money by ruining the skill and training of these people." Just as projects had been established to prevent soil erosion, we must conserve skills in the same way.<sup>5</sup>

This was the philosophy to be followed. Some of the projects were short lived, and others were to become permanent programs in the cultural, social, and educational development of Utah. Many workers trained within these programs were to remain and are still performing important services today.

"The Utah State Art Center was unique in the United States since

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<sup>3</sup>Regional Conference, " no page number.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., statement by a Mr. Goldschmidt.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., Mr. Goldschmidt.

it housed the Art, the Writer's and the Music Programs of the WPA, all sponsored by one and the same sponsor."<sup>6</sup>

#### Art Program

The legal sponsor of the art program was the Utah State Institute of Fine Arts, created by law in 1899, with the act amended in 1937 to "allow it to function better with a federal project."<sup>7</sup>

Statewide operation was centered at 59 South State Street, Salt Lake City. Operating from here was the Index of American Design Unit and other large units. Other centers were: the Provo Art Center, the Helper Art Center, and the Price Center. The exhibits and classes at the smaller art centers often had "attendance in excess of the total population of the cities."<sup>8</sup>

An advisory board was the Utah State Institute of Fine Arts board of directors, consisting of 13 members appointed by the governor and confirmed by the Senate.<sup>9</sup>

Some of the major projects in Utah were centered around the community life and history of the area. At Price, Utah, "a home town" artist painted a panoramic mural about 170 feet long and 4 feet high. Thirteen main "episodes" were painted depicting historical scenes and using actual people for the characters.<sup>10</sup>

Artist Gordon Cope was responsible for an interesting and successful project at Vernal, Utah. A series of 12 paintings of scenes selected by

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<sup>6</sup>Final Report, "Art Program," Lynn Fausett, Asst. State Supervisor, Art Phase War Services Project, January 28, 1943, page 1. This report, as are all of the final reports cited hereafter, is included on the microfilm with Mr. Greenwell's report.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 7.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 8.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 5.

the "local people" of places "dear to the population," such as an old pasture, picnic grounds, and geological formations. Mr. Cope was boarded by the local citizens while he carried out this project. A very similar type of project was also painted at the Midvale Public Library.<sup>11</sup>

A major project included in the national program called Index of American Design was a reproduction of Indian paintings in Barrier Canyon, Utah. This painting was actual size 11 feet by 80 feet, and included a realistic reproduction of the rocks and walls of the canyon. An expedition composed of a supervisor, five artists specially trained for the project, a photographer, and archeological advisor went to Barrier Canyon. Master scale drawings and colored detailed sketches were made. The paintings were photographed in detail with both black and white and colored film. This job was "very rushed," with only seven weeks being left to complete the painting.<sup>12</sup>

There were projects co-sponsored and painted outside of Utah. These included a mural at the University of Wyoming, and White Pine High School, Ely, Nevada. The mural located in the Union Building at the University of Wyoming was centered around a student prank welcoming a new president. This painting included a few "old and beloved professors," and when it was unveiled before an audience of 400, "nearly everyone wept."<sup>13</sup> The high school project at Ely included the journalism class at the school. These students were asked to do research and obtain clippings, booklets, photos, books, and interview "old timers" to help develop a theme for the mural. The artist made rough sketches after receiving these items and narrowed the research for material. Upon completion of this project,

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 5.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 5.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 5.

the students and citizens of Ely had an added interest because of their participation.<sup>14</sup>

On July 15, 1942, the art program became a part of the War Services Program. The Art Center at Salt Lake City was renamed the War Services Center and provided a recreational program for the service men. At its peak during December, 1942, three art classes a week were held.

In this program, a series of historical paintings were made for the Officers' Club at Fort Douglas, and murals were started there and at Camp Kearns. These projects were not completed when the program ended. Many silk screen paintings, show cards, and charts were also made for the Army and other defense agencies.<sup>15</sup>

The Salt Lake City Art Center had as a "desirable staff" a maximum of 24 and a minimum of 16 workers. This included a director, foreman, teachers, commercial artists, carpenter, janitors, stenographer, book-keeper, and gallery attendents. The gallery attendents were usually "elderly workers."

The value of the art program was not only in providing work. A movement "near the end of the nineteen twenties" by the "better American artists to improve painting techniques" was perpetuated under this program. Different media such as tempera and fresco as used by the old masters were studied and this new "knowledge as well as increased interest was broadcast throughout the nation through the WPA program."<sup>16</sup>

Because most of the painting was of community life and portrayed American life, it thus laid groundwork for an American painting tradition.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 6.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 1.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 8.

Although "not all WPA art was good," there was a greater "community awareness of art because of the program."<sup>17</sup>

The cost of the Utah program varied, but the man-month labor amounted to \$81.85 and the non-labor was \$15.83.

At the national level on the third birthday of the art program, ten artists had won Guggenheim awards, eighteen had works exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and no less than 61 sculptors had won competitive awards here and abroad for public monuments.<sup>18</sup>

#### Music Program

The music program was designed to "promote, initiate, coordinate, supervise, and conduct music activities."<sup>19</sup> In Utah it had as its "major function the statewide performances of an orchestral unit." Programs of symphonic music were presented in formal concerts, public halls, parks, and in connection with public school music activities. This project served as "a nucleus for the Utah State Symphony Orchestra, which by this means came into existence as an outstanding community institution."<sup>20</sup>

In addition, performances by smaller groups such as string ensembles, quartets, trios, and music appreciation lectures and discussions were conducted. Other projects included arranging, copying, orchestrating, and teaching music.

After July 15, 1942, when the program became a part of the War Services Program, the programs were devoted almost entirely to soldier recreation and entertainment. This included the organization of a dance

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 8.

<sup>18</sup>Newsweek, May 30, 1938, 20.

<sup>19</sup>Final Report, "Music Program," Robert S. Fisher, Assistant State Supervisor Music Phase - War Services Project, January 28, 1943, 1.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 1.

band for the three weekly dances, and small musical programs at army posts, recreation centers, and hospitals.<sup>21</sup>

The first legal sponsor was the Utah State Institute of Fine Arts, but after July 15, 1942, the State of Utah, Governor's Office was responsible. The co-sponsors were many and ranged from the Utah State Symphony Orchestra Association, hospitals, schools, police departments, Red Cross, and International Garment Workers Union, to the Russian War Relief Committee.<sup>22</sup>

It was permissible to charge money for these projects, "partly because they are less competitive and partly because people don't appreciate anything unless they pay for it." Legally all money received for the programs should have gone to the Treasury, but Mr. Goldschmidt said "The few dollars received are going to cost more in accounting than the amount received." His recommendation was to arrange for the sponsor to collect the money and use it to "further operation of the job."<sup>23</sup>

A symphony held at Kingsbury Hall, University of Utah, February 25, 1942, is a good example of the type program performed. Sponsored by the Utah Institute of Fine Arts, and co-sponsored by the Utah Symphony Orchestra Association with Fred E. Smith, President, and Gail Martin, Manager. The program consisted of five numbers by the noted composers Weber, Mozart, Wagner, Kern, and Liszt, conducted by Hans Herriot. In attendance were 1,916 persons, and according to the reports, "the Wagner and Liszt numbers were especially well received." The report did not show the amount received, but the sponsors costs totalled \$1,321.92 for royalties,

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 1.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 1.

<sup>23</sup>"Regional Conference," Mr. Goldschmidt, no page number.



box office service, publicity, transportation, and included \$922.50 for musicians, and \$200.00 for the conductor.<sup>24</sup>

Musicians were confronted with the problem of part-time playing making them ineligible for other work thus keeping many musicians out of music. Mr. Fisher was very critical of the investigation of a workers "home and relatives" to determine whether or not he had a means of support. He pointed out that if a "well trained musician" would work for WPA wages, that should be enough proof.<sup>25</sup>

It was the Federal Music Program that took the world's greatest music to many persons who had never heard it. Hundreds of musicians were returned to private employment with their skills intact and often improved.<sup>26</sup> In the state of Utah this program was a very important part of the Recreational Program, to be explained later.

#### Writer's Project

The Federal Writer's Project was set up nationally, as one of the Work Relief Programs of the WPA in 1935. In 1939 the Writer's Program was decentralized and from then until its close in 1943 it was called the Utah Writer's Project.<sup>27</sup>

Maurice L. Howe was the first state director, and served from 1935 to 1938, when he was transferred to Washington D.C. Mr. Charles K. Madsen became the second state director and served until June, 1940, when Dale L. Morgan assumed this position as supervisor. He served until

<sup>24</sup>Final Report of the Music Program, " 4.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 3.

<sup>26</sup>Report on Progress of WPA, U.S. Government Printing Office, June, 1935, 53.

<sup>27</sup>Dale L. Morgan, "Preliminary Report - The WPA Collection of the Utah State Historical Society," 1953, 1. Typed copy in the Utah State Historical Society.

October, 1942 when he went to Washington D.C. Mrs. Grace Winkleman Byrne was the last director of the project, closing it down and transferring its files to the Utah State Historical Society early in 1943.<sup>28</sup>

The Utah Writer's Project devoted its time to the collection of old journals, diaries, autobiographies and interviews from pioneer residents of the state, historical research through old newspapers, L.D.S. Church documents, writings of historical and contemporary scenes such as the Utah - Guide to the State, and Provo - Pioneer Mormon City. Many semi-technical books such as History of Grazing, and Dictionary of Attitudes were also written. In the area of economics and sociology, books such as Hands That Built America, and America Eats, were written. Folklore geology, forestry, and many other areas too numerous to name could also be added to the list.<sup>29</sup>

Many projects are filed in the Utah State Historical Society, including the "newspaper clipping file" on items of historical interest from 1936 to July, 1942, and many unfinished county histories.

Beginning July 15, 1942, the project turned its attention to the war effort and bulletins and pamphlets were written for the various war agencies. From this date until it terminated on January 31, 1943, the name was Writer's War Services Program. Under the new program war service information centers were established throughout the state, a war information file was begun, and a war newspaper clipping file was started in conjunction with the historical news clippings file.<sup>30</sup>

Many people who had been involved in the original program resigned at the national level when it ceased to "create literature" and "develop

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 1.

<sup>29</sup>Final Report, "Utah Writer's Project - Writer's War Services Program," Grace Winkleman, Asst. State Supervisor, Writer's Phase.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 2.

talent." Thus, the Writer's Project was far removed from the dream of 1936 when it was believed that it might help produce an "American Renaissance."<sup>31</sup>

The Utah Writer's Project was sponsored by the Utah Institute of Fine Arts, and co-sponsored by the Salt Lake County Board of Education, Brigham Young University, University of Utah, U.S. Forest Service, and many other state and county organizations.

Under the War Services Program, the sponsor was the State of Utah, Governor's office, and co-sponsors included the War Production Board, U.S. Marine Corps, Utah State Fish and Game, and others.<sup>32</sup> The total man month cost for this project was about \$83.27 for the period September 25 to October 22, 1942.<sup>33</sup>

Many of the people employed for the writer's program were over 50 years of age, and several had never finished grade school. This situation caused handicaps, especially in technical areas of research. However, many old journals and letters of historical importance were uncovered because these "older workers" knew whom to contact.<sup>34</sup>

Writers were not permitted to be identified with their works, and this was not consistent with the artists who could sign their paintings, and the musicians who were recognized accordingly.<sup>35</sup>

At the beginning of the project, it was viewed with some suspicions by the L.D.S. Church, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, and some writers organizations. However, these suspicions were dispelled when it was discovered

<sup>31</sup>The New Republic, April 13, 1942, 480.

<sup>32</sup>Final Report, "Writers," 2.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 8.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 3.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 4.

that there were no intentions of interfering with their work, and many of these groups later allowed their files to be used by the writers.<sup>36</sup>

The collection of pioneer journals in Utah was "unequaled in any state," and are filed in the Utah State Historical Society today for writers of Utah history.

### Historical and Cultural Records

#### Surveys and Inventories

The historical records survey was begun originally as a subdivision of the Federal Writer's Project, but became an independent program in 1936 and so continued until its close in 1943. The national office files were deposited in the Library of Congress, and the local office files for Utah were placed in the State Historical Society, and consolidated with the writer's files.<sup>37</sup>

Mr. Maurice L. Howe was the first director of this program along with the writer's program, until June, 1939, when Dee R. Bramwell assumed this position. Subsequently he was placed in the state WPA administrative organization, and Cleon Harding served in this capacity until it was terminated.<sup>38</sup>

In some areas the historical records survey and the writer's project worked in the same fields; for example, in pioneer diaries, autobiographies, and kindred records. Aside from the primary purpose of furnishing employment to needy workers, the objective of the survey in Utah included the preparation of and publication of complete inventories of the records of federal, state, county, city, and church archives.

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 4.

<sup>37</sup>Dale L. Morgan, 1.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 1.

This program included transportation, compilation, cleaning, sorting, arranging, renovating, and indexing all of these public and private records.<sup>39</sup>

Beyond the general list of projects mentioned above, the survey included compilation of unrecorded marriages, index of county commission minutes, a church directory for Utah, and A History of Ogden.<sup>40</sup>

A special division of historical records survey research was devoted to Utah statutes pertaining to the structure, powers, duties, and records of state, county, and municipal offices. The legal information thus disclosed provided a functional handbook outlining the duties under the law, for all public officials in Utah. Persons with qualified legal backgrounds were also assigned to the task of scanning all of the laws of Utah territory and state, from 1849 to 1941, and making checklists of relevant material. Research was also conducted in the court reports, attorney general's reports, and federal statutes, and thus related to duties of government officials in Utah.<sup>41</sup>

During the time from its inception until July, 1942, the survey was sponsored by the Utah Historical Society, and many projects were co-sponsored by the various cities and counties wherein the projects were conducted. After July, 1942, all of the above mentioned projects were discontinued and superseded by the record section of the war services program.<sup>42</sup>

The record section completed map inventories, established war

<sup>39</sup> Final Report, "Historical and Cultural Records Surveys and Inventories," Cleon A. Harding, Asst. State Supervisor - Records Phase - War Services Project, January 28, 1943.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>41</sup> Dale L. Morgan, 3.

<sup>42</sup> Final Report, "Historical," 1.

information centers, and gave clerical assistance to state, county, and city offices where war activities were making demands on these staffs. Special projects included indexes to arrests in "two city police departments," and a survey of storage space for public records and valuable museum treasures in Salt Lake City. The legal sponsor was now changed to the governor's office and co-sponsors now became the Utah Council of Defense, secretary of state, county commissioners, civil defense councils, universities and colleges, and other local organizations.<sup>43</sup>

Very few adults knew about the records program, but it performed many services beyond the regular projects. Many research workers, typists, and clerical personnel were trained on these projects, to fill positions in war industry programs, and other public offices.<sup>44</sup>

According to Mr. Hugh O'Neil, who began as a research worker, then became an editor, and finally a state supervisor of the Utah historical records survey, there was much "wasted effort" on projects which "every-one" knew would not be used. The writers and records programs in California were accused of being Communistic, but Utah never had any of this. When Mr. O'Neil left the program in 1941, he sent many of the records in his possession to the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, California.<sup>45</sup>

The covers for the brochures and books were designed and processed by the Utah art project, and many of these covers are still unused and remain filed in the Historical Society today. Published inventories from Utah were also sent to depositories throughout the United States.

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 5.

<sup>45</sup>Personal interview with Mr. Hugh O'Neil, Ogden, Utah, July 28, 1961. Also, see S. George Ellsworth, "A Guide to Utah Manuscripts in the Bancroft Library," Reprint from Vol. XXII (April and July, 1954), Utah Historical Quarterly.

The average man month cost for this program was labor \$67.27 and non-labor \$6.28.<sup>46</sup>

The benefits raised community standards, and many public offices updated their inventories and indexes. Historians interested in the early history of Utah can find many diaries and manuscripts in the Historical Society that were copied and indexed under this program.

#### Adult Education

The adult education program was initiated in November, 1935. This program succeeded the earlier programs operated from 1933 to 1935 under the FERA, CWA, and UERA.<sup>47</sup> Programs were conducted in nearly every county of Utah, in more than 100 communities, 15 to 22 CCC camps, 3 Indian reservations and at the Utah State Prison. More than 60 different subjects were offered in the various fields of instruction. The average monthly enrollment reached its peak of 10,948 during the 1939-1940 school year. During this same year more than a million hours were spent by adult students under the leadership of WPA teachers. The five general functions of adult education that were emphasized in varying degrees throughout the state may be listed as follows:

A. Remedial Education: The major aims of this program were to eliminate illiteracy and provide training for the "foreign born." Many illiterates found in the CCC camps were aided, and special classes in Braille were also provided for the blind.

B. Relational Education: Included classes in social science, parent education, and health education, for personality development and individual adjustment in the home and society.

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<sup>46</sup>Final Report. "Historical," 7.

<sup>47</sup>For writing this section, I have drawn heavily from Final Report, "Adult Education Project," Dean F. Peterson, Asst. Unit Supervisor.

C. Vocational Education: Due to a shortage of equipment for vocational instruction, this field received but slight consideration from the WPA. Two or three high schools were used for commercial education, where typewriting and related subjects were offered. There was also limited vocational training for the adult blind.

D. Political Education: Classes in citizenship were carried for aliens, and public affairs classes and forums were held in many communities for the purpose of developing an understanding of the social, economic and political forces in the democratic processes.

E. Liberal Education: Art, science, philosophy, and literature courses were taught with the hope of creating a better understanding of culture, and a wiser use of leisure time.

Some of the achievements of this program were as follows:

1. During 1939-40, 250 achieved literacy requirements, with an estimated 1,800 total for the entire program.
2. Ninety-five percent of those attending WPA citizenship classes were successful in passing the tests for citizenship, as compared to only 45 percent of those not attending. Most classes were conducted in the mining areas of Salt Lake, Tooele, Carbon, and Summit Counties.
3. In the area of home hygiene and care for the sick, courses were sponsored by the Utah Chapter of the Red Cross in Provo, Spanish Fork, Payson, and Pleasant Grove. From a total of 155 students enrolled, 121 completed and received certificates.
4. Worker's education was to "help urban and rural workers think clearly on their economic and social problems . . ." These participants learned parliamentary procedure, and "labor groups" were able to "function more successfully as union."<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 5.



5. Foremanship training included 14 different conference groups, with a total of 525 enrolled in 1938. Classes were offered in Salt Lake, Utah, Sevier, Sanpete, Weber, and Cache Counties, primarily for WPA foremen.

6. Agricultural education, and woodwork courses were mostly limited to CCC camps where teachers and facilities were available.

7. Leisure time activity classes included handicrafts, and vocal and instrumental music. These programs were conducted in Salt Lake, Weber, Cache, Box Elder, Sanpete, and San Juan Counties. The types of music taught were generally determined by the teachers available.

8. Dramatics, with the exception of a project at Manti, Sanpete County, was largely confined to Salt Lake City.

9. Art classes were also limited to Salt Lake City, except for CCC camps in the counties of Box Elder and Davis.

10. Landscaping classes were offered in Ogden, and Salt Lake City, and different locations in Utah County.

11. Home courses by correspondence were organized in 1938 and first released in the summer of 1939. By March, 1940, a total of 1,561 lessons were sent out, of which 52 percent were returned. The courses offered included automobile mechanics, forestry, journalism, radio, safety, and soil and water conservation. Sixty percent were CCC enrollees, and the remaining 40 percent were from the general public.

12. General adult classes included:

(a) Academic and cultural education, with English classes leading in popularity. History, sociology, mathematics, science, etiquette, photography, and geology classes were also offered in various localities.

(b) Program for the blind provided instruction in Braille, typewriting, small handicrafts, music, English, and commercial subjects.

In this program the instruction was taken to the home for individual instruction. Fourteen instructors were employed, several of these were blind. This program was conducted in all counties except Daggett, where there were no blind people. In connection with this program, a Braille monthly news letter was published for use by beginners in "touch reading."<sup>49</sup>

(c) Prison education included classes from all areas of the WPA program. Seven teachers were hired to conduct classes in dramatics, landscape gardening, stone cutting, carpentry, surveying, math, English, sociology and economics. There were as many as 400 participants in the regular classes, and almost every inmate participated in some type of program. The dramatics program was recognized by the Associated Press as "one of the best educational programs to be found in an American penal institution."<sup>50</sup>

In the year 1938 there was a proposal to cut the adult education program. This brought many letters to Governor Blood's office in protest of this action. The Governor, in turn, notified the WPA office and the Utah Congressional representatives in Washington. The order to drop 1,700 teachers from the rolls was rescinded and there is no evidence that the program was ever cut by any large measure.<sup>51</sup>

The legal sponsor of the adult education program was the Utah State Board of Education. Co-sponsors included district boards of education, superintendents, and school principals. There were many cooperating sponsors ranging from church and fraternal organizations to the PTA.

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 9.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 9.

<sup>51</sup>Letters to Governor Blood included (1) Justin C. Stewart, President of the Utah Adult Education Association, December 16, 1938; (2) M. A. Ballinger, President of Local #565, American Federation of Teachers, December 17, 1938; and (3) Mrs. Viva H. Gray, Teacher, Milford, Utah, mother of 6 and widow, December 21, 1938, (Gov. Corr. Utah Archives).

Summer training programs were offered for the teachers, and a \$1.00 per diem and transportation was paid for those living outside the conference area. The largest conference was held on the Utah State Agricultural College campus at Logan in 1941, and included teachers from Utah and Idaho.<sup>52</sup> There was always a shortage of teachers to meet the demands of this program.

Prior to the CWA, ERA, and WPA, only sporadic attempts had been made to organize adult education programs in Utah, except in the cities of Salt Lake and Ogden. In 1938 the Utah State legislature appropriated \$15,000 per biennium for this program. Newspapers were very generous with space for announcing the new classes. The program in general reached all social and economic levels of the society. About twice as many women as men participated, if CCC participants are excluded.

The man-month costs were \$89.71 for labor, and \$8.08 "other costs," for a total of \$97.79 from the federal government, and \$17.48 by the sponsor, to total \$115.27.<sup>53</sup>

#### Recreation Program

Prior to 1930, Salt Lake City, Provo, and Logan had summer recreation programs, and some "rural school districts had physical education teachers and music teachers on a year round basis." However, the recreation programs operated under the FERA, CWA, and UERA, between 1933 and 1935, had trained many new recreation leaders, and created greater interest in such programs.<sup>54</sup>

The WPA recreation program was begun during the summer of 1936, and two of the "general aims" were to (1) "stimulate activities conducive

<sup>52</sup>Final Report, "Adult Education," 17.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 24.

<sup>54</sup>Final Report, "Recreation Program," submitted by Dean F. Peterson, 1.

to good physical and mental health," and (2) "increase breadth of interest in life."<sup>55</sup>

One phase of the recreation program included "athletics, sports, and physical activities." Baseball and softball were the most popular, and tennis came next. There were many fields and courts lighted, to provide evening programs along with the daytime activities. A basketball program was limited because of limited facilities, and football was not organized due to excessive costs of equipment. There were scattered programs in soccer, horseshoe pitching, winter sports, and gymnastics. Swimming and water sports classes stimulated greater interest in water safety, and life saving classes were organized, in many of the new pools constructed by WPA.

A second phase of recreation was organized along social lines, and included dancing which had "always been a favorite recreation pastime with the people of Utah, especially so in the rural communities."<sup>56</sup> "During the last years of program operation, the music project took over the supervision of the dance orchestra."<sup>57</sup>

Community socials were organized under the direction of parent-teacher organizations and other public and private groups.

Special community singing programs were organized to rotate in four public parks in Salt Lake City during the summer months of 1940-41 in connection with adult education program.

There were several "cultural activities" projects, including band concerts, drum corps, puppet shows, story telling, crafts, tap dancing, and other types of dramatic and dance programs.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 6.

"Special Activities" included parades, special contests such as kite flying, marbles, table tennis, programs for shut-ins, crippled children, and a "colored recreation" program in Salt Lake City and Ogden, for "colored children and adults."<sup>58</sup>

The legal sponsor for the recreation program was the Utah State Board of Education, and co-sponsors were generally local boards of education, with cooperating sponsors being clubs, fraternities, libraries and church auxiliary organizations.

The man-month cost averaged \$75.05 from federal funds, and \$27.09 from the sponsors, for a total of \$102.14 between December, 1940, and May, 1942.<sup>59</sup>

During the last few months of operation in 1942, the efforts of these programs were directed to rendering services to the United States armed forces.

#### Library Services Program

A library service was organized in connection with the "Victory Book" campaign for the armed forces in Utah. This program was a part of the war services program and all books were processed at Ft. Douglas and rotated between camps.

State of Utah Governor's office acted as legal sponsor, with the co-sponsor being the State Defense Council. The main value was that it "made life in the armed forces more pleasant." This program was not used very much by the general public.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., 10.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., 17.

<sup>60</sup>Final Report, "Library Service Program," Golden F. Schoffield

Clerical Assistance Program

This program was organized to give aid to offices that were being affected by the emergency needs brought on by the war. Usually a maximum of three workers were assigned to an office with many offices receiving only one. The work was generally typing, filing, and other clerical duties.

Eleven different public agencies participated, and all of these were also the legal sponsors. The largest agency was the Utah State Board of Health, and others included the Tooele County Recorder's office, Fort Douglas, Civilian Defense offices, and the Utah State Department of Industrial Development and Publicity.<sup>61</sup>

Public Administration Program

The public administration program included indexing and installation of records systems, codification of ordinances, property identification mapping, inventories of equipment and materials, and other related projects. Four of the 17 projects are listed here as examples of the types and accomplishments of this program.<sup>62</sup>

1. Tax Delinquency Inventory - inventory of all county owned property.
2. CWA Records Project - cleaned, sorted, and arranged all CWA records preliminary to microfilming.
3. WPA Microfilm Project - cleaned, sorted, arranged, microfilmed, and retired WPA records.
4. Police Indexing - installed index cards (FBI approved) for all criminal arrests occurring between 1915 and 1940 in Ogden and Provo City

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<sup>61</sup>Final Report, "Clerical Assistance Program," Virginia P. Frobes, State Supervisor, War Services Program.

<sup>62</sup>Final Report, "Public Administration Program," Virginia P. Frobes.

police departments. Provo not completed.

Sponsors included agencies of the state and local governments, and the federal archives. Even though there was a shortage of trained personnel for these projects, sponsors "wholeheartedly" endorsed the program. Many records in the public offices were improved and brought up to date, and the tax delinquency project made it possible to collect many back taxes.

The white collar program has been injured by the "shovel leaning" type of criticism made of other programs and no successful means to counteract this have been developed. It might be said, more correctly, that the public just doesn't know about the community contributions of the records program.<sup>63</sup>

Only one statewide program was operated, and this was a farm accounting program operated by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to help farmers.

There were no averages for man-month costs available.

#### Surveys and Investigations Program

There was a very wide range of projects included under this program. Surveys included: highway planning, forest and range research, junior high school delinquency, body measurements for standardizing sizes in clothing, and persons found guilty of crime.<sup>64</sup>

This program was not under the state office of the WPA, but functioned separately, having as legal sponsors the United States Department of Agriculture, Utah State - Agricultural Experiment station, Engineering Department, and juvenile courts. The man-month costs varied and no averages were available.

#### Clothing Program

"In Utah the work included making clothing, household articles

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid., 11.

<sup>64</sup>Final Report, "Surveys and Investigations Project," V. P. Frobes.

surgical dressings, first aid supplies and other similar articles."<sup>65</sup> Upon completion of projects, and articles were often given to public institutions and agencies, or used on other WPA projects.

Many people were often certified for WPA and began working here, as it was a "buffer project" or labor pool. In the beginning, garment manufacturers opposed this program, but later enjoyed hiring the trained workers, and at the same time realized that most of the clothing went to welfare clients, and didn't create competition for them. Many uniforms and other articles were made for the school lunch and nursery school projects. As the program was closed out, many workers were employed in parachute factories and other wartime industries.

Organization was on a statewide basis, and the legal sponsor was the Utah State Department of Public Welfare, with county departments of public welfare acting as co-sponsors, and furnishing housing for most of the projects.<sup>66</sup> The Welfare Department stated that this program was "Meritorious" because it gave employment to 500 dependent women, and at the same time used up surplus commodities in the manufacturing process, while providing clothing for needy persons.<sup>67</sup>

During the biennium July, 1938, through June, 1940, the Utah Welfare Department spent \$109,367.87 for sponsoring this program,<sup>68</sup> and the following biennium they spent an additional \$198,000.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>Final Report, "Clothing Program," Helen C. Maxfield, State Supervisor, 1.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 1.

<sup>67</sup>Second Biennial Report of the (Utah) State Department of Public Welfare, (hereafter cited as SDFW), 1938-1940, 96.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 96.

<sup>69</sup>Third Biennial Report, SDFW, 1940-1942, 79.



Feeding Program: Commodity Distribution Phase

This program took care of ordering, receiving, warehousing, handling, packaging, and transporting foods, clothing, and household articles from the Agricultural Marketing Administration, and WPA sewing projects. It also assisted with the sale of food stamp books to eligible welfare clients, and distributed food to school lunch projects.<sup>70</sup>

State warehouses were located at Ogden, Salt Lake City, and Provo, and in most of the counties only one worker was employed. The legal sponsor was the State Department of Public Welfare, and the co-sponsors were the various county welfare departments, who paid 15 percent of sponsors expenses, with 85 percent coming from SDPW. An estimated "conservative value of commodities distributed is over \$8,000,000."<sup>71</sup> Two-thirds of the cost of maintaining the "commodity and surplus food-stamp office has been contributed through WPA in form of WPA paid help." Thus, the SDPW was concerned about the possibility of the WPA being "further curtailed or eventually suspended," leaving the full burden to be carried by the state of Utah.<sup>72</sup>

Feeding Program: Food Preservation Phase

The main purpose of this program was processing foods for the school lunch program. In 1942, there were 411,260 cases of fruits and vegetables canned. Noodles were made from the Agricultural Marketing Administration's surplus frozen egg yolks and flour. In the early stages relief clients and WPA workers brought their own produce in for processing.

<sup>70</sup>Final Report, "Feeding Program - Commodity Distribution Phase," Ellis Johnson, State Supervisor, 1.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., 5.

<sup>72</sup>Third Biennial Report, SDPW, 1940-1942, 79.

Legal sponsor was the Utah State Board of Education, with local school boards, and related county and city organizations acting as co-sponsors.<sup>73</sup>

Several of the canning centers were operated as travelling units and WPA nursery schools also participated in the projects.<sup>74</sup>

#### Garden Project

The Garden Project was operated to provide vegetables for the preservation project and the school lunch program. The district supervisor and school lunch supervisor decided which crops to plant each year. One man was used per acre during the planting and harvesting seasons and only one-half the number was employed during the mid-season.<sup>75</sup>

Sponsors in the beginning were local school boards, and later changed to the State School Board, with the PTA in some areas. The sponsor was responsible for providing the land and water. Because of the higher wages of WPA workers, and the limited hours of work, this program operated at a very high cost, and was discontinued in November, 1939, and the sponsors returned once again to the open market for their vegetables.

The program not only raised nutritional standards but "also is an example to any community that their never need be food shortage as long as there is tillable soil, water, and labor available."<sup>76</sup>

#### Feeding Program: School Lunch Phase

The school lunch program was essentially the same as the earlier

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<sup>73</sup> Final Report, "Feeding Program - Food Preservation Phase," Georgia Hoagaard, State Supervisor of Feeding Program, 1-7.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>75</sup> Final Report, "Garden Project," Ruth G. Barraclough, Area Director of the largest area in Utah, 1.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 3.

program started under the UERA, designed to provide a "balanced, hot noon-day meal" for school children of all ages. There were also a number of school districts operating the lunch program for children attending the summer recreation centers.<sup>77</sup>

In the beginning this program was not very well accepted, but due to the work of many sponsors the program had become very popular by March, 1942, when 339 schools in 39 of the 40 school districts were participating. The remaining district joined the program the following year, and at that same time, a total of 858 employees were assigned to the school lunch project. In some districts a central kitchen served five schools, and this worked out very well.<sup>78</sup>

The following table shows the growth of this program from its inception until 1942.<sup>79</sup>

<u>Operating Season</u>	<u>Counties</u>	<u>Average Number of Children Served Daily</u>	<u>Number Persons Employed</u>
1935-36	22	15,849	406
1936-37	27	18,316	450
1937-38	27	19,521	461
1938-39	29	22,361	575
1939-40	29	25,000	647
1940-41	29	22,373	700
1941-42	29	32,039	858

Legal sponsor was the State Board of Education, co-sponsors were local school districts, and cooperating sponsor was the state PTA. There were no figures available for man-month costs.

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<sup>77</sup>Final Report, "Feeding Program: School Lunch Phase," Miss Georgia Hoagaard, State Supervisor, 1.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., 9.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., 11.

There were several advantages to the program, such as "high standards of dishwashing and cleanliness have been carried into the home;"<sup>80</sup> children were taught to wash their hands before eating; and parents were taught the values of nutrition. This was a program that did not terminate with WPA. "At the present time one month after the withdrawal of WPA labor and supervisors, the majority of school lunches are in operation."<sup>81</sup>

The main problem encountered was poor distribution of commodity surplus, "in spite of every effort of those responsible for this part of the program."<sup>82</sup>

According to Mrs. Mildren Yonker, School Lunch Supervisor, Cache County School District, the program today (1961) is supervised at the state and local levels by people who received their training primarily under WPA.<sup>83</sup>

In 1938 the food in Cache County was prepared in cooks' homes and carried to the school; often WPA men or NYA men were assigned to this task of transporting the food. The women were paid \$5.00 per month for using their kitchens. However, as the program progressed, many kitchens were added to the schools, with the first one in Cache County being built in the community of Paradise. This kitchen was designed by a WPA architect and constructed as a WPA building project.

When school terminated in the spring, the cooks became seamstresses and made their own uniforms, with the state furnishing the patterns and material. During the summer many of the school lunch workers canned peas,

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<sup>80</sup>ibid., 11.

<sup>81</sup>ibid., 11.

<sup>82</sup>ibid., 12.

<sup>83</sup>The remainder of this section about the Lunch Program is based on a personal interview with Mrs. Mildren Yonker, July 1, 1961. She began working in the program in 1938 and has been in the Cache County program to this date.

corn, and fruits, and "after the tomatoes were canned in October, the school lunch program began." Some of the cracked wheat came in 200 pound sacks that had been prepared for the Russian famine. "It was indeed an interesting program."

#### Health Program

A health program was first begun in 1935, but was terminated until resuming operations in September, 1941. Work included cleaning, carrying food trays, and some serving projects. All supervisors were regular hospital staff members.<sup>84</sup> The legal sponsor was the Salt Lake County Hospital. "Because this is strictly a 'Service Project,' no figures are available as to average cost of production."<sup>85</sup> Probably the greatest benefit from this program was the training of many workers who could be used in time of war.

#### Child Protection Program

This program was an expansion of the nursery school project at the University of Utah under the UERA. The child protection program was "a statewide program to establish, maintain, and operate public nursery school centers, with related parent education, for the physical, mental and social well being of pre-school age children."<sup>86</sup>

From a beginning of this one center at the University of Utah, in September, 1935, the program expanded to a total of 17 nursery schools located in 14 communities, by 1941. The four main objectives were: (1) employ needy professional workers; (2) wholesome care and guidance

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<sup>84</sup>Final Report, "Health Program," Ruth G. Barraclough, Area Director, 1.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., 3.

<sup>86</sup>Final Report, "Child Protection Program," Ruth Skidmore, State Supervisor, 1.

for children between 2 and 5 years of age, from "low income families"; (3) education and assistance for parents of young children; and (4) preparational training for students, using the nursery schools as laboratories.

Each center operated six hours a day from Monday through Friday, and enrolled between 25 and 30 children. The daily routine included health inspection, rest periods, a well-balanced noon meal and two supplemental snacks, thus providing one-half the daily food requirements for each child.

During the summer of 1942, nursery schools for the children of working mothers were established to meet needs arising from the war effort. Seven of the schools were closed at various times due to a lack of personnel, housing, or eligible children.

Legal sponsor was the Utah State Board of Education, with several co-sponsors including universities, colleges, junior colleges, county governments and civic and religious groups. The following list gives a sampling of the centers and sponsors of these:<sup>87</sup>

1. Neighborhood House, Salt Lake County Commission
2. Logan Nursery School, Utah State Agricultural College
3. Provo Nursery School, Latter-day Saints Church Welfare Association
4. Wells Center, Wells Stake Relief Society
5. Cedar City Nursery School, Branch Agricultural College
6. Manti Nursery School, Manti City Council and the South Sanpete County School District
7. Children's Service Center, Children's Service Center of Salt Lake City

From the child protection program came a nucleus for child health

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<sup>87</sup>Ibid., 14.

clinics, and some centers such as Neighborhood House in Salt Lake City are still operating.

Man-month cost from June 19, 1941 to May 1, 1942 averaged \$82.05 for federal labor and \$3.61 for non-labor, with the sponsor paying \$18.41 for a total of \$104.07.<sup>88</sup>

The following table gives a picture of some of the activities of the service programs through and including June 30, 1942.<sup>89</sup>

Selected Activities on WPA Service Programs,  
Selected Periods

Utah

Work in sewing rooms <sup>a</sup>		Number of school lunches served <sup>a</sup>
number of garments produced	number of other articles produced	
1,905,443	506,074	20,100,568
Food preserving <sup>a</sup>		
number of quarts canned	number of pounds dried	number of visits made by housekeeping aides <sup>a</sup>
2,221,441	.....	.....
Enrollment in adult education activities <sup>b</sup>		Enrollment in nursery schools <sup>b</sup>
naturalization and literacy	other	386
546	2,863	
Attendance at music performances <sup>b</sup>		Number of health instructors and agencies assisted or operated <sup>b</sup>
4,304		1

a = cumulative through June 30, 1942

b = during January, 1942

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., 14.

<sup>89</sup>"WPA Report," U. S. Government Printing Office, June 30, 1942, 82.

The Services Division left no permanent landmarks such as the airports and public buildings left by the Division of Operation. The permanent imprint of this program was of another kind. It left the people with improved talents and greater appreciation for the arts, higher standards of hygiene and nutrition, and improved recreational facilities. People were not scarred nearly as much by the depression as they might have been had this phase of the WPA never been created.



CHAPTER VII  
OBSERVATIONS ON THE WPA IN UTAH

The entry of the federal government in relief activities caused many people to view this new venture with curiosity and suspicion. There were those who feared that this would lead to the downfall of free enterprise and individual initiative. On the other hand, these federal activities were regarded by some as the only possible solution for saving our form of democracy. Following are some of the different observations made by community, county, state and church leaders.

Community

According to the mayor of Oak City, Utah:

. . . our city has been greatly benefited by these W.P.A. projects, in many different ways, our sidewalks and streets have been graded and graveled, and many of our ditches that have running water have been rocked which has helped to control the floods at high water season, . . . In a way it seemed like the city took on a new life. . . . Also, one more project that helped to bring new life in our city, was that of a swimming pool and cement dance floor . . . Heretofore the people of our community in bathing had to swim in canals.<sup>1</sup>

One of the biggest assets to our city was the project of our culinary water system, wherein that 100% of the residents receive direct benefit. In the years gone by it was always the family who lived at the head of the ditch, that had the best water for culinary purposes, . . .<sup>2</sup>

County

In Summit County many farm to market roads were built or improved, along with improvements to the school buildings and grounds. At Park City athletic fields and bleachers were constructed along with a city

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<sup>1</sup>Letter from Seldon Anderson, Mayor, Oak City, Utah, to Mr. Darrell J. Greenwell, State Administrator (WPA), March 7, 1938 (Gov. Corr. Utah Archives).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

culinary water storage system. However, "The greatest value" came from "the conservation of human morale, community and social improvements and the furnishing of a work program to ward off dole."<sup>3</sup>

Among the non-construction projects, Weber County received its greatest benefits "to the needy through the sewing and school lunch projects."<sup>4</sup>

#### State Agencies

The Utah State Board of Health sponsored "the first W.P.A. project inaugurated in Utah, commencing work September 12, 1935." This program known as the "Community Sanitation Program" had, by 1938, installed "17,716 sanitary pit type privies" or more than one-half of the privies in the state of Utah, where sewer lines were not available. Installation of these "fly-proof, air tight and sanitary privies," was believed to have brought about a reduction of "filth-borne contagious diseases." But, the real value was seen as keeping the experienced carpenters and other workers "working at their regular trade. . . ." "We firmly believe in work relief, rather than direct relief, for the general good of the community." Also, \$23.00 of the \$50.00 average cost of a privy was paid by the client to cover the costs of materials, and therefore almost one-half of the cost was private rather than government spending.<sup>5</sup>

According to the Utah State Fish and Game Department, "all employables should be given work rather than dole, . . ." They also believed that their program "had an educational effect on those participating,"

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<sup>3</sup>Summit County Appraisal, John E. Wright, Clerk, 1938.

<sup>4</sup>Weber County Appraisal, George F. Simmons, Chairman, March 8, 1938.

<sup>5</sup>"Experiences and Impressions of the Utah State Board of Health with Regard to the WPA and Unemployment Relief Situation," 1, (Planning Board files, Utah Archives).

by making them more interested in wild life preservation.<sup>6</sup>

The Utah State Board of Agriculture was "very modest in sponsoring government work projects, but those that have been given assistance have been recognized as emergency needs." The "noxious weed control eradication project" was the largest and "most popular" project sponsored by this state department.<sup>7</sup>

Projects sponsored by the Utah State Building Commission were conducted at Snow Junior College, Dixie Junior College, State Training School at American Fork, and the State Hospital at Provo. These projects added many "valuable and needed buildings, . . . the greater part of which would probably not have been done for some time except for the WPA aid."<sup>8</sup>

"We believe that this has an advantage over direct relief payments, or doles, in that it usually employs men . . . maintaining their self respect and morale."<sup>9</sup>

#### Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints ✓

The attitude of the Latter-day Saints, or Mormon Church appears to have been unfavorable in the beginning, but as time went on, church agencies acted as co-sponsors and cooperating sponsors of certain projects. "No man should ask for charity from the government," declared President Heber J. Grant in 1938. But, according to one reporter, there were 32 percent more Utah workers on WPA projects, 45 percent more on CCC,

<sup>6</sup>Utah State Fish and Game Department on WPA and Associated 'Make Work' Programs," N. B. Cook, Commissioner, (Planning Board files, Utah Archives).

<sup>7</sup>Letter from David F. Smith, Commissioner of Agriculture, to Mr. Greenwell, February 24, 1938, (Gov. Corr. Utah Archives).

<sup>8</sup>Letter from R. K. Brown, Supt. of Construction, Utah State Building Commission, to Mr. Margetts, March 3, 1938, (Planning Board files, Utah Archives).

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

50 percent more in the NYA, 175 percent more receiving student aid, and 60 percent more on the PWA than the national average.<sup>10</sup>

Mormon Church members felt the depression as did everyone else, and by 1936, there were 88,000 of the Church's 638,000 members on relief rolls. At that time the Church presidency "resolved to take the indigent saints off relief by next Jan. 1," with a new plan costing about \$1,000,000 a year.<sup>11</sup> This was not something new for the Church, as they had spent \$248,568 during 1929; \$255,755 in 1930; \$289,177 in 1931; \$307,222 in 1932; and \$189,513 in 1933, for "church relief" in Utah.<sup>12</sup>

It appears that the Mormon Church believed Utah could get out of the depression through their own projects. However, after 20 months of experience and "the creation of 700 projects which ran practically without administrative costs, and an expenditure of more than half a million dollars amassed from voluntary contribution," the state of Utah had a much higher average, as pointed out earlier, in all areas of federal work relief.<sup>13</sup>

An over-all point of view by the Church appears to be very similar to attitudes held by other agencies working to overcome the depression and that was a fear that "federal relief demoralizes recipients."<sup>14</sup>

#### Individuals

Mr. Nobel Chambers who began working during the ERA days in Utah, and currently heads the Cache County Welfare Department, believes that

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<sup>10</sup>Martha Emery, "Mormon Security," The Nation, February 12, 1936, 182-3.

<sup>11</sup>Time, June 8, 1936, 32.

<sup>12</sup>"L.D.S. Relief Expenditures in the State of Utah for Years 1929 to 1933," a report in the Utah State Archives.

<sup>13</sup>Emery, 182.

<sup>14</sup>Business Week, May 30, 1936, 5.

too many people knew only about the "shovel leaners" and regarded WPA workers as "shiftless people."<sup>15</sup> But, in most cases, "just the minute after work developed, these men were gone." All of the men were not the best workers, but many former WPA workers moved into high positions of leadership in Utah. "People were there (WPA) because of circumstances!"

If we can spend billions of dollars on defense, we can afford to spend billions on keeping democracy. If a depression ever comes again this program should come back. It was a measure necessary to keep the ball rolling.<sup>16</sup>

Mr. Darrell J. Greenwell administered the WPA from its beginning in 1935 to its termination in 1943. He characterized the WPA as "a lot of small projects to employ a maximum of people,"<sup>17</sup> and although he remembered that one million dollars was spent at the University of Utah for WPA projects, and the construction of buildings in other areas as being important contributions, he saw the "running water in the rural town's homes" as the area of greatest contribution by the WPA.

Mr. Greenwell was a man who worked very hard attempting to coordinate the efforts of state, federal and local governments to overcome the depression.<sup>18</sup> He received many letters and listened to many protests when reductions came in the WPA rolls by federal decision. He traveled throughout the state of Utah to see the needs of the people so he could do an adequate job. He defended WPA workers, but when his quota of workers was higher than necessary, he didn't pad the rolls. He was very concerned when the LDS Church openly criticized the WPA from the pulpit,

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<sup>15</sup> Interview with Mr. Nobel Chambers, Logan, Utah, June 30, 1961.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Interview with Mr. Darrell J. Greenwell, Ogden, Utah, June 27, 1961. This interview was made just prior to Mr. Greenwell's death, Aug. 8, 1961, age 69, at the time executive editor of the Ogden Standard Examiner.

<sup>18</sup> For writing this final paragraph I have used ideas from several hundred references in letters and reports, found in the Governor's Correspondence and other sources in the Utah State Archives.

and had real fears when the Communist party gained a foothold in the Workers Alliance."

Probably the reason the WPA operated as well as it did in Utah was the position of State Welfare Director and WPA Administrator being one man -- Mr. Darrell J. Greenwell.

## CHAPTER VIII

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS ✓

In the course of this study I have tried to show the problems created by the Great Depression and explain the Federal Relief Programs organized to solve the riddles of getting a dead economy in motion once again.

The Great Depression was one of the greatest challenges to the American way of life that has ever come from within. Although it was a part of the total world depression, it was in most respects caused by weaknesses inside this country. The freedom offered by the United States system of government allowed many people to abuse this freedom by stock speculation and uncontrolled misuse of the key to American capitalism -- individual ownership of industry. This depression was of such magnitude that it shook the foundations of government and capitalism almost to the breaking point. When 100,000 American workers apply for work in the Soviet Union, and people are being robbed in broad daylight on the streets of the larger cities, it is not a period that can be looked back upon as a simple problem with a simple solution. Two presidents were challenged to solve all of these problems. President Hoover should not take the blame for the depression, nor President F. D. Roosevelt given the credit for resolving the problem. The depression was a product of the times and a climax to the "Roaring Twenties." It was a part of the world scene. The droughts may be charged to mother nature.

The impact of the depression upon American political thought in relation to an expansion of the federal government into areas of relief and greater planning efforts is well known by many people. It is interesting to note the rise of extreme left-wing organizations during the

1930's, including a branch of the Communist party of the United States, along with a Socialist party here in Utah. Many so-called protective unions, some of which were infiltrated and later dominated by Communists, also had a great deal to say about the role of government during these times. Among the "authorities" on the New Deal era, this author never encountered during his study any who knew anything about these extremist movements and their relationships to the political trends of these times. If one is led to believe that the government wanted control and permanent programs to evolve from this new venture in relief, it is here stated that this study found no such inclination. People involved in the federal programs regarded them as temporary, and it was the extremist groups who wanted these programs to be expanded and permanent.

Government efforts resulted in some new and lasting programs that fall into the realm of regulatory agencies, such as the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Securities Exchange Commission, stronger Federal Reserve system, permanent state relief programs and Social Security. These agencies have, along with others, tended to become a part of the checks and balances system in government.

Utah is considered to be one of the states hardest hit by the depression, and therefore, the organized efforts of the state, local and federal governments, with support from the private charities and churches, was much greater than one might find in the states adjacent to Utah. When the federal government entered into relief many new programs were organized, most of which came to Utah. These programs included the CCC, PWA, CWA, FERA, WPA, and NYA, all of which are discussed briefly in this paper. The FERA "Works Division," which was the parent of the WPA, is discussed in greater detail than any other program except WPA. From this program came a concept of work relief that was to touch almost every area of Utah's employment. Projects included sewing, school lunch, library



and reading, instruction for the blind, drought range development, self-help cooperatives, mosquito abatement, and several more. Many of these projects were continued under the Service Division (Professional) program, and the Division of Operation (Construction) which was to expand and ultimately become merged with the PWA.

People today remember the WPA, but liked the PWA because the latter built dams and large buildings. The WPA is often remembered as "shovel-leaning" and "leaf raking" projects. Most of the intangible programs of the Professional or Service Division have never been heard of by most people, and the building programs of the WPA are generally referred to as PWA projects.

Accomplishments of the FERA and WPA programs include: the first sewer and culinary water systems for many rural communities; new and improved city, county and school buildings, roads, bridges, and airports; and school lunch programs that remain in most of the public school districts.

There were inefficient programs, no doubt, and "poor workers" on some projects. However, the question might be raised "Who could get overly excited about a 'temporary job' in a 'temporary program'?" The people wanted to work, and the work relief programs provided this need. Should the WPA be judged because it often resulted in make-work projects, or should the people be praised because they preferred work to direct dole?

The "New Deal" represented an attempt by the federal government to adjust to an economic collapse that threatened the American way of life. The WPA is gone, but the United States stands strong today in witness of our ability to adjust to newly emerging crises.

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Recreation Program, Dean F. Peterson; Surveys and Investigations, V. P. Prooes; Writers Project; Grace Winkleman.

#### Interviews

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