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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

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This form is for use in documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Type all entries.

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

New Deal Resources in Indiana State Parks

B. Associated Historic Contexts

New Deal Work Programs in Indiana State Parks, 1935-1942

C. Geographical Data

The geographical area encompasses the fourteen present Indiana state parks that were under state or federal jurisdiction between 1933 and 1942. They are McCormick's Creek, Turkey Run, Clifty Falls, Indiana Dunes, Pokagon, Spring Mill, Brown County, Shakamak, Mounds, Bass Lake, Lincoln, Tippecanoe River, Versailles, and Ouabache.

☐ See continuation sheet

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Planning and Evaluation.

Patrick R. Rabator — 1-4-92

Signature of certifying official — Date

Indiana Department of Natural Resources

State or Federal agency and bureau

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

Patrick Andrus — 4/3/92

Signature of the Keeper of the National Register — Date

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Discuss each historic context listed in Section B.

The following study provides an analysis according to theme, place, and time for properties constructed by New Deal work relief agencies in Indiana state parks. The places covered in this context are the fourteen present Indiana state parks that were under state or federal government jurisdiction during the New Deal (1933-1942), listed here in order of acquisition into the state park system: McCormick's Creek, Turkey Run, Clifty Falls, Indiana Dunes, Pokagon, Spring Mill, Brown County, Shakamak, Mounds, Bass Lake, Lincoln, Tippecanoe River (originally Winamac Recreation Demonstration Area), Versailles (originally Versailles Recreation Demonstration Area), and Ouabache (originally Wells County State Forest and Game Preserve). New Deal agencies whose work is included in this study are the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Works Progress Administration (WPA), and its direct predecessor agencies, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), and the Civil Works Administration (CWA). The work of the National Youth Administration (NYA), which was administered by the WPA during much of its existence, is also included. All these agencies contributed directly to the development of Indiana state parks, although examples of the work of FERA, CWA, and NYA, never extensive, may no longer exist.

Indiana's system of state parks began with the acquisition of McCormick's Creek and Turkey Run in 1916 and expanded rapidly during the 1920s. Prior to the 1930s, however, development of the parks was minimal, limited mainly to a few inns, hiking trails, and primitive camping areas and picnic grounds. The enactment of New Deal Public Works programs starting in 1933, had a tremendous impact on Indiana's state parks. The CCC, and to a lesser extent, the WPA, constructed much of the infrastructure and the numerous recreational facilities that are so closely associated with state parks today. Indeed, the majority of resources built by the CCC or WPA between 1933 and 1942 in fourteen Hoosier state parks still stand and remain in use. The public buildings constructed in the parks during that era exhibit a consistency of style and materials that demonstrates the New Deal agencies desire to harmonize visually with the natural environment.

Largely as a reaction to unrestricted and wasteful exploitation of natural resources, a nascent conservation movement emerged in the late nineteenth century. Typical of the burst of social activism that characterized the Progressive Era, conservation provided the intellectual and political framework for public support of national and state parks throughout the United States. Driven by a sense of loss and variously interpreted beliefs that contact with nature was important to the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of Americans living in an increasingly urban society, citizen groups began to clamor for government-administered parks and forests. Some advocates, among them Richard Lieber of Indiana, felt that undeveloped nature, "scenery" untainted by the hand of man, was a resource crying out for protection.[1]

[1] For a useful brief summary of the conservation movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Joseph R. McCall and Virginia N. McCall, Outdoor Recreation, Forest, Park, and Wilderness (Beverly Hills: Benziger Bruce and Glencoe, 1977), Chapters 1-4, For an

[X] See continuation sheet

A successful Indianapolis businessman and civic leader, Lieber worked tirelessly for a system of protected park lands under state auspices. He spoke out against the "waste of a grand scale [that was] a typical American vice" and advocated conservation of natural resources and preservation of large tracts of unspoiled forests and scenic areas.[2] While Lieber did not originate the idea of state parks in Indiana, it was largely through his efforts that the legislature created the Indiana Department of Conservation in 1919. Lieber, considered the "Father of Indiana's State Park System," became the department's first director and continued in that position until 1933.

Having begun with the acquisition of McCormick's Creek in Owen County and Turkey Run in Parke County in 1916 to commemorate the Hoosier centennial, Lieber rapidly expanded Indiana's state park holdings in the 1920s with Clifty Falls (Jefferson County), Muscatatuck (Jennings County), Pokagon (Steuben County), Indiana Dunes (Porter County), Spring Mill (Lawrence County), and Brown County. All were gifts to the state conveyed by local governments, except the Indiana Dunes, for which Lieber lobbied hard. Largely because of his persistent efforts, the state purchased a tract of unspoiled dunelands in northwest Indiana for a park in 1925. All these properties met Lieber's criteria that land comprising a state park should contain natural features of exceptional beauty or rarity, or be of some historic value.[3] By providing places in which the public could wander about and interact with nature, Lieber believed that state parks "would constantly be a great public lesson in conservation and show the folly of prodigal waste of Indiana's natural resources. They would impress upon the public mind that wastefulness of Nature's beauties and treasures is out of harmony with the spirit of the time, progress, and the needs of Indiana's new century." According to Lieber, the parks' particular purpose was "to refresh and strengthen and renew

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indepth analysis, see Samuel P. Hays, Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency - the Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959). See also Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), chapters 6-10.

[2] "Local Application of Aims of Conservation," Indianapolis News, 12 September 1912. See Robert Allen Frederick, "Colonel Richard Lieber, Conservationist and Park Builder: The Indiana Years" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1960). Frederick includes a lengthy discussion of the roots of the conservation movement nationally in chapter III, "The Movement for Conservation in America."

[3] Lieber expresses this mission in statements and subsequent actions regularly in the "Annual Reports of Department of Conservation," Yearbook of Indiana, 1917-1928. Henceforth cited as "Annual Reports."

tired people, and fit them for the common round of daily life."[4]

Under Lieber's leadership, state parks were kept as "natural" as possible and not extensively developed. The Department of Conservation provided inns for overnight accommodations in most of the parks mentioned above, initially using existing buildings on the properties when available. Certainly a road or two running through each park was necessary, and the department oversaw the development of hiking trails and a few picnic groves. Campgrounds that appeared in the 1920s were little more than cleared spaces with pit toilets nearby, and perhaps a water pump. Generally, the state provided residences for park rangers and caretakers on the properties, again using existing buildings when possible, and building sturdy cottages when necessary.[5] But except for providing a modicum of accessibility, the landscape was altered relatively little.

In the early 1930s, Indiana added three more donated properties to its park system that seemed to stretch Lieber's standards a bit thin. Mounds near Anderson had been a privately owned and developed recreational park, although the historic value of the aboriginal Indian mounds was clearly the reason for the state's interest. Bass Lake State Beach, a mere ten acres in Pulaski County, only assured continuing public access to one of the state's larger glacially formed lakes. Certainly it was and is a refreshing body of water, but hardly exceptional. More significantly, the acceptance of Shakamak near Jasonville seems to have foreshadowed the department's later interest in acquiring property strictly for recreational purposes; in fact, the department accepted it as an "experiment." Shakamak is an attractive site today, but in 1930 when it opened as a state park, much of the parcel was a wasteland of abandoned strip mines.[6] Indeed, one of the features later developed there by the Civilian Conservation Corps was a coal mine exhibit centering around an exposed seam.

The last state park established under Lieber's directorship was Lincoln in Spencer County, which contained a number of historic sites pertinent to the boyhood of Abraham Lincoln. (Nancy Hanks Lincoln's gravesite was part of the property but administered as a state memorial.) Thus, by 1933 Indiana boasted twelve state parks. All but Muscatatuck remain in the system today.

The Great Depression gripped the United States during the years following the stock market crash of 1929. By 1932, the American people

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[4] Lieber, letter to Indiana Historical Commission, Indianapolis, November 25, 1916, quoted in David M. Silver, ed., "Richard Lieber and Indiana's Forest Heritage," Indiana Magazine of History 67 (March 1971), 54; Lieber, "Report of State Park Committee" in "Annual Reports," 1917.

[5] "Annual Reports," 1925-1931.

[6] Tom Wallace, Over the River: Indiana State Parks and Memorials (Indianapolis: Department of Conservation, 1932), esp. 42-43; "Annual Reports," 1929-1932.

eagerly listened to a man who offered them a "new deal" and swept Franklin D. Roosevelt into the presidency. In the same election the people of Indiana elected Democrat Paul V. McNutt to the governorship. Taking office in January 1933, more than two months before his national counterpart, McNutt immediately set out to restructure the state government. Among other things, he established the Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief (GCUR), which created a framework for receiving, administering, and distributing throughout Indiana the benefits of federal New Deal relief and work programs soon to come.[7]

McNutt's reorganization of the state administrative branch into eight divisions had major consequences for state parks. The Department of Conservation, up until this time still headed by Lieber, became a section of the Department of Public Works. McNutt named his political ally Virgil M. Simmons the public works administrator and the Commissioner of the Department of Conservation, which was further split into six divisions. The governor appointed Richard Lieber the director of the Division of State Parks and Lands and Waters, which many, including Lieber himself, perceived as a demotion. As political appointees replaced more and more employees of his division, Lieber resigned in July 1933. Closely supervised by Simmons, Myron L. Rees served as director of state parks for the next five years, during which the parks saw a flurry of New Deal construction activity.[8]

On the national level President Roosevelt wasted no time after his inaugeration in March 1933 before effecting various innovative battle plans to fight the Depression. With his advisors, Roosevelt created numerous "alphabet agencies" that launched a mind-boggling number of programs during the administration's first one hundred days. In the midst of a demoralizing depression, the need for recreational facilities seemed more acute with the abundance of forced leisure time. Lingering from the past was still the notion of the restorative power of the great outdoors, now accompanied by a greater public interest in active pursuits in open spaces. Related to this were programs to give city dwellers, especially children, opportunities for healthful exercise and loosely

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[7] One of the few published sources--and a useful one--available on Indiana during the New Deal is James H. Madison, Indiana Through Tradition and Change: A History of the Hoosier State and Its People, 1920-1945 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1982). Chapters III-V specifically deal with the government and politics of the 1930s in Indiana.

[8] Frederick, "Lieber," 333-341; "Annual Reports," 1933-1938. One may only speculate as to how Lieber might have handled the development of Indiana's state parks with the aid of the CCC and WPA. As president of the National Conference of State Parks, in 1936 Lieber praised Simmons' work and his taking "adequate advantage of the offers to finance developments which have come from the federal government"--an obvious reference to the CCC and WPA. Daniel M. Kidney, "Park Direction Under Simmons Is Paid Tribute," Indianapolis Times, December 4, 1936.

defined woodcraft training in the clean, invigorating air of the country. The New Deal could offer solutions that seemed to answer these recreational needs, shore up the conservation movement, and address the more crucial problem of unemployment all at once.[9]

Among the earliest federal programs was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), whose dual mission consisted of getting jobless youth off the streets and conserving and restoring the nation's natural resources. Franklin D. Roosevelt's deep personal commitment to conservation began during his childhood in Hyde Park, New York, where his father experimented with forest management on the family estate. On March 21, Roosevelt sent a message to Congress that reflected strongly his conservationist background, proposing "to create a Civilian Conservation Corps to be used in simple work, not interfering with normal employment, and confining itself to forestry, the prevention of soil erosion, flood control, and similar projects. . . . More important, however, than the material gains, will be the moral and spiritual value of such work."[10]

President Roosevelt signed the bill creating the CCC on March 31, 1933. The project was called Emergency Conservation Work (ECW), but the President's original name for its youthful workers immediately captured the fancy of the public, the press, and the participants. Eventually Congress officially renamed the entire program the Civilian Conservation Corps. The CCC had relatively few detractors, which eased its speedy implementation with unusual cooperation among several branches of federal government. The U.S. Army handled the logistics and, along with the other armed forces, provided camp commanders. The Department of Labor, through the relief offices at state and local levels, set up the \means and requirements for enrollment. The Departments of Agriculture (through its Soil Conservation Service and other divisions) and Interior (through the National Park Service) oversaw the planning and organization of the work in forests, parks, and other public lands throughout the states.[11]

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[9] For a discussion of conservation and the New Deal, see A.L. Riesch-Owen, Conservation Under FDR (New York: Praeger Books, 1983). See also Herman J. Muller, "The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942," Historical Bulletin 28 (March 1950), 55-60. The papers of FDR pertaining to conservation have been compiled into two volumes by Edgar D. Nixon, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Conservation, 1911-1945 (Hyde Park: Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, 1957).

[10] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Message to 73rd Congress, March 21, 1933," Samuel I. Roseman, ed., The Year of Crisis, 1933, Vol. 2 of The Speeches and Public Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt (New York: Random House, 1938), 80. Information on Roosevelt's lifelong experimentation with forest management and crop rotation is displayed and interpreted at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Home and Library, Hyde Park, New York.

[11] An additional tidbit thrown to labor, which had grumbled about government competition, was Roosevelt's appointment of union leader Robert Fechner as ECW National Director. The terms ECW and CCC, for all practical purposes, may be used interchangably.
Documents too numerous to list explain the roles of the various

The National Park Service offered guidelines and designs for park projects and buildings constructed by the CCC and other agencies under its administration. CCC administrators in each state would send individual park projects and proposed master plans to a regional office for approval. Indiana projects were evaluated in Omaha, Nebraska. For some years prior to the New Deal, the National Park Service had been developing designs for public buildings on recreational lands that would "appear to belong to and be a part of their settings." Toward that end, the park service developed several series of plans and unobtrusive designs that were meant to be executed in the native materials of a particular park. Thus, while a specific type of building in one location might resemble its counterpart in another, they were almost never quite alike. The guidelines were so broad as to encourage great variation in local interpretation, as long as the finished building harmonized with its surroundings. In its time, this style was most often termed simply "rustic." This study uses "park rustic" to distinguish park buildings (whether or not directly influenced by NPS) from private residences and commercial properties that sometimes resorted to this style in the 1930s, whether or not they were suitable to their settings.[12]

In May 1933, scarcely more than a month after President Roosevelt had signed the bill creating Emergency Conservation Work, Hoosiers acquired their first CCC camp in Morgan-Monroe State Forest. Within the same month, the National Park Service designated Indiana's first state park

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government departments in detail, as well as the scope, frequently amended during its first months, of the CCC. All are contained in Record Group 268, Box 1, of the FDR Official Files (O.F.): Civilian Conservation Corps (1933), Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York. (Henceforth cited as FDR Library.) An especially useful summary is the text of a radio speech broadcast by Fechner on May 6, 1933, explaining the CCC to the public.

Many published sources are available on the CCC; among the more useful ones are two written during the New Deal years: James J. McEntee, Now They Are Men: The Story of the CCC (Washington, D.C.: National Home Library Foundation, 1940), and Ray Hoyt, "We Can Take It": A Short Story of the CCC (New York: American Book Company, 1935). See also Muller, "The Civilian Conservation Corps."

12 "Foreword" and "Apologia" of Albert H. Good, Park and Recreation Structures, 3 vol. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1938). This is such a lavishly illustrated, excellent resource that it was recently reprinted by Graybooks of Boulder, Colorado. The quotation is from the "Foreword," VII. Arno B. Cammerer, "Participation of the Department of the Interior Agencies in Emergency Conservation Work for the Two-Year Period April, 1933 to March 31, 1935," typed manuscript filed in O.F. 268, Box 3, FDR Library.

CCC camps at Lincoln and at Spring Mill, soon followed with CCC companies at Indiana Dunes, Turkey Run, and McCormick's Creek. Any unemployed young man, aged eighteen to twenty-five (later amended to seventeen to twenty-three) and unmarried, could sign up for a six-month hitch with options to reenlist for up to two years. A great many did. The government paid them thirty dollars a month, and enrollees were required to send twenty-five of that home to their families. The CCC provided clothing, ample food, and spartan but adequate shelter in well-organized camps on or near the properties where work was to be done. The camps were often far from home; indeed, many boys from the East and Midwest joined in hopes of being sent to the far West.[13]

The military-style camp facilities generally consisted of several barracks, latrine, mess hall, infirmary, officers' quarters, recreation hall, and perhaps a few other utilitarian buildings. Later camps included one or more school buildings. Some of the first CCC companies built their own camps. Companies generally comprised about two hundred men, and a camp usually housed one company. Companies and camps were racially segregated. Each company had a number assigned when it first formed; each camp location, too, had a designated number (e.g., Company 556 at Pokagon, Camp SP-7). Park visitors frequently considered the CCC camps on the properties a tourist attraction and made a point of stopping by.

When work was completed in a particular location, the entire company unit would move to another camp, sometimes even to one in another state. After CCC companies abandoned a particular park, the buildings were usually dismantled and moved to a new camp location. The buildings of the first CCC camp at Lincoln, for example, were later relocated to Turkey Run. In other cases the parks used the lumber from the buildings for other purposes. At Spring Mill picnic tables and benches were fashioned out of lumber salvaged from an abandoned CCC camp. The state auctioned off the buildings of any intact camps remaining after World War II. Some scant evidence of the camp sites is still visible at Spring Mill and especially at Lincoln, such as concrete foundations and former roadbeds. Archaeological examination at these and identified camp sites in other parks may prove valuable and suggest new ways to interpret park history to the public.[14]

Even though the CCC was originally intended--and remained--for unemployed young men, an early modification created a class of enrollees called LEMs (Local Experienced Men). The skills and experience of these older men from the areas surrounding the camps proved useful for the training and initial supervision of the green CCC recruits. LEMs

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[13] Interview, Roger Woodcock, CCC veteran (Pokagon), 3 November 1990.

[14] "Annual Reports," 1934-1942; "C.C.C. Buildings - Inventory," manuscript ca. 1945 listing remaining CCC camp structures at five Indiana state parks; writer's field survey of Indiana state parks, June 1990-May 1991. A few parks, most notably Pokagon, have identified CCC camp locations with signs, commemorative markers, or map points.

routinely served in the CCC in Indiana, where their skills made important contributions toward sturdy and attractive construction in the parks, such as the fine split-rock masonry of Pokagon.[15] An additional permanent alteration in the President's pet project came after the appearance in Washington in the spring of 1933 of another Bonus Army.[16] The protesting unemployed veterans of World War I had come once again seeking their bonus money; they left with the offer of conservation work in the CCC. Most accepted. The veterans' camps were set up separately and work geared to their age (early thirties to late forties) and presumably higher skill level. One such camp in Indiana was established at Brown County State Park and Game Preserve in November 1933.[17]

The CCC's work, which President Roosevelt had identified as conservation and restoration of natural resources, was inextricably tied into recreational development, especially in state parks. Such CCC activities as reclamation and reforestation through formal plantations as well as random plantings, and the accompanying protective construction of fire trails and lookout towers, took place in areas being developed with public recreation in mind. While parks such as Turkey Run and McCormick's Creek were heavily wooded when acquired, others, such as Shakamak, an abandoned strip mining area, and Pokagon, largely abandoned farm land adjacent to a resort lake, had to be reforested, the sort of work most closely associated with "Roosevelt's Tree Army." On the other hand, the CCC cleared acres of brush and trees to construct new access roads or to build dams. Dams served the dual purpose of flood control and formation of a recreational body of water, although only a few state

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[15] Interview, Woodcock; Fred E. Leake and Ray S. Carter, Roosevelt's Tree Army: A Brief History of the Civilian Conservation Corps (Jefferson Barracks, Missouri: National Association of Civilian Conservation Corps Alumni, 1987), 3-4. Later in Indiana, local WPA workers were employed to similar purpose. Department of Conservation files, 1933-1942, housed in the Indiana State Archives (Commission on Public Records), 315 East Ohio Street, Indianapolis. Henceforth cited as State Archives.

[16] This group of veterans believed Roosevelt would be more sympathetic to their needs than former President Hoover had been in the summer of 1932. In that well-documented incident, some 20,000 jobless veterans and their families had come to Washington seeking immediate payment of their combat bonus money. They set up a tent city on the Anacostia Flats south of downtown and were forcefully driven out with tear gas, infantrymen, and tanks under the command of General Douglas MacArthur and his aide, Major Dwight D. Eisenhower.

[17] Roosevelt, "Executive Order: Administration of the Emergency Conservation Work," 11 May 1933, O.F. 268, Box 1, FDR Library.

parks (Shakamak, Spring Mill, Lincoln) included the creation of lakes among their CCC projects.[18]

The concept of the public's interaction with nature throughout the 1930s remained largely experiential; CCC state park development leaned heavily toward the creation of reasonably safe (but by today's standards often quite rugged) hiking trails and picnic areas. Park visitors fancied themselves to be in practically a wilderness, and the state parks'mission during the New Deal to maintain this vision differed little from that under Lieber's administration. The main idea seemed to be to offer what passed for a "wilderness experience" in Indiana to an increasing number of people. For the most part visitors knew to watch out for themselves and exercise caution. The CCC cleared picnic areas and built attractive shelterhouses that often perched precariously close to the edges of canyons, as did the Poplar Grove shelter in Clifty Falls and the CCC-built shelter at Echo Canyon in McCormick's Creek.[19] To enhance the outdoors experience, shelters and comfort stations, even the drinking fountains, exhibited designs that were rustic and harmonious with their surroundings, using native materials.[20]

The WPA carried on a particularly successful program of employment projects throughout Indiana, which included work in the state parks under the supervision of the Department of Conservation, simultaneous with that of the CCC. McNutt's GCUR had allowed for the smooth introduction into the state of WPA's predecessor work agencies, FERA and CWA, in 1933. Federal legislation creating the FERA had passed during Roosevelt's first hectic Hundred Days. CWA, a true work relief program, began in the fall of 1933 to provide jobs over the coming winter.[21] Both agencies became involved with work projects for the Indiana Department of Conservation. One of the most widespread of these was the construction of low dams for

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[18] Writer's field survey of Indiana state parks.

[19] The mission of the state parks and what visitors expected (or at least what the Department of Conservation wanted them to expect) may be gleaned from a thorough reading of the monthly publication Outdoor Indiana, 1933-1939; map of McCormick's Creek ca. 1942, State Parks Clipping Files, Indiana State Library, 150 North Senate, Indianapolis IN; Interview, Darrell Skinner, Manager, Clifty Falls State Park, 27 July 1990. Both of the stone-and-timber shelterhouses cited were demolished in recent years for reasons of public safety and park liability.

[20] Writers' field survey of Indiana state parks.

[21] Discontinued the following spring, CWA was of too short a duration to have left a greater legacy in the state parks than a few scattered structures.

stream improvement and flood control, as well as the establishment of fish hatcheries throughout the state. Some of these projects were located in state parks, such as the fish rearing ponds at Shakamak.[22]

President Roosevelt introduced the Works Progress Administration in 1935. With the WPA the federal government undertook a vast and comprehensive program to create jobs of all sorts that would as much as possible use the specific skills of the unemployed, but would not, however, compete with whatever jobs the private sector might be able to offer.[23] No doubt the successive Democratic administrations in Indiana during this period helped WPA programs succeed so well here. In Indiana the greatest output of WPA manpower and funding was in projects that involved either the construction of roads or recreational facilities.[24]

The actual work of the WPA in state parks was similar to that of the CCC. The differences lay in how the programs were structured: WPA workers were from the local area, and therefore lived in their homes during the time they worked in a park. Unlike the CCC boys who signed up for six-month hitches (with the accompanying security of bed, board, and wages), WPA workers were hired for the duration of a specific project. They were generally older than the CCC enrollees and usually had families to support. More than half of Indiana's state parks in the 1930s benefited from both WPA and CCC labor, sometimes simultaneously. Evidence indicates that occasionally both groups worked on the same project, such as the lakeside bath house at Shakamak. There the WPA workers provided the construction expertise that the CCC boys on the project lacked.[25] It is sometimes impossible to determine which New Deal agency built what structure in a particular park. The absence of

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[22] Recovery in Indiana, 1934-1935; Outdoor Indiana, 1934-1935; writer's field survey of Indiana state parks. A third lake later impounded at Shakamak inundated the fish rearing ponds.

[23] Wages, paid in cash, hovered above average direct relief payments but below roughly comparable work in private industry. Administration of direct relief was turned over to state and local governments, in line with Roosevelt's warning that "to dole out relief in this way is to administer a narcotic . . . . The Federal government must and shall quit this business of relief." Roosevelt, "Annual Message to Congress, January 4, 1935," Roseman, ed. Vol. 4 of speeches of FDR, 19-20.

[24] Glory-June Greiff, "Roads, Rocks, and Recreation: The Legacy of the WPA in Indiana," Traces 3 (Summer 1991), 40-47.

[25] 1941 plan map and report of bath house construction at Shakamak, R4269, Department of Conservation Records, State Archives.

complete records may forever keep the builders of some park structures a mystery.[26]

No new parks came into the system during the New Deal years, but two areas under federal supervision in the 1930s became state parks shortly thereafter: Versailles and Winamac Recreation Demonstration Areas. Under U.S. Department of Agriculture auspices, the WPA developed the two properties for public recreational use. Versailles had a CCC camp on the property as well. The idea behind these projects was, as the name suggests, to demonstrate the recreational value of agriculturally submarginal land that had proven virtually worthless for farming. The work done on these projects by the New Deal agencies was akin to that in the existing state parks, although since these lands were developed mainly from overworked or poorly managed farms, there was more to be done in rehabilitating the site. A bit more emphasis, too, fell on the development of group camps, which further boosted the social value of these reclaimed properties. In 1943 by prior arrangement the federal government turned these properties over to the state for use as parks; they became Versailles and Tippecanoe River State Parks.[27]

While the primary function of the state parks remained that of providing places of encounter between the public and a relatively unspoiled "wild" land, the concept of what types of interaction were appropriate in a park was expanded under the New Deal to include more people. The attractions were still largely the traditional ones of hiking, picnicking, camping, fishing, and swimming, usually in "natural" water. Few parks had pools. The CCC and WPA developed beaches with comfort stations and drinking fountains along rivers and lakes and built substantial bath houses in some of the parks, such as the one at Spring Mill, since remodeled into a nature center. Although horseback riding was by no means unheard of in state parks in the 1920s, it had been restricted to those individuals who brought their own animals to ride.

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[26] A prime example of this difficulty is Ouabache State Park, which during the New Deal years was developed from marginal farmland as the Wells County State Forest and Game Preserve. Available records, sparse to begin with, generally refer to the presence of both the CCC and WPA at work on the property simultaneously. Outdoor Indiana, 1935-1940; "Annual Reports," 1935-1941.

[27] "Two State Park Areas Approved," Indianapolis News, 25 August 1938; "Two New State Parks," Outdoor Indiana 10 (May 1943), back page. For a discussion of Recreation Demonstration Areas, see Phoebe Cutler, The Public Landscape of the New Deal (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 64-82; see also Conrad L. Wirth, Parks, Politics, and the People (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 176-190. Records are sparse on both these properties during their years of development in the 1930s. While evidence suggests only the WPA worked in what became Tippecanoe State Park, both the CCC and WPA worked at Versailles. RG79, Records of the National Park Service, 47, Records Concerning Recreation Demonstration Areas, Box 150, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

The CCC and WPA brought this activity into the reach of the general public, constructing miles of horse trails through the forests of most of the parks. Sometimes these trails even had trailside shelters at which riders could stop and rest awhile. Brown County once had several of these. The New Deal workers built attractive saddle barns in each of several parks, the majority of which still stand. All still serve their original function except the former saddle barn at Clifty Falls. After a tornado literally wiped out most of the park's trail system in the 1970s, the building was remodeled into a nature center.[28]

Further development allowed more people to use the parks. Both CCC and WPA workers expanded existing inns, in some cases by building wings, in others by constructing a cluster of family cabins nearby. In some parks overnight cabins offered an affordable alternative to the inns for lower-income families. Shakamak State Park, whose patrons tended to come from the surrounding coal-mining counties, never did have an inn built; instead the CCC constructed groups of modest, functional cabins perched above the lake with overnight fees in reach of most working class families.[29]

The old idea of the restorative, even morally uplifting powers of nature translated into social programs for underprivileged urban dwellers in the New Deal years. Both the CCC and WPA built numerous group camps in the state parks, consisting of sleeping quarters and a number of main activity buildings drawn around in a forest clearing. These facilities, often leased for successive weeks by urban social agencies or youth organizations, provided places in which groups of children, adolescents, or young adults could experience the wonders of nature and healthy outdoor activities in a relatively controlled setting. Establishing these camps was among the primary missions of Indiana's two Recreation Demonstration Areas. Each originally had two separate, complete group camps of substantial capacities. The Winamac facilities served the particularly needy Gary area, as well as Michigan City and South Bend; Versailles drew its campers from a wide region, including Cincinnati and Indianapolis. Several of the state parks established group camps; McCormick's Creek had three by the late 1930s, built or expanded by both the CCC and WPA.[30]

As state parks added more facilities, the CCC and to a lesser degree the WPA took on the task of developing the supporting infrastructure--

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[28] "Annual Reports," 1933-1942; writer's field survey of Indiana state parks.

[29] "Annual Reports," 1934-1941; CCC monthly reports for Shakamak State Park, RG79: 37, State Park Files, Box 206, National Archives.

[30] Letter from Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, to Roosevelt, 4 November 1942, concerning the disposal and transfer of RDAs, O.F. 6p, National Park Service, Box 16, 1941-42, FDR Library; "Annual Reports," 1933-1941; Outdoor Indiana, 1934-1942; writer's field survey of Indiana State Parks. See also Cutler, Public Landscape.

service roads, water and sewer lines, pumphouses, power lines. The accompanying maintenance buildings were functional and often are exceptions to the typical rustic architecture of the recreational buildings. After all, they were not meant to be seen by the public and so would not detract from the park visitors' visual experience with the outdoors. Except for the ranger's cabin at Lincoln, what few custodial residences the New Deal agencies built also were not rustic, but rather modest versions of contemporary residential styles, usually the Georgian Revival inspired by the restoration of Williamsburg. Possibly this was an attempt to distinguish them from the public buildings. Since the residences were in areas of the park restricted to employees, it may not have seemed important that they be as harmonious with their surroundings as those others designed to enhance the visitors' encounters with nature.

There was little distinction among the kinds of resources the New Deal agencies constructed on the various types of state lands. Although there was less emphasis on recreational development in the state forests, shelters and picnic areas were among the projects on those properties as well. Game preserves naturally featured construction having to do with animal repopulation, such as pens and brooder houses, but usually offered a few picnic shelters and other public amenities as well. Actual breeding and raising of animals was generally confined to the game preserves. Some state parks contained animal pens, but these were more for public education.[31] Fish hatcheries, however, were another matter. All the New Deal work agencies, and especially the WPA, built hatcheries or at least fish rearing ponds, such as those still in evidence at Pokagon, in several of the state parks as well as on separate state-administered properties.[32]

With the boom in American manufacturing just prior to World War II, employment opportunities increased. The WPA gradually became unnecessary, and the CCC found it more difficult to maintain complete companies. America's entry into the war at the end of 1941 ended the matter. Both the WPA and CCC officially came to a close in 1942, along with most other New Deal programs. Roosevelt had tried mightily to persuade Congress to make the CCC permanent to no avail, although the program had been extended numerous times. At the outset of war many thousands of CCC boys joined the service and found their training most valuable. Abandonment of the CCC camps left some projects in Indiana parks unfinished, most of which park personnel later completed. Lincoln was particularly hard hit because a massive construction program that would have brought Lincoln's development up to the level of the other state parks had only just begun in early 1941. Some plans that had not

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[31] In the case of Brown County, the present state park was originally two adjacent properties: Brown County State Park and Game Preserve, although it was all one to the public. Animal breeding and exhibits were confined to the preserve, which was basically the southern half of the present park.

[32] Outdoor Indiana, 1935-1942; "Annual Reports," 1934-1941.

progressed beyond the drawing board when the New Deal programs were discontinued eventually came to fruition after World War II, such as the present family cabins at McCormick's Creek and the group camp at Lincoln.[33]

It was during the New Deal years that the majority of Indiana's state parks were developed with the aid of the CCC and WPA. These programs established the visual and functional attributes that most people have come to expect in a state park and its buildings. Approximately eighty percent of the known New Deal-built resources still remain in the state parks; most are still in use. A few have been adapted; one of the best examples is the CCC-built riding stable at Clifty Falls, now a nature center. Equally significant is the fact that the vast majority of historic resources in Indiana's state parks are from the New Deal period.[34] Clearly, the programs of the CCC and WPA shaped the appearance and function of the parks not only in the 1930s but up through today.

The story of the development of state parks in Indiana has been one of expansion upon, not rejection of, older ideas. Visiting those parks developed by the CCC or WPA, one cannot ignore the impact of the New Deal on the present. Rarely has the built environment embodying the values of a particular era survived so intact, offering itself as a primary source of study. In no other period before or since has park development been so extensive, so cohesive, while yet maintaining that semblance of harmony with nature. Certainly the availability of money and labor for such projects has not since been equaled, which may suggest one reason for the continued use of these resources. While older values, such as belief in the restorative power of nature, remained in place, the mission of state parks in Indiana has expanded over the years to include acquisition of purely recreational lands to serve increasingly larger segments of the population. But, while stylistically different from the buildings of the New Deal, more recent park structures usually continue to adhere to the concept of visual harmony with nature. Ideas of suitable recreational facilities in state parks have also changed to include such amenities as swimming pools and tennis courts. That and the ever-growing use of state parks is a potential threat to the New Deal resources, as new ideas of expanding a park's capacity, as well as its attractions, come into play. At the same time, budget constraints prevent proper maintenance of many of these historic structures. Nonetheless, unobtrusively as ever they still serve to enhance the

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[33] "Annual Reports," 1940-1952.

[34] And the primary significance of many of the resources that harken to earlier periods often does not lie with their association with the particular park, but rather with their original functions. For example, the Lusk house at Turkey Run was built by the first settler in the area and is significant for that reason, even though one might argue the importance of the fact the house was preserved and become a park attraction.

public's visual encounters with the park landscape. Along with all the other possible reasons, the New Deal buildings may have survived because there is a certain timelessness in the values we have embedded within these structures.

F. Associated Property Types

I. Name of Property Type Properties associated with New Deal work projects related to conservation (1933-1942).

II. Description

For purposes of this property type, the term conservation is restricted to CCC or other New Deal projects on state property that attempted to control, manage, protect, or restore natural resources, including water, land, trees and other plant life, and fish and wildlife. Activities in the conservation category include flood control, reforestation and forest management, erosion control, and fish and

III. Significance

Properties associated with work projects related to conservation offer a material record of important New Deal public works in natural resource management. They represent the unique approach of the Roosevelt administration toward unemployment relief and the protection and development of public lands, and its applications at the state and local levels. The very name of the Civilian Conservation Corps suggests the heart of its mission was the protection and restoration of our natural

IV. Registration Requirements

Besides possessing significance, to be listed in the National Register New Deal properties associated with conservation must meet criteria based on the seven aspects of integrity--location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, association, feeling--as specified in NPS Bulletin 15, How to Apply the National Criteria for Evaluation. Because of the wide range of resource types, integrity standards for this general category must, out of necessity, be extremely broad.

[X] See continuation sheet

[X] See continuation sheet for additional property types

G. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.

The multiple property nomination for New Deal Resources in Indiana State Parks is based upon extensive research in primary and secondary sources, including trips to the National Archives in Washington, D.C. and the Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park. From June 1990 through May 1991, Ms. Greiff conducted a thorough field survey of all present Indiana state parks that were in the state system or federally administered during the New Deal years (1933-1942), that is, all the parks that were likely to contain these resources. She documented the survey as part of the Indiana Historic Sites and Structures Inventory. Ms. Greiff undertook extensive research through primary records in the various park offices - the Indiana State Library, the National Archives, and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library - to verify as closely as possible the builders of the many buildings, structures, and sites still existing. The context analyzes the work of all the New Deal work agencies that left a legacy in Indiana's state parks. The five identified property types associated with the context theme illustrate structural functions relating to significant New Deal trends and the various types within a given function.

☐ See continuation sheet

H. Major Bibliographical References

☒ See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional documentation:

- ☒ State historic preservation office
- ☐ Other State agency
- ☐ Federal agency
- ☐ Local government
- ☐ University
- ☐ Other

Specify repository: Indiana Historic Sites & Structures Inventory

I. Form Prepared By

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wildlife management. When discussing specific resources related to conservation it is convenient to categorize them according to those areas of activity with which they were most associated, although in actual practice their purposes overlapped. The highly functional nature of most of these resources dictated their design.

Resources related to flood control include dams, usually of concrete and earth, that impound ponds or lakes. These lakes often served other purposes as well, for recreation and for permanent water sources for game. Low dams are a somewhat different resource, in that they are generally of logs, earth, or stone and are found in streams and stream beds. Their purpose was to control the stream's flow.

Reforestation was closely identified with the CCC and was the primary means of reclaiming abandoned farms and strip mined areas acquired by the state by turning them into public woodlands. The CCC planted thousands of trees in Indiana state parks, both in formal plantations (especially white pine) and relatively random infill, for which they also established nurseries in some parks. The CCC built truck trails through the larger plantings for purposes of management and protection and foot trails for both park personnel and public access. Documentation of such resources as tree plantings is difficult and the establishment of integrity standards for them and their access trails is virtually impossible, but other resources relating to forest management may be eligible for the National Register. The CCC, and probably the WPA, constructed fire towers on steel frameworks to help protect the new plantings and existing forests. Care must be taken to ascertain that a tower under consideration was indeed constructed by the CCC or WPA. Prior to the New Deal, the Department of Conservation built a few fire towers in some state parks, Brown County, for example. Park maps of the 1930s and 1940s may be helpful in this regard, and the 1990-91 survey of New Deal resources in Indiana state parks has identified all known fire towers. The CCC and WPA both engaged in erosion control projects typical of conservation practice in the 1930s, such as terracing, sodding, and constructing diversion ditches, but surviving identifiable resources related to erosion control are most often those related to reforestation as well.

While the CCC and WPA constructed most of the properties related to fish and wildlife management in state game preserves, they also built some in state parks. In addition, one must take into account that two of Indiana's present state parks, Ouabache and the southern half of Brown County, were game preserves during the New Deal years. These two properties in the 1930s had the full range of resources directly related to animal and bird management constructed under New Deal auspices, including animal pens, brooder houses, storage sheds, and vermin houses. While these resources were highly ephemeral, one may look for them wherever the main activity of the preserve was centered. Again, property maps from the 1930s or 1940s may be useful in ascertaining these locations. For example, the vermin house built by the CCC in Brown County's game preserve still survives, although it has been remodeled into a recreation hall for the campground now on the site. While the Department of Conservation developed several state-administered fish hatchery sites in the 1930s, New Deal conservation work in some of the state parks that had lakes included fish rearing ponds.

III. SIGNIFICANCE

resources. In Indiana's state parks the CCC, as well as the WPA and other work relief agencies (CWA, NYA), pursued this mission in a number of ways that often overlapped into recreational development. Properties in this category may have significance under Criterion A in the areas of conservation and social history, because they are associated with the New Deal's combined solutions to the problems of resource management and unemployment during the Depression. Some specific properties, such as dams, may have significance under Criterion C in the area of engineering.

IV. REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

A resource should be in its original location. Its original setting, most often a woods or a clearing, must be relatively intact, while allowing for the vegetative growth of several decades. Resources included in this property type are all of a highly functional nature, which dictated their design. Thus, with so few elements of design to consider, the presence of original structural materials and intact configuration (as, for example, in considering any surviving fish rearing ponds) is especially important. Unpretentious, functional design is representative of the typical workmanship of New Deal agencies in the state parks. The National Park Service originated many of the design guidelines, but local variations were frequent, dependent on available materials and site specifications. (See the context portion of this nomination for further information on the National Park Service's influence on style and materials.) Eligible properties cannot have been significantly altered. But minor changes to be expected over the passage of time, such as glass missing from windows in a fire tower or replacement of its roofing material, normally should not disqualify a property under consideration, assuming the structure is essentially intact. Properties eligible to be considered must have been designed and constructed by workers under the auspices of the New Deal agencies, and maintain those characteristics associated with their work. If essentially intact, the sum of all the above elements taken together will determine the property's feeling, that is, its "expression of the esthetic or historic sense" of the state parks in the New Deal years.

I. Properties associated with New Deal work projects related to infrastructure development (1933-1942)

II. DESCRIPTION: For the purposes of this property type, infrastructure development refers to properties related to underlying systems that support the public facilities and recreational activities of park visitors. Resources in this category are related to water and power supply, waste disposal and sanitary facilities, maintenance, park protection and administration, and public access. The majority of resources within this property type were and are highly functional, which dictated their design. Most often these resources are either unobtrusive or located in sections of a park not generally entered by visitors, such as service and maintenance areas. For the most part only the custodial residences and those buildings located in public areas, such as park offices and gatehouses, exhibit elements of style that extend beyond function.

Resources related to water and power supply include electrical lines and water conduit lines, which are difficult to document and even harder to assess for integrity standards, as are the miles of sewer lines that New Deal agencies laid in the parks. Generally these types of resources need not be considered. The CCC and WPA both built concrete reservoirs with several thousand gallon capacities in discreet locations in several state parks. Most of them are now gone. Both agencies built pumphouses, usually of brick or stone and sometimes in a park rustic style so they would better harmonize with their surroundings. Pumphouses, like concrete reservoirs, were in out-of-the-way locations; most have been replaced. Park demands eventually outgrew the capacities of most of these kinds of resources. With the laying of water lines, drinking fountains could be placed throughout a park property, although relatively few are found in isolation. Most often drinking fountains were part of picnic grove or campground developments, which are examined in the discussion on properties related to recreation. In some cases the CCC built attractive rustic shelters, such as those at Pokagon, to protect purely functional pumps and bubblers; in other parks, such as Spring Mill, the New Deal agencies built substantial drinking fountains of stone.

In addition to sewer lines, properties related to waste disposal and sanitary facilities include comfort stations that replaced earlier pit toilets. The majority of these new comfort stations were part of picnic grove or campground developments, although isolated examples are not unusual. Most of these are some variation of the park rustic style, built of native materials, usually timber or stone-and-timber. Property maps of the 1930s may be helpful in locating and identifying these comfort stations, although in some cases a replacement facility may stand on the site of one built in the New Deal years.

Properties related to park protection and maintenance tend to be functional in design, but often with a few rustic or Craftsman-inspired details. Occasionally one finds maintenance buildings, such as the one built by the CCC at Pokagon, in a modified Georgian Revival style. Maintenance shops, sheds, service buildings, garages, and ranger offices usually were clustered in one area, often at the end of a restricted service road. Today these sorts of buildings are commonly grouped in an

area not open to general public access. The 1990-91 survey of New Deal resources in Indiana state parks frequently uncovered a single remaining New Deal-era maintenance building surrounded by a group of recently constructed pole barns. Custodial residences, which are found either in the same area as service buildings or, more often, in isolation, usually were built in modified Georgian Revival styles. The Department of Conservation constructed several custodial residences before the New Deal, so care must be taken to ascertain that particular buildings under consideration were indeed built by the CCC or WPA. In the state parks, the recent survey was able to identify positively only two CCC-built residences thus far: the former ranger's cabin and the custodian's residence, both in Lincoln State Park.

In contrast to other resources associated with infrastructure development, those related to park administration and public access were built to be seen by park visitors. Therefore, these buildings usually harmonize with the landscape, like other park buildings designed for the public. Using a variety of native materials, the CCC and WPA built gatehouses designed to appeal to the eye and draw in visitors with hints of the delights of nature within the park. Most are of a park rustic mode, sometimes with related "picturesque" style elements, such as the English Cottage features of the two gatehouses at Clifty Falls. Both the CCC and WPA constructed road systems throughout the park to provide more accessibility and thus enlarge the visitor capacity of parks. During the 1930s gravel and eventually macadam were the typical road surfaces. Today, even if a road retains its 1930s route, it is likely to have been widened and resurfaced many times. The extension of roads into the park often created the necessity for building culverts and bridges of native material, generally timber or stone or both. While many have been replaced, some of the larger bridges remain. Like other park structures visible to the public, the bridges were designed to blend into the landscape as much as possible. Thus, while their understructure might be concrete and steel forms, such material was hidden beneath earth or stone, as, for example, the attractive triple-arched bridge at Spring Mill that spans what was once an arm of the artificial lake on the property. While still a variant of park rustic, the larger round-arched stone bridges built by the CCC salute the Romanesque style as well.

III. SIGNIFICANCE: Properties associated with work projects related to infrastructure offer a material record of important New Deal public works and recreational development. They represent the unique approach of the Roosevelt administration toward unemployment relief and the development of public lands, and its applications at state and local levels. By the 1930s continually increasing public use led to the expansion of recreational development in the state parks beyond the simple reservation of relatively "unspoiled" rural property. People came to the parks for a day to walk, hike, picnic, or swim; some lingered longer in campgrounds or inns on the property or nearby. As Indiana made parks available to more people, the state needed to develop an infrastructure in each park. Such work performed by the CCC and WPA laid the foundation for the development of recreational facilities.

Properties in this category will have significance under Criterion A in the areas of recreation and social history, because they are

associated with the New Deal's combined solutions to the need for recreational development and unemployment relief during the Depression. Some specific properties, such as park personnel residences or gatehouses, may have significance under Criterion C in the area of architecture.

IV. REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS: Besides possessing significance, to be listed in the National Register New Deal properties associated with infrastructure must meet criteria based on the seven aspects of integrity--location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, association, feeling--as specified in NPS Bulletin 15, How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation. Because of the wide range of resource types, integrity standards for this general category must be extremely broad. A resource should be in its original location. Its original setting--most often a woods or a clearing--must have remained relatively intact, while allowing for natural changes of vegetation. The fact that a park building's setting may have visually changed over time as trees and shrubs have undergone growth and succession should not normally compromise integrity. Indeed, for some of the settings it has taken years for the forest (whether planted or natural) to mature into what the planners must have envisioned at the time of construction. For example, some gatehouse entrances, such as those at Pokagon and Shakamak, were originally constructed within the relatively sparse landscapes of newly reforested areas. The thickly wooded settings of today, however, are the intentional result.

Eligible properties cannot have been significantly altered. Many of the resources included in this property type are of a highly functional design. The presence of most of the original materials is especially important. Unpretentious, functional design is representative of the typical workmanship of New Deal agencies in the state parks. Some resources in this property type that may exhibit stylistic design elements are the custodial residences and gatehouses. Again, these should not have been significantly altered. Necessary routine maintenance, such as periodic roofing replacement, does not necessarily compromise integrity. If all else is relatively intact, the presence of asphalt shingles where there once were wood shingles should not affect eligibility, as, for example, the gatehouse at Shakamak. The residences, especially, have been subject to additions, changes in fenestration, and substantial removal of original materials, all of which would indeed reduce the building's architectural integrity. The National Park Service originated many of the design guidelines, but local variations were frequent, dependent on available materials and site specifications. (The context portion of this nomination contains further information on the National Park Service's influence on style and materials.) Properties eligible to be considered must have been designed and constructed by workers under the auspices of the New Deal agencies, and possess the characteristics associated with their work. If essentially intact, the sum of all the above elements taken together determines the property's feeling, that is, its "expression of the esthetic or historic sense" of the the New Deal years in the state parks.

I. Properties associated with New Deal work projects related to recreational activities

II. DESCRIPTION: Resources included in this property type are related to hiking, picnicking, camping, horseback riding, swimming, and other recreational activities, all of which fall into what are usually considered traditional outdoor pursuits. In general, the CCC and WPA designed the buildings and structures included in this property type to harmonize with their surroundings, constructing them of native materials in a rustic style. This was consistent with the National Park Service guidelines for park buildings.

The CCC and other New Deal agencies built miles of new hiking trails in state parks with some attention to safety and ease of walking. They cut or added stone or timber steps on some of the steeper slopes, built small foot bridges (usually timber) over ravines, and installed log guard rails and retaining walls at cliff edges. Most of their safety improvements would be considered insufficient by today's standards; consequently many trails developed during the New Deal era have been considerably altered or abandoned entirely. Occasionally an isolated shelter, drinking fountain, or comfort station was part of trail development, built to blend unobtrusively with the landscape. Some of these resources survive.

In several of the state parks the development of horse trails, which hikers often shared, was very similar to foot trails, except frequently the horse trails were wider. Otherwise, there was visually no difference, and one might expect to find the same sorts of resources as along a hiking trail. The large timber or stone-and-timber saddle barns the CCC and WPA constructed are fine examples of the park rustic style. Usually accompanying the saddle barn were one or two fenced outlots and, rarely, a small outbuilding.

New Deal agencies did much to increase the opportunities for the public to picnic in the state parks. They built hundreds of picnic tables throughout the park system and created scores of picnic groves and larger picnic grounds. A fully developed picnic site would have at least one or more stone or brick fireplace ovens or oven shelters (large, usually two-to-four-sided ovens protected by a roof through which the chimney protruded), water pump/drinking fountains, and comfort stations. Larger areas almost always had a shelterhouse, usually designed in such a way as to allow several families to use it at the same time. T-shaped and L-shaped plans were most common, and where terrain permitted, even two-storied shelterhouses built into hillsides. Imaginatively constructed of native materials (usually stone or timber in varying combinations), these buildings almost always were partly or wholly enclosed. The latter examples often had double or triple doors that were left open in the warmer months, and many had glassed windows that might be casements or sashes, or sometimes the windows were altogether removable for the summer season. All shelterhouses had at least one massive fireplace; some had as many as three or four. Some contained restrooms within, although these facilities often were housed in a separate building nearby. Some shelterhouses included a concession stand inside at one end. Most of these interior concession stands still exist but are seldom if ever used for their original purpose of selling

refreshments. The concession stand within the former "combination shelter" at Pokagon, for example, today houses crosscountry ski rentals. Architecturally, shelterhouses are often especially fine examples of the park rustic style.

Campground development was similar to that of picnic grounds, with most of the same resources. While the massive shelterhouses were rarely found in New Deal campgrounds, buildings housing showers frequently were. Most of the latter have disappeared, replaced by more modern facilities. Park maps from the 1930s into the 1950s are useful sources for locating CCC- or WPA-built campgrounds and picnic grounds, many of which no longer exist or have been adapted to other uses. Survey work conducted in 1990-91 revealed examples of present picnic groves in former campgrounds and vice versa. In some cases, such as a location too close to the edge of a cliff, picnic or camping sites were abandoned because they failed to meet modern safety requirements. In a more dramatic disappearance, a CCC-developed campground in Shakamak lies at the bottom of a lake impounded in the 1960s.

While New Deal-era group camps varied widely in layout and user capacity, they share some common elements. All had a central area in which were located the main camp buildings, usually five: kitchen/dining hall, "helps" quarters, crafts building, infirmary, and a building housing showers, which was frequently somewhat isolated from the rest. Occasionally there was an additional building that was used as a counselors' quarters. The camp's sense of visual identity lies in the main buildings, where one finds elements of style and detail. The main buildings usually have a more substantial air than the surrounding cabins, and often use heavier materials, such as stone and timber. A particularly attractive example is the split-rock-and-timber octagonal dining hall in the group camp at Pokagon. Workers constructed these buildings on the edge of or in a clearing where campers assembled for various activities. The recent survey of state parks revealed some still-extant flagstaffs, campfire circles or amphitheaters, and graded areas for playing games.

Spread out around the main activity area, sometimes in the relative seclusion of woods, were anywhere from four to twelve sleeping cabins. The size and capacity of a sleeping cabin varied greatly, holding from about four to twenty. Within individual camps, though, all sleeping cabins were usually the same. Regardless of the size, sleeping cabins were of frame construction and very functional in design. Board-and-batten or clapboard was the typical siding; some vaguely Craftsman elements, such as exposed rafter tails, were common. At Indiana Dunes, however, the CCC constructed some imaginative exceptions to the typical group-camp cabins, which unfortunately were demolished several years ago. Fashioned of wood frame, with accommodations for sixteen campers, the cabins resembled teepees. One must take care to ascertain that a group camp or a remaining camp building under consideration was indeed associated with the New Deal. Group camps appeared in at least two state parks (McCormick's Creek and Shakamak) just before the New Deal; after World War II, Lincoln State Park built a group camp that originally had been planned as a CCC project. The survey of New Deal resources in Indiana state parks has identified most of the group camps, but documentation of some is vague. Records concerning the group camps at

Versailles and Tippecanoe River are especially elusive, because the camps were built as part of Recreation Demonstration Areas under the auspices of the federal government and thus do not appear in the annual state reports and publications of the 1930s. Federal records regarding the construction of these group camps are frustratingly sparse.

The CCC and WPA developed beaches in parks with sufficient water features. Beaches along rivers, such as at Tippecanoe, are long gone, but maps of the period will reveal the sites. Beach development usually included comfort stations, drinking fountains, and sometimes a substantial bath house. In those parks with lakes, rowboats or canoes might have been part of the recreational possibilities, for which the New Deal agencies constructed or adapted boathouses. In seeking these properties one must keep in mind that shores of rivers and manmade lakes may have changed since the New Deal years. At Spring Mill, for example, there is a small stone picnic shelter several hundred yards from the water, yet in the 1930s it was but a few feet from the lake's edge and housed the boat rental facilities.

III. SIGNIFICANCE: Properties associated with work projects related to recreational development offer a material record of important New Deal public works. They represent the unique approach of the Roosevelt administration toward unemployment relief and the development of public recreational lands, and its applications at the state and local levels. By the 1930s public demand required further recreational development in the state parks beyond simply setting aside a parcel of relatively pristine rural property. People came to parks to walk or hike, to picnic, to swim, to ride horseback, or to camp. Indeed, it was these sorts of "traditional" outdoor activities that the public sought, and most park development centered around expansion of facilities and broader access to areas in which they might be pursued. Thus the CCC, WPA, and NYA constructed hiking trails and improved picnic grounds with attractive, often enclosed shelterhouses (some with concession stands), drinking fountains, fireplace ovens, and comfort stations. They created campgrounds for tents and later for the trailers that were coming into vogue, with water supplies, sanitary facilities, and showers. New Deal agencies built several attractive saddle barns and extensive horse trails, bringing this activity into the reach of the average park visitor. In the 1930s, swimming in rivers and streams as well as lakes was common, and both the CCC and WPA developed beaches and accompanying facilities along any suitable body of water. There were few swimming pools in the state parks in the 1930s, and it does not appear that the CCC or WPA built any. It is reasonable to assume this was in line with the stated mission of keeping the parks as "natural" as possible. New Deal recreational development in Indiana state parks did not extend beyond those traditional activities that involved interaction with the natural environment of the park. (There were no tennis courts, for example.) In rolling northern Indiana, the CCC did construct a timber toboggan run (since replaced) at Pokagon, but this is still arguably a traditional activity using the natural terrain.

Several social improvement trends came together in the 1930s to produce the idea of group camping as a beneficial experience for youth, especially those from low-income urban areas. For a week or two, groups

of children or adolescents under the watchful eyes of trained recreational directors and camp counselors could reap the benefits of fresh air and healthful outdoor activity, along with woodcraft training and moral guidance. The CCC and WPA built a number of group camps throughout the state park system and had planned even more before the New Deal's demise at the start of World War II. In several cases established youth organizations, such as 4-H or Boys' and Girls' Clubs, leased them for most of a season, often subleasing them to other such groups when they were not themselves using the camp. Some parks had two complete group camps; McCormick's Creek even had three. As the popularity of organized group camps waned in the 1960s and 1970s, many of these resources were demolished. Those that remain today are most often leased by private groups and individuals for such activities as reunions and retreats. They are an important material document of the dominant approaches in the 1930s toward solving certain social problems and of the role of the New Deal work agencies toward that achievement.

Properties associated with recreation development will have significance under Criterion A in the areas of recreation and in social history, as they are associated with the New Deal's combined solutions to the need for recreational development and unemployment relief during the Depression. Many of the properties, such as shelterhouses and group camps, are likely to have significance under Criterion C in the area of architecture, being representative of the park rustic style as constructed by New Deal agencies.

IV. REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS: Besides possessing significance, to be listed in the National Register New Deal properties associated with recreational activities in the state parks must meet criteria based on the seven aspects of integrity--location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, association, feeling--as described in NPS Bulletin 15, How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation. Because of the wide range of resource types, integrity standards for this general category must be extremely broad. More specific guidelines for individual property types will be developed as more properties relating to this theme are nominated.

A property should be in its original location, with the possible exception of buildings that were moved as part of a New Deal project to create new recreational facilities. The group camps developed by the CCC and WPA in McCormick's Creek State Park in 1935-1937 are an example. Evidence indicates that the sleeping cabins in the camps were originally the barracks buildings from the CCC camp in the state park, moved and adapted by the CCC when the camp vacated. While the cabins' past purpose adds dimension to their history, their primary significance lies with their being components of these group camps, developed by both the CCC and WPA, which are representative of an important social and recreational trend in the 1930s.

The setting of a property--most often a woods or clearing--must be essentially intact. Often in the case of recreational facilities, changes in trees and other vegetation over time may have visually altered the setting. The natural processes of growth and succession should not necessarily compromise integrity. Indeed, only in recent years have some of the settings come to be what the planners must have envisioned when

the resource was constructed. Some shelterhouses, for example, the lodge at Ouabache, were originally constructed within the the relatively sparse landscape of a newly reforested area. The verdant woods setting of today, however, is the intentional result.

In New Deal-built properties the elements of design, materials, and workmanship are almost inseparable. That the design of a particular resource was most often dictated by its function, and that construction was of native materials (which also helped dictate the design), are representative of the workmanship of the CCC and other New Deal agencies. The National Park Service originated many of the design guidelines, but local interpretations depended on available materials and site specifications. Built for public enjoyment, recreational buildings are often delightful and outstanding examples of the possibilities of the park rustic style. Thus, stylistic elements often play a greater role in recreational buildings than those in other categories. The presence of original materials and lack of significant alterations, such as changes in fenestration or entrances, are important considerations in determining a property's eligibility. Ideally, the whole of a group camp should be intact for consideration; however, as the visual identity of these resources is largely tied up in their main buildings, a surviving remnant may be eligible, especially if its architecture is outstanding as well. All properties eligible to be considered must have been designed and constructed by workers under the auspices of New Deal agencies, and possess the characteristics associated with their work. If essentially intact, the sum of these elements taken together determine the property's feeling, that is, its "expression of the esthetic or historic sense" of the state parks during the New Deal years.

I. Properties associated with New Deal work projects related to public education

II. DESCRIPTION: Resources included in this category give evidence to support the concept, popular in the 1930s, that state parks ought to provide an educational experience for visitors. For the most part, these properties have to do with visual displays and exhibits that took a variety of forms. Resources included in this property type include animal display structures, museum buildings, and exhibits using natural features.

In some state parks, such as Pokagon, that were in the system in the 1930s and in others that were games preserves at the time, the New Deal agencies constructed animal display structures for public viewing. These ranged from simple pen enclosures to large rustic shelters, one of which is presently used as a picnic shelter at McCormick's Creek. These structures displayed live animals and birds one might find in the park, or in some cases, animals that once roamed the area but were no longer found in the wild, such as the bison on exhibit at Pokagon.

Evidence indicates that many parks offered some sort of natural history exhibit in their inn lobbies--from mineral displays to mounted birds--but separate facilities were rare. At McCormick's Creek the WPA in 1935 remodeled a vacated CCC camp building into a nature museum, probably the earliest extant example of a separate educational facility for nature study and appreciation in an Indiana state park. Today, nature center buildings are standard fixtures. Another type of separate educational building housed the teaching of crafts. No existing examples have been identified, although one did stand near the inn at Pokagon during the New Deal years.

Finally, the CCC created educational exhibits using natural features in situ, such as the coal mine exhibit at Shakamak. Taking advantage of an exposed seam of coal, the CCC constructed an "entrance" display area of poured concrete to help interpret the geological and industrial history of the region.

III. SIGNIFICANCE: Properties associated with work projects related to public education in the state parks offer a material record of important New Deal public recreation ideas and developments. They represent the unique approach of the Roosevelt administration toward meeting needs of unemployment relief and "constructive" public recreation, and its applications at the state and local levels. Along with the physical benefits and spiritual uplift to be derived from a visit to the state parks, there developed the idea of offering educational activities to the public, usually having to do with natural science or sometimes with the history of a particular park's locale. During the 1930s many parks offered guided nature hikes and had a naturalist available at least part time. Education centers or nature centers in the parks were unknown in the 1930s, but the seed was planted in 1935 when the WPA adapted a vacated CCC camp building at McCormick's Creek into a nature museum. Offering opportunities for public education fit with a social concept much in favor in the 1930s, that of the intelligent use of leisure time. It is reasonable to assume that government work programs would embrace the idea, especially as it gave added justification to the projects

beyond employment and development of recreational facilities.

Properties in this category will have significance under Criterion A in the areas of recreation and social history. They are associated with the New Deal's combined solutions to the need for expanded concepts of recreational development and unemployment relief during the Depression. Some properties may have significance under Criterion C in the area of architecture, being representative of the park rustic style as constructed by New Deal agencies.

IV. REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS: Besides possessing significance, to be listed in the National Register New Deal properties associated with public education in the state parks must meet criteria based on the seven aspects of integrity--location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, association, feeling--as described in NPS Bulletin 15, How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation. Because of the wide range of resource types, integrity standards for this category must be extremely broad. A property must be in its original location, with its original setting intact (most often a woods or clearing). The functional design and use of native materials are features representative of CCC and WPA workmanship; therefore, to be eligible a property cannot have been significantly altered, such as the replacement of native materials or changes in fenestration. Properties under consideration must have been designed and constructed by workers under the auspices of New Deal agencies, and possess the characteristics associated with their work. If intact, the sum of all these elements taken together determines the property's feeling, that is, its "expression of the esthetic or historic sense" of the state parks during the New Deal years.

I. Properties associated with New Deal work projects related to overnight accommodations

II. DESCRIPTION: Several of the state parks established in the 1910s and 1920s offered hotel facilities on their grounds, often in existing buildings converted to the purpose. As far as can be determined, the CCC was not involved with park inn construction, but the WPA did construct additions to a few of the inns built before the New Deal. The Spring Mill Inn, completed in 1939, was the only new park hotel built during the New Deal years, and the extent of the WPA's involvement with this project, if any, remains unclear. The CCC landscaped around the inn.

The CCC brought to fruition a new idea in overnight facilities in the 1930s--the family cabin. Usually less luxurious than park inn accommodations, these rustic cabins were generally grouped together in small clusters. In some parks, such as Turkey Run, that had inns predating the New Deal, overnight cabins were sited nearby to serve as adjunct facilities. The CCC constructed numerous family cabins and had planned to build more throughout the park system, before World War II intervened and ended CCC and WPA activity. One must take care to ascertain the builder as CCC or WPA when considering a resource within this property type. A few cabins had been built by the Department of Conservation before the New Deal years, and after World War II some parks, such as McCormick's Creek, constructed cabins based on earlier CCC plans. Park maps of the 1930s and 1940s may help pinpoint New Deal-era cabins, and the survey of New Deal properties in Indiana state parks has identified all the known family cabins.

Overnight cabins placed near a park inn often had multiple units within, each having separate exterior entrances. Four units in each building were typical. Cabins not in areas adjacent to an inn were more often single units, built in multiple clusters. Of simple and functional design, the cabins are generally of frame construction suggesting the park rustic style.

III. SIGNIFICANCE: Properties associated with work projects related to overnight accommodations in the state parks offer a material record of important New Deal trends in recreational development. They represent the unique approach of the Roosevelt administration toward meeting the needs of unemployment relief and the expansion of public recreational facilities, and its applications at the state and local levels. The idea that state parks might provide less rigorous overnight accommodations than clearings for campsites had begun as soon as the park system came into being in 1916. Prior to the 1930s, several of the early state parks offered hotel facilities on their grounds, often in existing buildings converted to the purpose. As noted in the description section above, apparently the CCC was not involved with park inn construction at all, probably in part because such work required a greater number of skilled workers than they could provide. The WPA, however, did construct additions to a few of the earlier park inns. The CCC constructed family cabins as an economical alternative to inn accommodations throughout the park system. Such facilities allowed greater access to the parks for a

broader range of people, consistent with the general expansion of recreational facilities embraced by the New Deal programs.

Properties in this category will have significance under Criterion A in the areas of recreation and social history, because they are associated with the New Deal's combined solutions to the need for recreational development and unemployment relief during the Depression. Properties may also have significance under Criterion C in the area of architecture, being representative of the park rustic style as constructed by New Deal agencies.

IV. REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS: Besides possessing significance, to be listed in the National Register New Deal properties associated with overnight accommodations in the state parks must meet the criteria based on seven aspects of integrity--location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, association, feeling--as described in NPS Bulletin 15, How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation. Cabins must be in their original locations, with the original setting (usually forest or small clearing) essentially intact. The setting may have visually changed over time as trees and other vegetation have undergone growth and succession. These natural processes should not normally compromise integrity. Indeed, only in recent years have some of the settings come to be what the planners must have envisioned at the time of construction. Some cabins originally were constructed within the relatively sparse landscape of a newly reforested area, the family cabins at Shakamak, for example. The lush woods setting of today, however, is the intentional result.

The functional design of these buildings and the use of native or recycled materials taken together are characteristic of CCC workmanship. The National Park Service originated many of the design guidelines, but local interpretations were dependent on available materials and site specifications. (See the context portion of this nomination for further information on the National Park Service's influence on style and materials.) Since there are so few stylistic elements to consider, significant alterations to fenestration or entrances, for example, may render buildings under consideration ineligible. Some interior remodeling may have taken place, such as the addition of plumbing, which should not disqualify the buildings. Properties eligible for the National Register must have been designed and constructed by workers under the auspices of New Deal agencies, and possess those characteristics associated with their work. The sum of all these elements, if intact, helps determine the property's feeling, that is, its "expression of the esthetic or historic sense" of the state parks during the New Deal years.

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