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*Where are the New Deal Historians of Texas?:
A Literature Review of the New Deal Experience in
Texas*

BY KEITH VOLANTO

The legacy of the New Deal exists all around the Lone Star State today. New Deal legislation guarantees our bank deposits, protects workers from exploitation, provides retirement stability through the Social Security system, and regulates our stock markets and commodities exchanges. We experience the enduring benefits of Depression Era work projects when we observe power lines traversing the rural regions of the state, enjoy a visit to a Texas state park, and while frolicking in downtown San Antonio along the Riverwalk. Yet, despite *some* scholarly attention being devoted to exploring the New Deal experience in Texas (which I define here as studying the numerous government agencies in action at the state and local level, rather than focusing on the careers of Texas politicians or social and cultural aspects of life during the Great Depression), there has been little dedication by the historical community relative to the vast potential for meaningful scholarship. In this literature review, I wish to examine what has been written thus far about New Deal agencies operating in Texas then identify many holes in the scholarship that historians must address in order to give requisite coverage to this important era in Texas history.

The historiographical origins of New Deal agency studies in Texas trace back to the late 1960s when some national historians began to deviate from the previous emphasis on elite personalities, Washington politics, and bureaucratic infighting.

Starting with James T. Patterson's *The New Deal and the States* (1969), in which he argued that the most important aspects of the New Deal involved how the government's

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policies actually functioned in the field rather than inside-the-beltway politics, many New Deal historians began to shift their focus to examine how Roosevelt's programs operated at the grass-roots level, highlighting the role of common people as active participants, investigating local problems, studying the constraints upon effective implementation, and determining the benefits, if any, that the programs delivered to constituents. Some Texas scholars joined this growing movement during the 1970s, but most continued to focus on the actions of state politicians or simply continued to ignore the New Deal. Forty years after Patterson blazed a trail toward a richer understanding of the New Deal (while also providing additional means for the recovery of good social history through the telling of the myriad of stories associated with countless New Deal projects within the state), the Texas historical community has widely failed to grasp the opportunity.¹

Of primary concern to current students of the New Deal era in Texas is the lack of any book-length account of the period. The only summary work we have is a concise forty-three page essay written by James Smallwood in 1983 entitled *The Great Recovery: The New Deal in Texas*. Smallwood's study offers an important starting point for scholars, providing succinct coverage of every major New Deal agency active within the state. There are reminders, for example, of how the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) helped to modernize rural Texas, how the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) aided farm owners, and what the National Recovery Administration (NRA) tried to accomplish for business but failed to do. However, due to the scant research performed on New Deal agencies in Texas up to that time, Smallwood could only provide so much information (often in the form of statistics) to display the positive work performed by these agencies in this generally sympathetic treatment.²

Lacking a comprehensive volume on the New Deal experience in Texas, those interested in understanding this vast topic are forced to consult works fitting into two broad categories; first, a small number of overviews surveying New Deal operations in various Texas cities; and second,

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books and articles focusing on individual New Deal agencies functioning at the local or statewide level within the state.

From the first category, a prime example is the collection of essays edited by Robert Cotner of the University of Texas written by his graduate students in the 1970s entitled *Texas Cities and the Great Depression*. The essays are summaries of the students' master's theses that examined the impact of the Great Depression on many large and mid-sized Texas cities over three-to-four year time spans. Many of the articles in the compilation are dedicated to the Hoover years, but some of them do address the New Deal period.³

Another work studying the New Deal in a particular city is Roger Biles's 1991 *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* article entitled "The New Deal in Dallas." In the piece, the author summarizes the accomplishments of the major agencies that were active in the city. Biles is quick to emphasize that although the locally-administered federal programs provided needed relief and employment for many desperate Dallas residents, little changed during and after the 1930s when one looks at such important aspects of city life as local government, labor-management relations, and racial discrimination.⁴

Regarding works in the second major category, those analyzing the operations of New Deal agencies in Texas, only Carol A. Weisenberger's *Dollars and Dreams: The National Youth Administration in Texas*, published in 1994, attempts to provide a book-length exploration of all major statewide activities of a particular agency. Beginning with a discussion of the National Youth Administration's (NYA) origins, Weisenberger details the NYA's extensive efforts to aid Texas youth during the 1930s. Using primary sources, especially the NYA Papers housed at the LBJ Library, she demonstrates how the agency functioned in Texas under Directors Lyndon Johnson and Jesse Kellam, clearly showing that the programs for out-of-school youth were as vital to the NYA's efforts as the more well-known part-time employment programs for high school and college students.⁵

The only other piece of scholarship that examines a New Deal agency's entire statewide efforts in Texas is a 2003 article on the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) written by Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr. for *The Historian*

entitled “Replenishing the Soil and the Soul of Texas: The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Lone Star State as an Example of State-Federal Work Relief during the Great Depression.” This fine overview covers many of the major issues that the CCC encountered in Texas and touts its many accomplishments. However, because of its length, many important subtopics, such as details about individual work projects, details about work-related accidents, aspects of camp life, possible reasons for desertions, examples of community interaction, and complex racial issues are introduced, but do not receive extensive coverage.⁶

Most historians contributing to our understanding of the New Deal in Texas have written case studies of a portion of an agency’s efforts rather than examining their complete operations in the Lone Star State. One example of such an approach is John A. Adams, Jr.’s 1990 work entitled *Damming the Colorado: The Rise of the Lower Colorado River Authority, 1933-1939*. The author begins by aptly describing the flood problems caused by the Lower Colorado River before the Great Depression, and the efforts by local Texans to use private means to tame the waterway. Adams then describes how citizens cooperated with the federal government during the Depression to build a series of dams for flood control, generation of hydroelectric power, and to promote recreation and tourism. He devotes much attention to the efforts of Texas state leaders and congressmen (such as Lyndon Johnson) to fund projects and also overcome spirited opposition from private power companies. Extremely well-researched, the book utilizes the records of many pertinent agencies who contributed, including the Lower Colorado River Authority, the Public Works Administration (PWA), the Works Progress Administration (WPA), and the Bureau of Reclamation.⁷

James Wright Steely’s books on the CCC’s work in Texas’ state parks provide additional examples of scholarship that analyze a portion of a New Deal agency’s operations in Texas. In 1998, he co-authored *Guided with a Steady Hand: The Cultural Landscape of a Rural Texas Park*, with Dan K. Utley, telling the story of the creation of Texas’ first state park—Mother Neff State Park—and its development during the 1930s with the help of the CCC.

The authors provide excellent descriptions of park work projects (with information about which ones still exist), an attempt to describe camp life through interviews and stories from the camp newspaper, and many photographs. The only drawback concerns a lack of government agency records, especially CCC records, within its primary sources. This is not an issue with Steely's *Parks for Texas: Enduring Landscapes of the New Deal*, a history of the founding of the Texas State Parks System and its development during the Great Depression with the help of the CCC. Anyone desiring information on the CCC's contribution to the state parks system needs this book for its descriptions of work performed, broken down annually, as well as Corps and state park politics placed into historical context. A valuable appendix contains summaries on the CCC's work in each park, including updates on surviving projects that can be viewed by the public today.⁸

For those interested in government building beautification efforts, one must consult Phillip Parisi's excellent *Texas Post Office Murals*, published in 2004. Though the heart of the work is a series of reproductions of the government-sponsored murals displayed in postal offices throughout the state, *Texas Post Office Murals* is more than just a picture book—it is also a great piece of New Deal scholarship. The work contains an informative opening chapter detailing the origins of the program, explains the artist selection process, provides examples of difficulties encountered in implementation, and describes how the problems were overcome. Where the reproductions of the murals are displayed, Parisi provides explanations based on correspondence between the artist, government supervisors, and local citizens to describe the story behind each individual work of art and its current condition. A valuable appendix includes biographical sketches of the artists and a map showing the murals' locations and info about which are still available for public viewing.⁹

Another book-length work dedicated to a portion of a New Deal agency's activities in Texas is my 2005 book *Texas, Cotton, and the New Deal*, in which I attempt to provide an extensive study of the AAA's cotton reduction programs in Texas. After exploring the world of the

Texas cotton farmer, I explain the problems of agricultural overproduction and the various schemes debated in farm circles during the 1920s to alleviate them. As the Great Depression arrived, agricultural economics professor M.L. Wilson pushed strongly for acceptance of the domestic allotment plan, which formed the basis for the AAA. President Franklin Roosevelt eventually supported Wilson's idea of paying farmers to reduce their production. My focus, however, was not on national-level policy, though I do give that aspect some attention to provide context. Rather, I chose to concentrate on how the AAA cotton programs were implemented in Texas, how they were received by the locals, what problems were encountered, how these difficulties were resolved, and determine who benefited from the programs (landowning farmers) and who were actually hurt by them (typically, tenants and sharecroppers, ginnery, and shippers) – a model that can, and should, be applied to the study of many other New Deal operations throughout the state.¹⁰

Two other books exist whose primary purpose was not the intense study of New Deal agencies, nevertheless, bear attention because they incorporate good primary source research on these agencies while exploring their main topics. First, Julia Kirk Blackwelder's 1984 book *Women of the Depression: Caste and Culture in San Antonio, 1929-1939* details the different experiences of ethnic women in Depression-Era San Antonio. Amid the chapters describing these women's work and family lives, occupational segregation and unemployment, and wages and working conditions is a very good chapter on unemployment relief and emergency job programs in San Antonio relying on WPA Records. The other work, Michael Botson's 2005 book *Labor, Civil Rights, and the Hughes Tool Company*, details labor relations at the Hughes Tool Company from its creation through the 1990s and contains two great chapters on the NRA's efforts to enforce the labor provisions of the National Recovery Act and the National Labor Relations Board's efforts to enforce the Wagner Labor Relations Act. The richness in research and clearness of explanation in these chapters alone make Botson's winning of the 2006 Texas Historical Commission's T.R. Fehrenbach Award

well deserved.¹¹

In addition to book scholarship, some essays and articles published over the years have covered particular aspects of a New Deal agency's work in Texas. For example, James E. Fickle published "The S.P.A. and the N.R.A.: A Case Study of the Blue Eagle in the South" for a 1976 issue of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* in which he delved into the Southern Pine Association's (SPA) designated role as the NRA Code Authority for Southern pine producers. Fickle relates how East Texas lumbermen, like many of their brethren in other southern states, initially held high hopes that cooperative agreements with government sanction would lead to the return of stability and profits to their ailing industry. Relying upon a mix of NRA records and correspondence, as well as reports found in the SPA Papers, the author details the myriad problems that the SPA encountered, which ultimately led to the suspension of the NRA Lumber Code; namely, difficulties arriving at accurate production cost figures, production allotment disputes, evasion of labor provisions, and charges of discrimination by small producers.¹²

With respect to rural relief and recovery efforts, C. Roger Lambert has published two important articles focusing on the relationship between Texas cattlemen and the New Deal. With "Texas Cattlemen and the AAA" (appearing in a 1972 issue of *Arizona and the West*), and, in 1980, with "Southwestern Cattlemen, the Federal Government, and the Depression" (a chapter in *The Depression in the Southwest*), he describes the initial reluctance of Texas cattlemen to work with the government until their situation worsened in late-1933. After this resistance dissipated, cattlemen began to work with the government in several ways, such as selling steers to the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation, going along with the Jones-Connally Act making cattle an official AAA commodity, and supporting the 1934 drought purchase program, whereby the government aided Texas cattlemen by mass-purchasing surplus (often weak) steers at generous prices.¹³

In 1976, William R. Johnson published "Rural Rehabilitation in the New Deal: The Ropesville Project"

in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. Using files from such agencies as the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the Resettlement Administration (RA), and the Farm Security Administration (FSA), Johnson describes the efforts of New Dealers to establish a rural rehabilitation community in Hockley County, on the Southern Plains near Lubbock. The author also explores the attitudes of the tenants selected to receive funding to purchase implements, livestock, poultry, and seed. The project eventually encompassed more than 16,000 acres divided into eighty-one farms to grow cotton, sorghums, and other crops. During the early 1940s, when federal funds in support of the project were later transferred to the war effort, participating farmers were allowed (with FSA loans) to purchase the land that they worked. He concludes that the program was an overall success with strong support from most of its participants and local leaders.¹⁴

Seven years later, Michael G. Wade explored another FERA rural rehabilitation community in "Back to the Land: The Woodlake Community, 1933-1943" for the *East Texas Historical Journal*. Though lacking many government documents as primary sources, the article utilizes the reports and correspondence of the community's planners to provide a concise outline of the New Deal's first resettlement operation. Unlike Johnson's positive evaluation of the Ropesville Project, Wade finds the efforts to make Woodlake a successful enterprise based on communal farming, cooperative processing, and crafts work to have largely failed for the same reasons many similar ventures failed to prosper elsewhere: a strong individualist spirit by many settlers leading to low degrees of cooperation, plus firm resistance to the experiments from many conservative politicians, which they viewed as "communistic." Eventually, the Woodlake Community was transferred to the new RA, where it was reorganized into small individual units operated by new families.¹⁵

The Dust Bowl area has garnered more attention than any other subregion within the state during the 1930s. Yet, most of the works dealing with the topic fail to dig very deeply into the archival records of the New Deal agencies that were involved in tackling the ecological disaster. The

exception is Garry Nall's essay "The Struggle to Save the Land: The Soil Conservation Effort in the Dust Bowl," published in the 1980 collection of essays edited by Donald Whisenhunt entitled *The Depression in the Southwest*. This fine work uses government reports, correspondence, and memoranda from the Soil Erosion Service, the Soil Conservation Service, the CCC, and the AAA to outline the efforts of these agencies to counteract the erosion problems through the promotion of terracing, contour plowing, windbreaks, and the planting of cover crops.¹⁶

On the urban scene, public housing efforts in Texas have received treatment in two *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* articles. In 1983, Donald L. Zelman published "Alazan-Apache Courts: A New Deal Response to Mexican-American Housing Conditions in San Antonio," which delved into the efforts by local officials and activists, working with the Roosevelt Administration, to perform slum clearance and build low-cost housing for the city's Hispanic West Side residents (finally achieved by cooperation with the United States Housing Authority in the late-1930s). Robert B. Fairbanks's 2002 "Public Housing for the City as a Whole: The Texas Experience, 1934-55," elaborates on Zelman's earlier work when discussing San Antonio, but also includes overviews of the public housing efforts in Dallas and Houston. Fairbanks concludes that despite the cities' conservative, anti-government reputations, most city officials approved of government-aided public housing because they viewed the problems of their slums—crime, poor sanitary conditions, etc—as being a citywide problem, and certainly something that could continue to taint the positive images of their cities, a direct indictment of their active "boosterism."¹⁷

Christine L. Bourgeois analyzes LBJ's relationship with blacks while director of the Texas NYA in a 1987 *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* article entitled "Stepping over the Lines: Lyndon Johnson, Black Texans, and the National Youth Administration." In the piece, Bourgeois describes some work projects for blacks that Director Johnson approved, and explains his efforts on behalf of black Texans while working within the prevailing racial climate. She concludes that LBJ "went farther than he

needed” to extend NYA aid to Texas blacks, citing Johnson’s appointment of a black advisory board to deal with issues affecting African-American NYA participants, his shifting of unspent money left over from white projects to black projects, and his many personal inspections of black work projects.¹⁸

Another informative article worth mentioning is Ken Hendrickson’s 1988 article for the *East Texas Historical Journal* entitled “The WPA Arts Projects in Texas.” Brief but informative at ten pages in length, Hendrickson’s piece makes fine use of archival records to sketch the four programs that made up the WPA Arts Projects in Texas: the Theatre Project, the Music Project, the Writers Project, and the Artists Project. He concludes that the programs were generally well-received by the public, but were underfunded and suffered from bureaucratic and administrative hassles that limited their accomplishments.¹⁹

Federal work relief at the local level has received some treatment by Michael Barr in a 1993 *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* article entitled “A Comparative Examination of Federal Work Relief in Fredericksburg and Gillespie County.” Although the article contains much useful information on the work of the WPA, the PWA, and the REA in the two counties, the work suffers from its large reliance on local newspapers and total lack of federal records from the above-mentioned agencies.²⁰

Finally, in 2008, I published “Up in Arms: Local Protest vs. the Placement of Black CCC Camps in West Texas” in the West Texas Historical Association’s *Yearbook* in which I attempted to explain how the decision by Robert Fechner, the CCC’s National Director, to segregate the agency’s camps played out in many local West Texas communities. Oftentimes, such as occurred in Sweetwater, the local white populace rose up in a furor when the CCC announced that it planned to place a black camp anywhere near their city limits. This reaction proved the inefficiency of racism as residents often endured long delays for important CCC work to be done, sometimes resulting in complete abandonment of work projects if another white company could not be found to be sent in place of the rejected African American unit.²¹

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Thus, there *are* some New Deal historians of Texas, but hardly enough. The pace of progress has remained slow since 1991 when, in an essay appearing in *Texas through Time*, Robert A. Calvert correctly concluded that “other than simple political accounts, the New Deal in Texas remains almost virgin territory.”²² When one breaks down Texas New Deal scholarship by decade (using the articles and books mentioned in this essay as a barometer), one sees that from the 1970s through the current decade, there have been, on average, only six books and articles published *per decade*:

1970s: 4 1980s: 8 1990s: 6 2000s: 6

What else needs to be done? I would like to comment first on needed research involving New Deal agencies that have already received some scholarly attention (as noted in the works cited above), then point out some agencies that have been completely ignored by the Texas historical community.

Regarding New Deal aid to Texas farmers, additional work needs to be done on the production control programs for commodities other than cotton and cattle. What were the main issues involving the state’s wheat growers—how did the AAA’s wheat or rice programs compare to the cotton program? Also, more attention needs to be given to the rural rehabilitation and resettlement communities of the FERA, RA, and the FSA beyond the aforementioned articles on the Ropesville Project and Woodlake Community written over two decades ago.²³

With regard to the CCC, we need to examine the work of the CCC outside of the parks system. Though their state park work was very important to the state, CCC boys did additional work outside the parks system, such as terracing land for farmers and improving military reservations. This aspect of their duties should be further explored. Also, there are a host of issues related to the CCC that deserve full attention, including accidents, desertions, camp newspapers, educational opportunities, the experience of Texas African Americans, and the U.S. Army’s relationship to the Corps.

Though some research has been performed on the New Deal’s arts projects, what about the other WPA work

projects that employed a much larger number of Texans? Explorations of the WPA's numerous construction projects in the state especially need to be analyzed: What problems were encountered while building the Riverwalk, or the construction of the dormitories at Texas A&M? How efficient were the WPA's efforts to lay down sidewalks in downtown Corpus Christi, or building the Fort Worth City Hall? What were the politics behind the design and construction of Dealey Plaza in Dallas, or Frisco High School?²⁴

Besides Fickle's look at the southern pine industry, there has been no in-depth exploration of the NRA's relations with any other Texas businesses or any other analysis of the NRA's code authorities overseeing Texas businesses and industries. There has been no look at the Texas version of General Hugh Johnson's massive "Blue Eagle" campaign to rally the nation's businesses and industries to sign up with the NRA. How successful were these efforts in Texas? What problems did Texas businessmen, workers, and consumers encounter with the NRA? Did the NRA have any success stories in Texas?

With respect to the PWA, other than Adams's book on the agency's work with the Lower Colorado River Authority, there has been no scholarship dedicated to telling the story of the PWA's work in building up Texas during the Depression—nothing on the construction of the port of Brownsville, Houston Municipal Airport, Fort Worth Public Library, numerous buildings on college campuses, municipal parks, sewage plants, or over 100 Texas schools.

There are many other New Deal agencies whose Texas operations are definitely still "virgin territory" for Texas historians. For example, there has been no attempt to cover the state and federal governments' efforts to save Texas banks. Before FDR's national "bank holiday," Governor Miriam Ferguson ordered a statewide shut-down. After his inauguration, FDR sent agents across the country to pore over bank records in order to ascertain their degree of stability. How was all this done in Texas? Which banks passed muster and which did not? Which required government aid to reopen? How was all this perceived by Texas bankers and the general public while it was transgressing? How did

the Texas example compare to the process as it was playing out in other states across the country?

Another example of untapped scholarship possibilities involves Federal Emergency Relief Administration work in Texas. While some works on Texas politics have briefly mentioned the operation of unemployment relief in the state, there has been no book-length treatment of the topic. Just how corrupt was the Ferguson Administration with regard to the doling out of relief money and FERA jobs? How did blacks and Hispanics fare under the FERA when compared to whites? How does the Texas example compare with other states?

The short-lived, but important precursor of the WPA—the Civil Works Administration—has received no treatment by Texas historians, despite employing a quarter of a million Texans over the winter of 1933-1934. The CWA was shut down by FDR in the spring of 1934, ostensibly because of waste and extravagance – a look into the CWA's Texas operations may find corroborating evidence of these problems.

The Home Owners Loan Corporation and the Farm Credit Administration invested millions of dollars during the 1930s to prevent home and farm foreclosures, yet these vital agencies also lack sophisticated examination of their Texas operations. The University of North Texas Oral History Program includes among its holdings interviews with former employees of the HOLC, yet these resources that would be of prime importance for scholars interested in telling the story of how the HOLC helped thousands of Texas families retain title to their homes during the Depression remain unmined.

So what explains the fact that a potentially rich scholarly area like New Deal agency studies has received relatively so little attention by Texas historians? Without claiming to have the absolute answers, two contributing factors immediately come to mind when pondering this question. First, despite the multitude of examples one can cite that clearly demonstrate the fact that a majority of Texans approved of, and willingly accepted, various forms of New Deal aid, the state does have a strong anti-government reputation. Writing about government action

to solve an economic crisis in Texas, even when criticism of some efforts is deserved, simply does not have much appeal for many individuals who have been raised on a tradition that criticizes long lines at post offices (while ignoring even longer delays at a private doctor's office) and celebrates free enterprise (but berates high gas prices). Second, one cannot ignore the fact that many seem to find the Great Depression to be rather "depressing." In spite of its tremendous importance to the history of the state, researching and reading about the Great Depression and New Deal is may not be as exciting for many historians and popular audiences as recounting, *ad nauseum*, exploits of Texas rebels fighting against Santa Anna, heroic efforts to withstand "Yankee aggression" during the Civil War, and fighting off the Comanches with fear in one eye and stark determination in the other. Perhaps the recent economic downturn will make the 1930s seem more relevant and interesting to more students of history and the general public alike.

Barring the emergence of a determined and well-financed researcher able to perform a mountain of original research to fill the gaping holes of knowledge and produce a comprehensive book-length treatment of the New Deal in Texas, it will be many years before enough piecemeal research by historians will allow a scholar to compose the first comprehensive synthesis on the subject. At the current rate, this first edition may not come out in hardcover until 2033—the one-hundredth anniversary of FDR's inauguration!

(Endnotes)

¹ James T. Patterson, *The New Deal and the States: Federalism in Transition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).

² James M. Smallwood, *The Great Recovery: The New Deal in Texas* (Boston: American Press, 1983).

³ Robert Cotner, ed., *Texas Cities and the Great Depression* (Austin: Texas Memorial Museum, 1973).

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⁴ Roger Biles, "The New Deal in Dallas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 95 (July 1991), 1-19.

⁵ Carol A. Weisenberger, *Dollars and Dreams: The National Youth Administration in Texas* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1994).

⁶ Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr., "Replenishing the Soil and the Soul of Texas: The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Lone Star State as an Example of State-Federal Work Relief during the Great Depression," *The Historian* 65 (Summer 2003): 801-16.

⁷ John A. Adams, Jr, *Damming the Colorado: The Rise of the Lower Colorado River Authority, 1933-1939* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1990).

⁸ James Wright Steely and Dan K. Utey, *Guided with a Steady Hand: The Cultural Landscape of a Rural Texas Park* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 1990); James Wright Steely, *Parks for Texas: Enduring Landscapes of the New Deal* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999).

⁹ Phillip Parisi, *The Texas Post Office Murals: Art for the People* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004).

¹⁰ Keith J. Volanto, *Texas, Cotton, and the New Deal* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2005).

¹¹ Julia Kirk Blackwelder, *Women of the Depression: Caste and Culture in San Antonio, 1929-1939* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1984); Michael Botson, *Labor, Civil Rights, and the Hughes Tool Company* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2005).

¹² James E. Fickle, "The S.P.A. and the N.R.A.: A Case Study of the Blue Eagle in the South," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 79 (January 1976): 253-78.

¹³ C. Roger Lambert, "Texas Cattlemen and the AAA, 1933-1935," *Arizona and the West* 14 (Summer 1972): 137-52 and "Southwestern Cattlemen, the Federal Government, and the Depression" in Donald W. Whisenhunt, ed., *The Depression in the Southwest* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1980): 42-57.

¹⁴ William R. Johnson, "Rural Rehabilitation in the New Deal: The Ropesville Project," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 79 (January

1976): 279-295.

¹⁵Michael G. Wade, "Back to the Land: The Woodlake Community, 1933-1943," *East Texas Historical Journal* (Winter 1983): 46-56.

¹⁶Garry L. Nall, "The Struggle to Save the Land: The Soil Conservation Effort in the Dust Bowl," in Donald W. Whisenhunt, ed., *The Depression in the Southwest* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1980): 26-41.

¹⁷Donald L. Zelman, "Alazan-Apache Courts: A New Deal Response to Mexican-American Housing Conditions in San Antonio," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 87 (October 1983): 123-50; Robert B. Fairbanks, "Public Housing for the City as a Whole: The Texas Experience, 1934-55" *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 104 (April 2002): 403-24.

¹⁸Christine L. Bourgeois, "Stepping over the Lines: Lyndon Johnson, Black Texans, and the National Youth Administration," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 91 (October 1987): 149-72.

¹⁹Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr., "The WPA Arts Projects in Texas," *East Texas Historical Journal* 26 (1988): 3-13.

²⁰Michael Barr, "A Comparative Examination of Federal Work Relief in Fredericksburg and Gillespie County," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 96 (January 1993): 363-92.

²¹Keith J. Volanto, "'Up in Arms': Local Protest vs. the Placement of Black CCC Camps in West Texas," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook* 83 (2007): 96-110.

²²Robert A. Calvert, "Agrarian Texas," in *Texas through Time: Evolving Interpretations*, eds. Walter L. Buenger and Robert A. Calvert (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), 227.

²³For the basics of the AAA's program for the nation's rice farmers, with tangential mention of the situation involving Texas growers, see Henry C. Dethloff, *A History of the American Rice Industry* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1988) and Pete Daniel, *Breaking the Land: The Transformation of Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Cultures since 1880* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

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²⁴For a small but informative published article on the WPA's Library Project in Texas written by a library studies graduate student during the 1970's, see: Jane Rogers, "The WPA Statewide Library Project in Texas," *Texas Libraries* 34 (Winter 1972): 209-18.