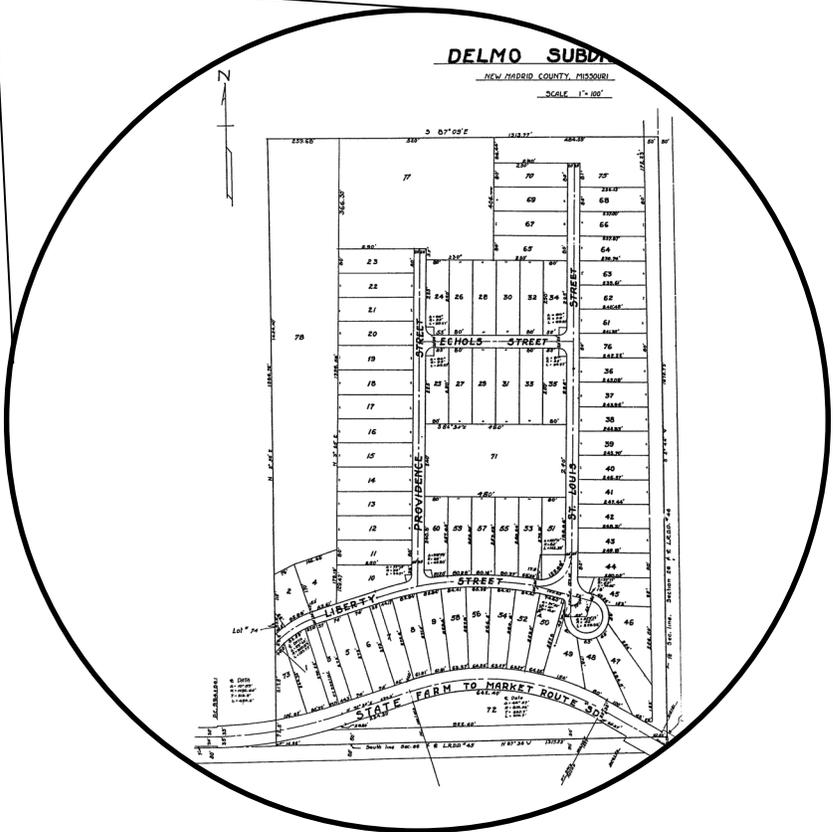
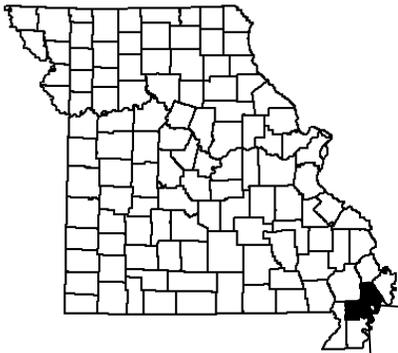


AN EVALUATION OF THE NORTH LILBOURN GROUP, DELMO FARM LABOR HOMES PROJECT, ON ROUTE D IN NEW MADRID COUNTY, MISSOURI



**AN EVALUATION OF THE
NORTH LILBOURN GROUP,
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Prepared by the Cultural Resources Section of
the Missouri Department of Transportation for
the Federal Highway Administration,
in conjunction with MoDOT Job No. J0S0349B

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2001

HPP CRM Library Data

USGS Quadrangles: Catron and New Madrid, MO 7.5'

Drainage Basin: Lower St. Francis/Lower Mississippi

Watershed: Little River

ABSTRACT

In March 1999, a Phase I survey was conducted for Missouri Department of Transportation (MoDOT) Job No. J0S0349B on Route D in New Madrid County. The proposed project is for the replacement of Bridge No. T-717 over Drainage Ditch No. 45. Based upon the initial survey, MoDOT Cultural Resources staff recommended that no historic properties would be affected by the proposed project. In a memo dated May 24, 1999, the Historic Preservation Program (HPP) responded by stating that they concurred with the evaluation of archaeological and bridge resources. However, the HPP suggested that the project would affect a community potentially eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) as a historic district: the North Lilbourn Group of the Delmo Farm Labor Homes Project.

Based upon this opinion from the HPP, additional research was conducted on the North Lilbourn Group in an effort to ascertain the significance of the community. Searches were made through all available local, state and federal records in an attempt to find all pertinent data.

The results of the historical research do indicate that the North Lilbourn Group is eligible for listing to the NRHP. Furthermore, the proposed project will impact this property. However, the affects will be limited to a temporary alteration of property lines within the community. There will be no other direct or indirect affects to the property. Therefore, it is the recommendation of MoDOT that this project will have no adverse effect on any historic properties.

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INTRODUCTION

Project Background

In March 1999, Missouri Department of Transportation (MoDOT) Cultural Resources staff conducted an intensive Phase I cultural resources survey of MoDOT Job No. J0S0349B. The purpose of the survey was to identify all cultural resources that may be impacted by proposed highway improvements and to make an initial evaluation and assessment of identified properties as it relates to their eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

This project is for the proposed replacement of Bridge No. T-717 over Drainage Ditch No. 45. The proposed construction corridor has a length of approximately 345 m (1132 feet), initially consisting of 0.69 ha (1.7 acres) of new right of way. In addition, a proposed borrow area measuring 75 x 75 m (0.56 ha, 1.4 acres) was tested. In January 2000, the project design was altered; required ROW was moved from the north side of Route D to the south side. In addition, a new location for the proposed borrow area was identified. The new borrow area will be addressed in separate documentation. The project is located in sections 26 and 35 of Township 23 North, Range 13 East, approximately 0.16 km west of Route U near the town of Lilbourn (Map 1).

On May 5, 1999, a memorandum was submitted to the HPP detailing the results of the Phase I survey for MoDOT Job No. J0S0349B. The survey concluded that there were no historic properties within the project area or the Area of Potential Effects (APE). In a letter dated May 24, 1999, the HPP responded by concurring with MoDOT's assessment of the archaeological and bridge resources. However, the HPP concluded that the project had the potential to affect a property potentially eligible for listing on the NRHP: the North Lilbourn Group of the Delmo Farm Labor Homes Project (Map 2). Consequently, the HPP requested additional information concerning the community and the proposed project's potential effects on the property.

A second letter, dated September 12, 2000, was submitted to the HPP, summarizing the history of the community and addressing its significance. An examination of the events leading to the establishment of North Lilbourn indicated that the community was directly associated with events significant to the history of the region. The letter submitted to the HPP states that MoDOT believes that the North Lilbourn Group is eligible for listing on the NRHP under Criterion A: Social History; however, it is the opinion of the MoDOT Cultural Resources staff that the project will have no adverse effect on the property. The HPP requested additional information in a letter dated September 25, 2000. This document provides the HPP with the requested information; the

criteria for the information in this report was established in email correspondence between HPP and MoDOT staff dated November 20, 2000; January 18, 2001; and February 7, 2001.

Geographic Setting

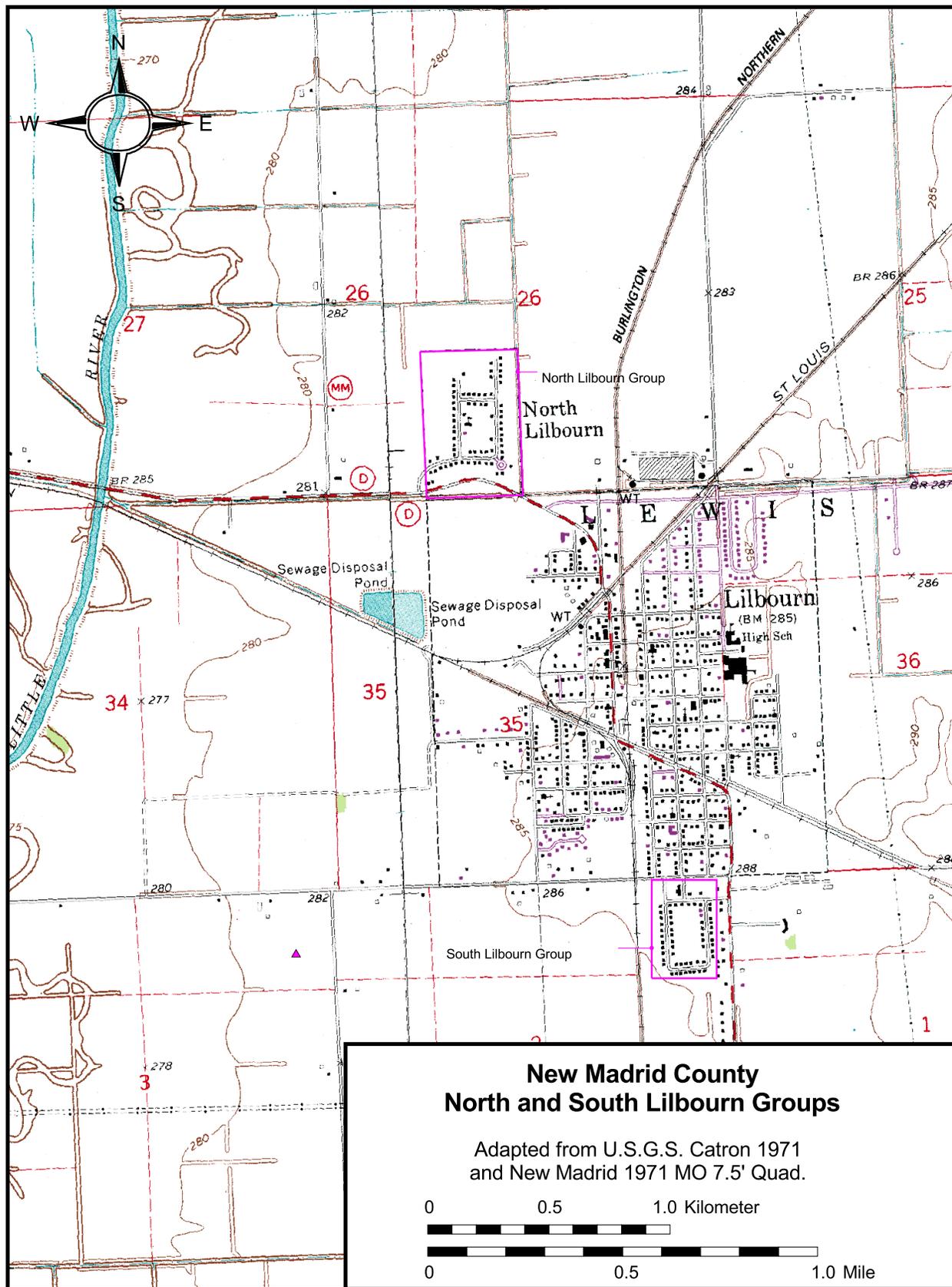
This project is located on the Mississippi Alluvial Plain physiographic province and within the Lower St. Francois/Lower Mississippi Principal Study Unit and the Little River Watershed. Most of the soil in the project locality is Sharkey silty clay loam (0-1 percent slope); however there is a small pocket of Sharkey clay (0-1 percent slope). These soils tend to pond after moderate precipitation due to the overall lack of relief and poor soil percolation (Gurley 1979).

Phase I Survey

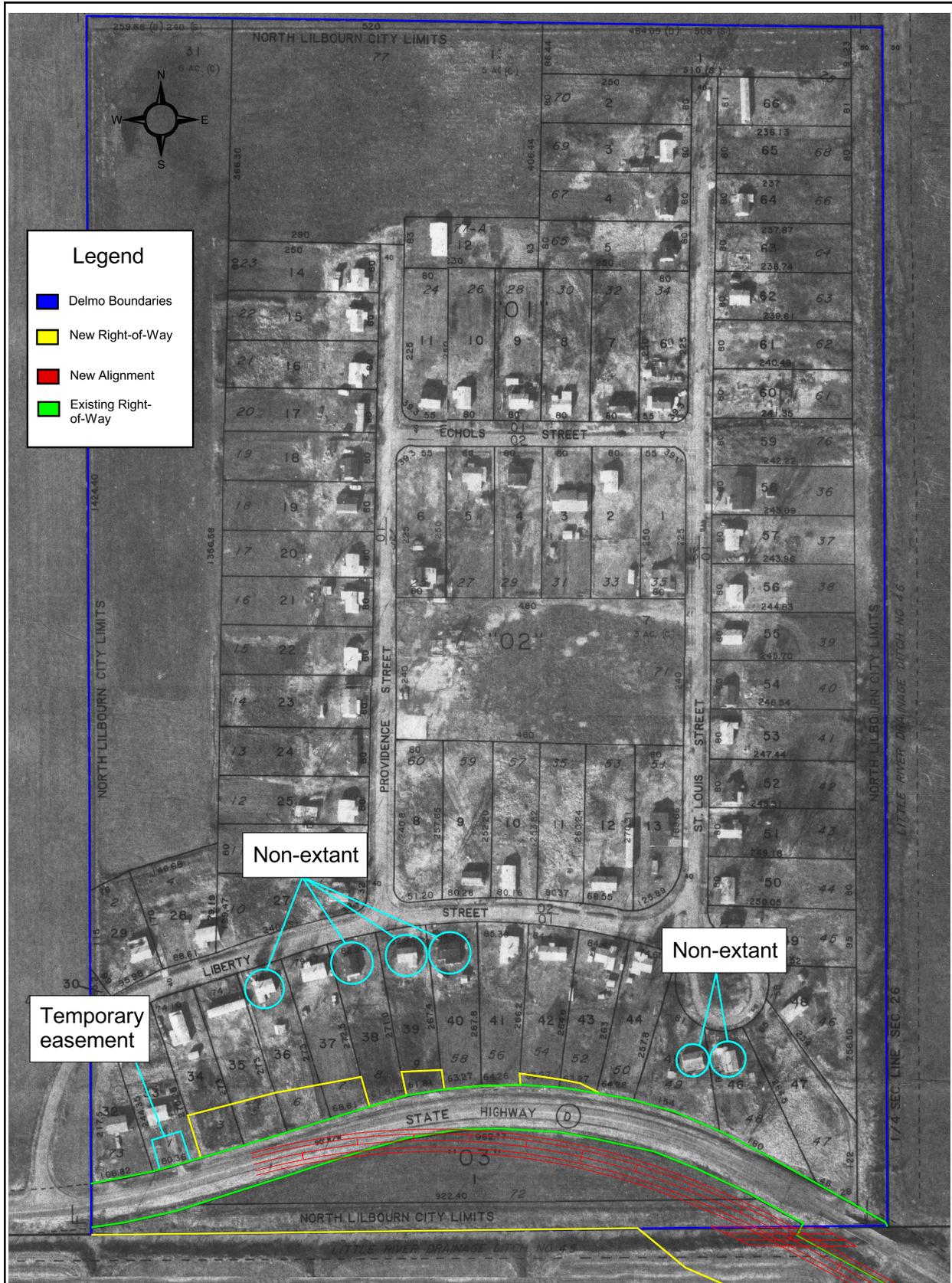
Background research at the HPP, Archaeological Survey of Missouri (ASM Identification No. 99-275), and a query of the National Archaeological Database revealed that three recorded archaeological sites are located within 1.6 km of the project area: 23NM97, 23NM293, and 23NM294. Site 23NM97 was reported by Haryette Campbell in 1968 as a prehistoric village site. Materials from the site included lithic debitage, hammer and pecking stones, sand and shell tempered pottery, and a possible Dalton point. This site is located just west of Lilbourn and straddles Section 27 and 35 in Township 23 North, Range 13 East. Site 23NM293 was reported by Larry Grantham in 1981 as a thin lithic scatter. It is recorded as a prehistoric limited activity area of unknown cultural affiliation, and is located just east of Lilbourn in Section 36 of Township 23 North, Range 13 East. Grantham also reported 23NM294 in 1981 as a dense scatter of historic artifacts associated with 2-3 poorly reserved and ambiguous structures. Materials noted include glass, ironstone, coal, burned shale, cinders, rubber and iron. This site is located just east of Lilbourn in Section 36 of Township 23 North, Range 13 East. The proposed MoDOT undertaking will not impact these sites. Further research of the aforementioned resources revealed no other recorded sites within 1.6 km of the project area.

The original borrow area is situated in a field where recent tillage has resulted in 100 percent visibility of the surface. In these areas, 12 pedestrian survey transects separated by 5-m intervals were conducted; no cultural resources were encountered. Numerous eroded drainage ditches complemented the examination of this area. The northern side of the road is largely contained within maintained yards with prior disturbances resulting from road construction, ditching, and utility placement. The southern side consists of a narrow strip of land between the existing road and Drainage Ditch No. 45. In these areas, shovel tests were excavated at 15-30 m intervals depending upon the amount of pooled water on the surface. Every shovel test proved culturally sterile. No intact soils were identified in this area. No archaeological sites were recorded in the course of this investigation. The HPP agreed that a thorough archaeological investigation had been conducted in their letter dated May 24, 1999.

As previously stated, the purpose of the project is the replacement of Bridge No. T-717. This bridge carries Route D over Drainage Ditch No. 45 and was built in 1936. It consists of a one-span steel stringer with wooden abutments and wingwalls, and measures 50 feet in length



Map 1. Topographic map showing the locations of the North and South Lilbourn Groups.



with a 20-foot roadway width. As per Clayton Fraser's 1996 draft *Missouri Historic Bridge Inventory*, it is not considered eligible for listing on the NRHP and will be replaced. The ditch is part of Drainage District No. 20, which was organized in 1907. The bridge was built on new alignment is not considered part of any drainage system. The HPP concurred with the assessment of the bridge resource and drainage ditch in the letter dated September 25, 2000.

The Phase I survey also completed a cursory examination of the architecture within the project's APE. The APE for this project was established within 30 m of new right-of-way and easements. For the sake of clarity, all properties located within the city limits of North Lilbourn will be referred to by the lot designation from the 1948 plat and the 1991 County Assessor map. The initial survey identified six parcels containing structures within the APE; of these, four structures are within North Lilbourn: Lots 73, 1, 3 and 5. Two additional parcels (designated Properties 15 and 16 in the memorandum dated May 5, 1999) are located within the project APE, but outside of the North Lilbourn city limits. The houses on Lots 73, 1, 3 and 5 were described as recent residences, and Property 15 as a recent agricultural supply structure. Property 16 has three recent structures: a convenience mart, a self-storage facility, and an irrigation parts dealership. Each of these structures is less than 50 years old and is not considered eligible for listing on the NRHP.

HISTORY OF NORTH LILBOURN

Historical Resources

In an attempt to present an accurate depiction of the Delmo Farm Labor Homes Project, the Delmo Housing Corporation, and the North Lilbourn Group, all available resources that had a potential for containing pertinent information were examined. Detailed searches were made in records kept by the Missouri State Archives in Jefferson City, the Missouri State Historical Society in Columbia, the Washington University Library Archives in St. Louis, the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Washington, D.C., and the New Madrid County Assessor's and Recorder's offices in New Madrid. Additional searches were made in the collections of the Library of Congress, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, and the National Agricultural Library, U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) Historical Collection.

The records of the Delmo Housing Corporation covering the years 1945 to 1976 are stored at the Washington University Library Archives. These records include sales contracts (Appendix E, Table 5), quitclaim deeds, receipts, and correspondence to and from the occupants of the original homes. The records also include W. Wilder Towle's notes for *The Delmo Saga*, a copy of the social survey conducted by Steward Newell for the Delmo Housing Corporation in 1947, and a survey conducted by the Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU) in 1938.

A concentrated effort was made to locate records of the Farm Security Administration (FSA), under whose auspices the Delmo Farm Labor Homes Project was designed and constructed. The FSA was officially dissolved in 1946, though selected records of the agency have been retained by other departments and agencies including the USDA, the Public Housing Administration (PHA) and the Library of Congress. The single largest repository of documents relating to the FSA is the FSA/Office of War Information (OWI) Photograph Collection in the

Library of Congress. The collection includes approximately 164,000 black-and-white film negatives and transparencies, 1610 color transparencies, and 107,000 black-and-white photographic prints, most of which were made from the negatives and transparencies. Approximately 30,000 of the black-and-white prints were acquired from other sources and added to the collection when it was transferred to the Library of Congress. A small selection of the photographs relating to the Delmo Farm Labor Homes Project has been reproduced in this report (Appendix A). The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (which is administered by the NARA) contains an additional 10,000 black-and-white negatives as well as written documents pertaining to the FSA. The NARA contains the bulk of the FSA records within its holdings; the majority of these records are currently stored with those of the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA), which assumed the responsibilities of the FSA in 1946. Additional records concerning the Greentown Project (i.e. Greenbelt, Maryland; Greendale, Wisconsin; and Greenhills, Ohio) are stored with the PHA records within the NARA.

The NARA is the repository for all historically significant records for each branch of the federal government. Although the NARA is designated as the final repository for federal documents, most government records are not considered historically significant and are discarded before being archived. Due to the manner in which federal documents are archived, many of the FSA records have been destroyed. An exhaustive search was conducted by the staff of the NARA for records pertaining to the Delmo Farm Labor Homes Project and the North Lilbourn Group; however, no records were found. The NARA does maintain records relating to other Farm Labor Homes Projects in Missouri, but none dealing with the Delmo communities.

A supplemental search was requested for the USDA History Collection of the National Agricultural Library. Although the material in the library consists primarily of background data collected by USDA historians for various research projects, the library does contain documents pertaining to the FSA including photographs, engineering plans, and maps. Included in the library archives are maps of Farm Labor Homes Projects in California; however, there were no records listed for any projects from Missouri. An exhaustive search of the library records is not feasible at the current time because there is no comprehensive index to the collection; the records remain largely unprocessed and currently reside in crates.

The New Deal and the Agricultural Adjustment Act

In 1933, as part of the New Deal, Congress passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act. This far-reaching bill introduced production controls and subsidy payments into U.S. agriculture, and these concepts were quickly accepted by large-farm interests. Among other things, it paid farmers not to grow crops on one-third of their land. The act also stated that one-quarter of the subsidized payments were to go to the sharecroppers working the land. The revenue for this program was to come from taxes levied on manufacturers; however, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the law in 1936 based upon unfair taxation. The bill was re-worded, with the tax on manufacturers removed, and the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (AAA) was passed. Although the AAA was intended to alleviate the economic burden on America's farmers caused by plummeting market prices, it created a new dilemma for sharecroppers and tenant farmers. As with the earlier version, the 1938 act provided for payments to sharecroppers and tenants; however, hired hands and day laborers were not compensated. Plantation owners quickly realized that by replacing

their tenants with paid laborers, they could keep the entire subsidy. This resulted in a large number of tenant farmers being evicted from their homes during the winter of 1938/39 (Cassedy 1993; Melville 1985; Whitnah 1983).

The basic concepts embodied within the act still form the basis for contemporary agricultural policy. In contrast, social reform organizations such as the FSA and the Bureau for Agricultural Economics, which attempted to help landless farmers become landowners, were quickly abolished. Although similar innovative programs do surface occasionally, they face continuing conservative opposition (Gilbert and O'Connor 1996).

The Farm Security Administration

One of the most influential and controversial agencies to be organized by the New Deal was the FSA. Although established in 1937, the programs that would form the basis for the FSA were actually instituted 4 years earlier.

The Subsistence Homesteads Division of the Department of the Interior, and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) were established in 1933. Congress passed Public Resolution 11, known as the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, on April 8. This act appropriated funds and gave the President authority to carry out a broad national program for the relief of unemployment. The Resettlement Administration (RA) was established as an independent agency by Executive Order 7027 on April 30, 1935, under authority of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act to administer programs for the relief and rehabilitation of agricultural areas. Rexford G. Tugwell, the Undersecretary of Agriculture, was appointed Administrator. The Rural Rehabilitation Division of the FERA and the Subsistence Homesteads Division transferred to the RA at this time. The RA transferred to the Department of Agriculture (USDA) on January 1, 1937 under Executive Order 7530. In July 1937, the Bankhead-Jones Act was passed; the bill authorized low-interest loans to tenants, farm laborers, and small landowners for the purchase of farms. The RA was renamed the FSA by the Secretary's Memorandum 732 on September 1, 1937; the FSA was established to manage the programs created under the Bankhead-Jones Act, as well as the programs initiated by the RA. Always a controversial figure, Tugwell resigned in January 1937, and Will W. Alexander was appointed Administrator of the RA, becoming the first Director of the FSA.

The FSA had a great deal of autonomy, but saw its influence diminish as the U.S. House of Representatives began a series of investigations of the agency in 1941. The FSA consolidated with other agencies concerned with food production to form the Food Production Administration under Executive Order 9280 on December 5, 1942. The Food Production Administration agencies consolidated with Food Distribution Administration agencies to form the Administration of Food Production and Distribution by Executive Order 9322 on March 26, 1943, and renamed the War Food Administration (WFA) by Executive Order 9334 on April 19, 1943. The WFA was abolished by Executive Order 9577 on June 29, 1945, and the FSA was placed under the immediate supervision of the Secretary of Agriculture. The FSA was superseded by the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) on August 14, 1946, under the Farmers Home Administration Act. When the USDA was reorganized in 1994, the FmHA was incorporated into

the newly established Farm Service Agency (Farmers Home Administration 1983; Melville 1985; Walker 1939; Whitnah 1983).

The FSA's main operations were divided into rehabilitation loans, direct relief, a tenant-purchase program and homestead projects. Probably the most unpopular and controversial program administered by the FSA was the Resettlement Division, which was inherited from the RA. Under the program, the FSA purchased and subdivided land among the program's applicants. Each applicant received a small home and lot of land; they were then allowed to purchase the land with a 40-year loan. By 1946, the FSA had built 164 resettlement projects consisting of 14,000 homes. In addition, it built a number of camps on the Pacific coast to furnish temporary shelter and sanitary facilities to migratory farm laborers, an ever more pressing problem as farm mechanization increased their numbers yearly. By 1943, 95 labor camps housing approximately 75,000 people had been constructed. The FSA also issued small grants (averaging \$20) for special situations. However, the main impetus of the agency was to provide home loans. By 1946, approximately 893,000 families had received rehabilitation loans. Remarkably, the number of loans that defaulted was relatively low; in 1943, the loan collection rate was 93.5 percent. The average loan in 1937 was \$240 per family; this amount grew to an average of \$600 per family in 1940 (Whitnah 1983).

Table 1. The FSA budget for rehabilitation loans.

Year	Budget
1938	\$25,000,000
1939	\$50,000,000
1940	\$50,000,000
1941	\$50,000,000
1942	\$50,000,000
1943	\$30,000,000
1944	\$24,000,000
1945	\$13,000,000

As previously indicated, the records of the FmHA, including selected records from the RA and FSA, are currently stored with the NARA. These records include loan agreements, photographs, maps, and architectural drawings. However, an intensive search by the staff of the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, failed to produce any records relating to the Delmo Farm Labor Homes Project. It is assumed based upon the available evidence that the original plat (Staking Plan No. 1927) and any record of the original occupants of the Delmo communities either have been lost or destroyed.

The only surviving collection of federal records directly associated with the Delmo Farm Labor Homes Project appears to be the FSA/OWI Photograph Collection, created between 1937 and 1944. The only written records that have identified are the documentation (i.e. captions, assignment sheets) for the photograph collection. This program was begun under the auspices of the RA and continued under the FSA after 1937. The photography division of the FSA was

transferred to the Department of Defense in 1942 and was renamed the Office of War Information (OWI). The program went through three basic phases of development. Initially, the program documented the cash loans made to individual farmers by the RA and the construction of planned suburban communities. The second phase focused on the lives of sharecroppers in the South and migratory agricultural workers in the Midwestern and western states. The final phase recorded both rural and urban conditions throughout the United States as well as mobilization efforts for World War II. In addition to the photographs taken by the FSA and OWI, the collection also contains black-and-white prints acquired from other governmental and non-governmental sources, including the News Bureau at the Offices of Emergency Management, the military, and industrial corporations. Always controversial, the program was ended in 1944 and the collection was transferred to the Library of Congress under the careful supervision of the project's director, Roy E. Stryker.

Although there is a great deal of speculation concerning the social and political motivations of the people involved, the FSA/OWI photographic collection remains an impressive archive of American life during the second quarter of the twentieth century. The program was headed by Roy E. Stryker for most of its existence, and employed the considerable talents of a number of photographers including Dorothea Lange and Walker Evans. Evans was probably the most critical of Stryker's agenda, and chose to pursue his own interests, a fact that can be seen in his photographs. Whereas Stryker attempted to show how Americans were being helped by the New Deal, Evans' photographs showed darker images of America. This trait, which made most of his photographs unacceptable by the FSA, is what makes them truly exceptional today.

Among the subjects documented in these photographs are the 1939 Sharecropper's Roadside Demonstration (photographed by Arthur Rothstein), the La Forge Labor Farm Group (photographed by Russell Lee in 1938), images of tenant farms and sharecroppers in Southeast Missouri, and the Delmo Farm Labor Home Groups in Morehouse, North Wyatt and Grayridge (photographed by John Vachon in 1940 and 1941). Examples of the FSA/OWI photographs are provided in Appendix A, Figures 4-17.

Sharecroppers and the Southern Tenant Farmers Union

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, southeast Missouri and northeast Arkansas formed one of the most productive agricultural regions in the country. The area was occupied by numerous large cotton plantations worked by sharecroppers and tenant farmers, and owned in many cases by absentee owner-investors. The regional economy was stable through the end of World War I; however, immediately after the end of the war, there was a dramatic collapse in cotton prices, causing a strain in the relationship between the landlords and tenants. In many cases, the planters attempted to mollify their losses by shifted significant portions of those losses onto their tenants. The economic condition of sharecroppers improved slightly during the later years of the 1920s, but once again declined during the depression of the 1930s. The decline in earnings, the increase in farm mechanization and the passage of the AAA all created discontent among the sharecroppers.

The STFU was established by Henry L. Mitchell and Henry Clay East in Tyronza, Arkansas, and was from its inception an interracial labor union. Founded in April 1934, it was

one of the first successful agricultural unions and was a direct outgrowth of the 1933 Agricultural Adjustment Act. The union was created by organizing a small group of African-American and white sharecroppers; however, by 1939 the union had grown to include approximately 35,000 members, mainly from the cotton-belt states of Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Oklahoma and Missouri. Before this, there had been literally hundreds of agricultural labor unions nationwide; however, these earlier unions were small, scattered, short-lived and generally ineffectual. The tenuous nature of agricultural unions was in part due to the extreme mobility and high seasonality of the work, and to the low wages paid; these traits made unionization too costly. This was further compounded by the low social status, political impotence, public perception of sharecroppers and tenant farmers. The lack of a powerful agricultural union is especially significant when considering that 31.8 percent of African-Americans in 1940 were employed in agriculture nationwide.

Historically, African-Americans have been actively involved in labor unions since the early nineteenth century, and the end of the Civil War brought about a tremendous increase in the number of African-Americans in unions. However, the 1870s saw a decline in the status of African-Americans, in labor unions and in society in general. This decline in status reached a low point during the early-twentieth century, culminating in the Elaine Massacre of 1919 in which white law enforcement officials and vigilantes attacked officials and members of the Progressive Farmers and Householders Union killing up to 100 African-Americans. Despite the activity of African-Americans in the labor movement, and the large number of African-American agricultural workers, most labor unions, such as member unions of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), did not permit African-American members. When the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) was organized in 1935, it allowed industrial workers to join regardless of race or ethnic background. The STFU became affiliated with CIO in 1937. It should be noted, however, that the protection afforded unions during the 1930s under such legislation as the Social Security Act, the National Labor Relations Act, and the Fair Labor Standards Act did not extend to agricultural workers (Cassedy 1993).

Probably the most significant contribution made by the STFU was to focus public attention the living and working conditions of the sharecroppers and tenant farmers. The STFU conducted a survey in 1938 in an effort to document the plight of sharecroppers and tenant farmers in southeast Missouri and northeast Arkansas (Southern Tenant Farmers Union 1938). The study was prepared on January 15, 1938, and showed that 180 families had been displaced during the first quarter of the year. Of these, only 27 had found new employment. The study estimated that 695 families had been displaced since the passage of the AAA. Due in part to the efforts of the STFU, Franklin Roosevelt established the President's Special Committee on Farm Tenancy in 1936. The committee recommended federal action to assist the impoverished through landownership, rehabilitation, and the use of cooperatives. These recommendations laid the foundations of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act and the establishment of the FSA.

The 1939 Sharecropper's Roadside Demonstration

During the winter of 1938, Owen Whitfield, a minister, former sharecropper and vice-president of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU), helped organize a very visible roadside demonstration calculated to bring the plight of tenant farmers in southeastern Missouri to

national attention. Whitfield convinced a large number of sharecroppers to move their families and belongings onto the roadsides of Highway 60 and 61 in New Madrid County. Whitfield's demonstration crossed racial boundaries, and included both African-American and white farm workers that had been left homeless in the aftermath of the AAA. Whitfield's attempt to organize the local workers brought him unwanted attention from local planters, and before the demonstration he was forced to leave New Madrid County for the safety of St. Louis to avoid being lynched. Before leaving, he organized the demonstration into 13 separate groups and designated leaders for each. In addition, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* was contacted on January 8, 1939, and they printed a story on the front page outlining Whitfield's plans (Cantor 1969; Clifford 1993; Kester 1969; Mitchell 1993; Stelzer 1999; Towle 1982).

On the morning of January 10, 1939, hundreds of homeless families began to set up temporary camps along Highways 60 and 61 (Figure 1). Before the end of the day, 251 families (1161 individuals) had become squatters, scattered along a 70-mile section of Highway 61 from Sikeston to Hayti and a 38-mile section of Highway 60 from Charleston to Sikeston (Clifford 1993). Without jobs and evicted from the land they had worked for most of their lives, many people were here because they had no other options. The living and sanitary conditions were appalling, and some families chose to leave soon after arriving; however, many more stayed simply because they had nowhere else to go. Part of Whitfield's plan for the demonstration was to attract public attention and sympathy. The demonstrators were readily visible to passing motorists and quickly caught the attention of the news media. Photographs and newsreels of the roadside demonstration began to be seen nationwide.

Although the plight of the sharecroppers was readily evident, aid was not forthcoming; the Red Cross refused to assist because they considered the demonstration a "man-made disaster" and the police refused to allow union assistance across state lines. On January 13, the state health commissioner, Dr. Harry Parker, inspected the camps and declared them a serious public-health hazard. Immediately thereafter, Missouri Governor Lloyd Stark ordered state highway officials to forcibly remove the demonstrators. County sheriffs, highway patrolmen, and specially deputized citizens were called in to evacuate the sharecroppers, sometimes by force or intimidation. The sharecroppers' possessions were searched before being loaded into highway department trucks and hauled away. Some of the demonstrators took refuge at the nearby Sweet Home Baptist Church and others in an abandoned dance hall; however, most were moved to camps located between the Mississippi River and the New Madrid levee, effectively hiding them from public view. However, national attention had already been focused on the situation by this time (Clifford 1993; Mitchell 1993; Stelzer 1999; Towle 1982).

The living conditions in these camps were no improvement over the temporary shelters set up along the highways. The largest camp, dubbed "Homeless Junction", was home to approximately 500 sharecroppers. On January 19, 1939, the FSA announced that tents were being sent to the camp; state police immediately loaded all the demonstrators onto trucks and scattered them across five counties. The demonstration was now reduced to 134 people staying at the Sweet Home Baptist Church. In April, the sharecroppers were forced to move out of the church by the landlord (Clifford 1993; Towle 1982).



Figure 1. *Evicted sharecroppers along Highway 60, New Madrid County, Missouri.*
Photographed by Arthur Rothstein, January 1939.

Meanwhile, the cotton planters in southeast Missouri began to publicly expound the theory that the protest had been instigated by outside agitators and had very little to do with homeless and unemployed farm laborers. In a sense this was true: the local plantation owners opposed the establishment of unions (sometimes violently) on their land, and without the organization of the STFU, the demonstration may not have had the scale or impact that it did. The Governor and the Superintendent of the Missouri Highway Patrol agreed. In a letter to Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace, Governor Stark alleged that a leftist conspiracy existed at the highest levels of the federal government. He blamed the demonstration on “certain un-American and communistic practices, which ... can be traced directly to certain employees of the Farm Security Administration” (Stelzer 1999)

Eventually, aid for the sharecroppers began to be organized by private organizations and individuals. With the assistance of the St. Louis committee for the Rehabilitation of the Sharecroppers, money was raised to purchase 93 acres of land at the town of Harviell in Butler County to establish a community, later called Cropperville. The purchase was completed on the same day as the sharecroppers were forced to leave the Sweet Home Baptist Church; the sharecroppers were able to move directly into a camp on their new land. The camp was opened to all homeless sharecroppers, and on June 17, 1939, an additional 80 African-American and 15 white families moved into the camp. The sharecroppers soon received loans from the FSA to build houses and assistance from the American Friends Service Committee, a charitable organization (Cadle 1993; Clifford 1993; Stelzer 1999; Towle 1982).

The STFU managed to gain the attention of the FSA and the two groups entered into discussions with the governor on how best to resolve the housing dilemma. An agreement was reached between the various parties to create ten villages in seven counties to house the displaced

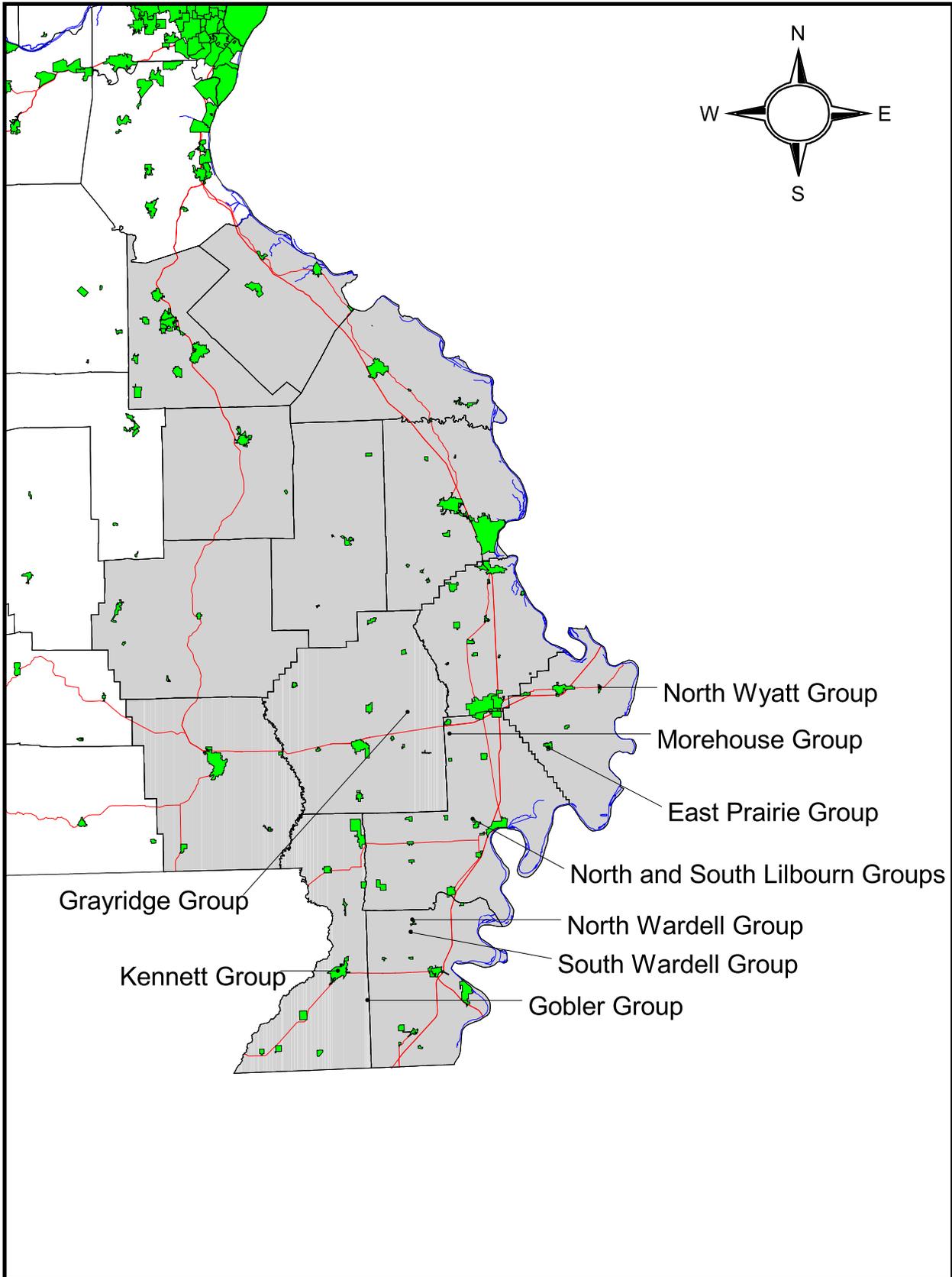
tenant farmers; collectively, these communities were called the Delmo Farm Labor Homes Project. As a result, 595 prefabricated homes were erected between 1940 and 1941.

The Delmo Farm Labor Homes Project and the Delmo Housing Corporation

The FSA laid out ten communities or groups collectively known as the Delmo Farm Labor Homes in five counties in southeast Missouri: the Kennett Group in Dunklin County; the East Prairie and North Wyatt Groups in Mississippi County; the Morehouse, North Lilbourn, and South Lilbourn Groups in New Madrid County; the Gobler, North Wardell, and South Wardell Groups in Pemiscot County; and the Grayridge Group in Stoddard County (Map 3). The project involved the construction of 595 prefabricated homes as well as community buildings, wells, and utilities (Figure 2). The South Wardell Group was the largest community, containing 80 houses. The East Prairie, North Lilbourn, and North Wyatt Groups all contained 70 homes. The Morehouse Group contained 59 homes. The Grayridge, Kennett, North Wardell, and South Lilbourn Groups contained 50 homes each, and the Gobler Group contained 46 homes (Towle 1982).

Four of the groups, North Wyatt, North Lilbourn, Gobler, and South Wardell were designated as African-American communities. Federal Census data (Appendix F, Table 5) indicate that North Lilbourn has remained African-American (98.6 percent). Each Delmo Group was designed around a central open space containing community buildings, including laundry facilities, showers, and offices. The majority of houses were oriented toward this open area. Newell Stewart (1947) notes that the Kennett Group was the only group that had a school; however, there is no indication of when the school was built or whether it was built by the FSA. A school was built sometime later within the North Lilbourn Group; however, the school, which appears on the 1971 U.S.G.S map, was demolished sometime before 1991. The houses in each of the groups had four rooms, and were furnished with cooking stoves, privies and approximately 0.5 acres of land that could be used for growing food. The houses were essentially identical to the houses built for other FSA projects around the country. Monthly rent was approximately \$6.00, which would be roughly equal to \$72.00 in 2000 (Mitchell 1993; Towle 1982).

The power of the FSA had been steadily diminishing since 1941, and political opponents succeeded in removing most of the agency's authority in 1943. Starting in 1943, many of the programs that were operated by the FSA were either ended or transferred to other agencies. On March 6, 1945, Congress ordered the FSA to sell all of its Farm Labor Home Projects, including Delmo. According to local FSA officials, in 1945 there were 198 vacant houses throughout the Delmo communities. The community buildings and occupied houses were in disrepair and were not fit to live in. This was part of the justification used to continue with the congressional order to sell the properties. Towle gives the impression that the FSA was actively working against the current residents, and under no circumstances wanted to sell to them. The FSA's original intention was to sell each community to a single buyer rather than selling individual lots. What this meant for the inhabitants of the Delmo communities was that they were once again in danger of being evicted from their homes, this time by the Federal Government.



Map 3. Map of southeast Missouri showing the locations of the Delmo Farm Labor Homes Projects.



Figure 2. *Group labor homes. Morehouse group. New Madrid County, Missouri.*
Photographed by John Vachon, November 1940.

A group of interested citizens from St. Louis formed a committee to raise funds to purchase the communities; however, before funding could be arranged, North Wyatt was sold in September 1945. With regard to this sale, there is some discrepancy in the available data. According to Towle, North Wyatt was the first group sold, leaving 549 homes to be purchased by the Delmo Housing Corporation. However, according to the Corporation records archived at Washington University, the Gobler Group (46 homes) was the first to be sold.

In the following sections of this report, all values are expressed in 1946-dollar amounts unless otherwise indicated. Values adjusted for inflation using the Consumer Price Index are included in parentheses. The St. Louis committee originally offered to buy all ten communities for \$143,224 (\$1,324,327). This price included the houses, land, and community property. This offer was rejected by the FSA. The FSA finally accepted a bid for \$285,000, which would equal approximately \$500-600 (\$4623) per home or roughly what the FSA's original construction cost had been. On December 18, 1945, the St. Louis committee was chartered as the Delmo Housing Corporation. Approximately \$80,000 was collected from private individuals and organizations to serve as a down payment. In addition, some of the Delmo families were able to make down payments of \$100 or more. Those that could not make a down payment were loaned \$50 to serve as down payment on their new home. Five hundred and forty-nine homes were purchased in December 1945; monthly payments of \$10.20 were started in January 1946. The tenth Delmo community was later purchased by the Delmo Housing Corporation in 1954.

Most of the Delmo communities are still readily recognizable from aerial photographs (Appendix B, Figures 18-26) and maps (Appendix C, Maps 9-16). However, two of the communities have virtually disappeared, and cannot be clearly distinguished: Gobler and

Kennett. Several of the communities are based on the same design as North Lilbourn (i.e. South Lilbourn, North Wyatt, and North Wardell). Others are based on a variation of that pattern (i.e. East Prairie, Morehouse). The remaining two communities are unique in design. The Grayridge Group was shaped into a flattened oval, and can be considered a further alteration of the Morehouse Group's "narrow-rectangle" shape. Consequently, its name was changed to Circle City. The South Wardell Group is the largest and certainly the most unique of all the Delmo communities, and bears no resemblance to any of the others. This community was built in the shape of a baseball diamond, even including what appears to be an infield, outfield, and "on-deck" circles.

The communities have also undergone various name changes. The Kennett Group was briefly called Independence Village before being annexed by the City of Kennett sometime before 1947. The North Wyatt Group appears as Wyatt Junction on the 1952 Wickliffe KY-MO-IL 15' Quad, and as its current name Wilson City on the 1969 Wyatt MO 7.5' Quad. The South Wardell Group is now called Homestown, and the Grayridge Group was renamed Circle City, for obvious reasons.

Numerous organizations have ties with the Delmo communities. Lincoln University has operated the Southeast Missouri 1890 Extension Program since 1992, with offices in South Lilbourn. A one-acre demonstration farm serves as a teaching facility for limited resource and minority farm families seeking economic self-sufficiency. Many families have received valuable hands-on training in crop management on the farm, which has helped them increase the profitability of their enterprise. The office also provides information and workshops on health, education, parenting and quality-of-life issues.

The North Lilbourn Group

The North Lilbourn Group contained 70 homes, and at 344 people, it had the largest population of any of the communities in 1947 (Steward 1947). In comparison, the population in 1990 was only 147 (1990 Federal Census). The community contained 59.83 acres with each lot having approximately 0.40 acres of land. Most sales were completed between March 18 and March 30, 1946. Down payments of \$100 (\$924) were received between August 1945 and January 1946. Towle notes that these payments were slower in coming than in any of the other communities. The initial sales were plotted on Staking Plan No. 1927 (FSA, USDA). Sales made after 1948 were plotted on Delmo Subdivision C, Plat Book 4, Page 29.

The files at in the Washington University Library Archives include (1) letters sent to homebuyers from Reverend Charles C. Wilson (Treasurer) congratulating them, and saying they were being lent the \$50 for down payments; 2) receipts for the \$100 down payments; 3) contracts (two contracts for those that completed the agreement; 4) copies of deeds and other correspondences. Deeds were sent on as early as January 1953 on through the end of 1954 when the contracts expired.

Newell Steward (1947) was commissioned to do a "social survey" of the communities. The survey was delayed and wasn't completed until 1947. Steward was appointed as the first Community Organizer on January 2, 1948. Based upon Steward's number of people and families

living in North Lilbourn, he apparently surveyed that group earlier, during the spring of 1946. This is because he records 62 families, which is the number of contracts signed by the end of March 1946. However, four additional contracts were signed between June and August 1946, bringing the total number of families up to 66.

Steward's survey included 55 families living in North Lilbourn. The average number of individuals in each home was 5.54; 189 people were included in the survey of North Lilbourn, including 129 adults and 60 children under the age of 18. Of the adults, 64 were men and 65 were women; the average age of the adults was 39.5 years. Of the families surveyed, 49 had gardens to grow their own food; 47 families had no form of transportation; 43 used ice for refrigeration, 2 had machines, and 10 had nothing; 38 canned food; 12 had fresh milk, 43 did not. The average income in North Lilbourn in 1946 was \$1200 (\$11,096). The average income for all the groups was also \$1200. The average income for African-Americans nationally was \$1094 (\$10,116) while the average income for white workers nationally was \$1604 (\$14,831). The U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, reports the national per capita income to have \$1260 (\$11,650) and the Missouri per capita income to have been \$1191 (\$11,012). The National Farm Labor Union had a local on the project. They participated in a program that sent workers to canning and packing plants in New Jersey for jobs. The pay for these jobs was \$0.65 (\$6.01) per hour. Overall, Steward believed that North Lilbourn had a good outlook under the right leadership.

Of the 129 adults surveyed, fifteen were attending grammar school, ten were attending high school, four had completed high school, one was enrolled in college, one had completed one year of college, one had completed two years of college, and three had received college degrees. Of the 60 children surveyed, ten were attending grammar school, thirteen were attending high school, one had completed high school, and two were attending college. Steward notes that of the seven adults attending college (from all groups), all were African-American. He also notes that 11 of 15 adults that had attended college previously were African-American.

The population of the town of Lilbourn, which lies immediately southeast of North Lilbourn along Route D, was approximately 1200 in 1947. The town had no industry and relied primarily on agricultural to support the community. Most adults in both Lilbourn and North Lilbourn were field hands. Steward was not optimistic about the prospects of both the town of Lilbourn and the South Lilbourn Group.

The 1990 Federal Census suggests that the North Lilbourn Group never lived up to the potential that Steward indicated in his report. The population in 1990 was 147 (62 male and 85 female). The community has remained predominately African-American, the median age was 26.3, and the average income was \$11,330 (\$15,174). In comparison, the Bureau of Economic Analysis indicates the average per capita income nationwide in 1990 was \$19,584 (\$26,228) and the average per capita income in Missouri in 1990 was \$17,751 (\$23,773). This information is reiterated in Table 2, which clearly illustrates the impoverished condition in which the residents of North Lilbourn live.

EVALUATION OF SIGNIFICANCE

Criteria for Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places

To be eligible for listing on the NRHP, a property must be significant; it must represent a significant part of the history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, or culture of an area, and it must have the characteristics that make it a good representative of properties associated with that aspect of the past. The significance of a historic property can be evaluated only within its historic context. Historic context is information about historic trends and properties grouped by an important theme in the prehistory or history of a community, state, or the nation during a particular period of time.

Table 2. Changes in per capita income between 1946 and 1990, adjusted for inflation.

Survey Area	1946 Income	1990 Income	Percent Change
North Lilbourn	\$11,096	\$15,174	36.7%
Missouri	\$11,012	\$23,773	115.8%
Nationwide	\$11,650	\$26,228	125.1%

The period of significance for the North Lilbourn Group is from 1940 to 1954, incorporating periods of ownership by both the Delmo Farm Labor Homes Project (1940-1945) and the Delmo Housing Corporation (1946-1954). The start date is the inception of the Delmo Farm Labor Homes Project and the construction of the first houses in North Lilbourn. The end date is determined by the end of the original purpose of the Delmo Housing Corporation. The sales contracts signed by each of the residents of North Lilbourn in 1946 were due to expire in 1954, though many contracts were satisfied as much as a year earlier. Although the Corporation still had a function (i.e. managing community property, selling the remaining lots), the original impetus ended by 1954.

The property is significant under Criterion A in the area of Social History. The property is associated with the Roadside Demonstration, the rise of agricultural labor unions, and the social activism of the New Deal. The North Lilbourn Group stands as a good example of the Delmo communities, and appears to have maintained its integrity in terms of layout to a greater degree than most of the other groups. Although Circle City and Homestown also appear to have integrity, they may not be the best examples since they do not share they common layout.

Proposed District Boundaries

The selection of boundaries is a judgment based on the nature of the property's significance, integrity, and physical setting. The boundaries define the extent of the eligible resources, but exclude additional, peripheral areas that do not directly contribute to the property's significance. Areas that have lost integrity should be excluded when they are at the periphery of the eligible resources. If they are small and within the resources, they must be included as noncontributing resources. Districts may include noncontributing resources, such as altered

buildings or buildings constructed before or after the period of significance. Factors that should be considered are integrity, setting and landscape features, use, and research potential

A determination should take into account modern legal boundaries, historic boundaries, natural features, cultural features, and the distribution of resources as determined by survey and testing. Owner objections may affect the listing of the entire property, but not the identification of the boundaries. If owners object, the property may be determined eligible for the National Register but not listed (Andrus 1995; Seifert 1995).

The boundaries of the proposed district are based primarily on the 1948 plat (Map 4). Other documents consulted include the 1991 County Assessor plat (Map 5), the 1971 U.S.G.S 7.5' topographic map (Appendix C, Figure 13), the 1954 U.S.G.S. 15' topographic map (Appendix C, Figure 14), and a 1968 aerial photograph (Figure 3). The eastern boundary follows Drainage Ditch No. 46 and the section line; the southern boundary follows Drainage Ditch No. 45 and the section line. While not based on existing ditches or section lines, the northern and western boundaries are readily visible on the 1948 and 1991 plats, as well as the 1968 aerial photograph. In fact, the boundaries of the community do not appear to have changed any since being established in 1940. Therefore, the boundaries for the proposed district should remain the same as the current legal boundaries of the village of North Lilbourn as indicated on the 1991 County Assessor plat.

Comparison with Similar Communities

The RA and FSA (Resettlement Division) built a large number of homes and communities during the 1930s in an attempt to offset the effects of the Great Depression. Examples of these projects include La Forge in Southeast Missouri, the Labor Homes in Thornton, California, and the Greentown Project.

An examination of some of the other Labor Home Groups reveal houses and communities very similar to the Delmo Groups. The layout of the Thornton Labor Homes Group (Map 6) is essentially identical to the layout of North Lilbourn, including the characteristic loop in one corner of the community. The Labor Homes themselves were pre-fabricated in factories before being assembled on site, as were the Delmo homes. The FSA/OWI Photograph Collection includes hundreds of photographs detailing the construction Labor Homes at La Forge, from initial construction in the factories to loading trucks for transport to assembly in the field.

The other communities differed in some respects, however. Many of them were significantly larger than the Delmo Groups: the Thornton Group for example contained 200 units whereas the largest Delmo Groups had only 80 homes. While the Delmo Groups all had a community building, which provided laundry and kitchen facilities as well as a public meeting place, La Forge had a cooperative store. Finally, while the Delmo Groups were segregated, La Forge had both white and African-American families from the beginning.

DESCRIPTION OF LANDS PLATTED

The S½ of the NE¼ of the SW¼ & the SE¼ of the SW¼ of Sec. 26, T 23 N, R 13 E of the 5th DM., Containing 59.83 acres, more or less, & subject to all drainage ditch & legal highway rights of way.

SURVEYORS CERTIFICATE

I hereby certify that the survey of the lands shown hereon was made under my supervision and is correct as shown.

HARVEY & PETERMAN
Signed - Glen A. Peterman
Surveyor

DEDICATION

The undersigned owner of the tract of land described in the above surveyors certificate has caused said tract to be surveyed & to be subdivided in the manner as shown on the above plat, which said subdivision is hereby to be known as DELMO SUBDIVISION "C." The streets, avenues, alleys and walkways laid out in said subdivision, and for better identification etched on the above plat, are hereby dedicated to public use forever.

I witness: whereof the Delmo Housing Corporation has caused these presents to be signed by its president, and countersigned by its secretary and its corporate seal to be hereto attached this 25th day of January, 1948.

DELMO HOUSING CORPORATION
Signed - HENRY V. PUTZEL
president

Attest: Dorothy Hellege
secretary



“ CITY of ST. LOUIS }
STATE of MISSOURI } SS

On this 23rd day of January, 1948, before me appeared Henry V. Putzel, to me personally known, who being duly sworn, did say that he is the President of the Delmo Housing Corporation, and that the seal affixed to said instrument is the corporate seal of said corporation, and that said instrument was signed and sealed in behalf of said corporation by authority of its board of directors and said Henry V. Putzel acknowledged said instrument to be the free act and deed of said corporation.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my official seal at St. Louis, Missouri, the day and year first above written.

My term expires March 7, 1951

Signed - Shirley M. Mandel
notary public



Approved May 3, 1948

Signed O.R. Rhodes
presiding judge
county court
New Madrid county

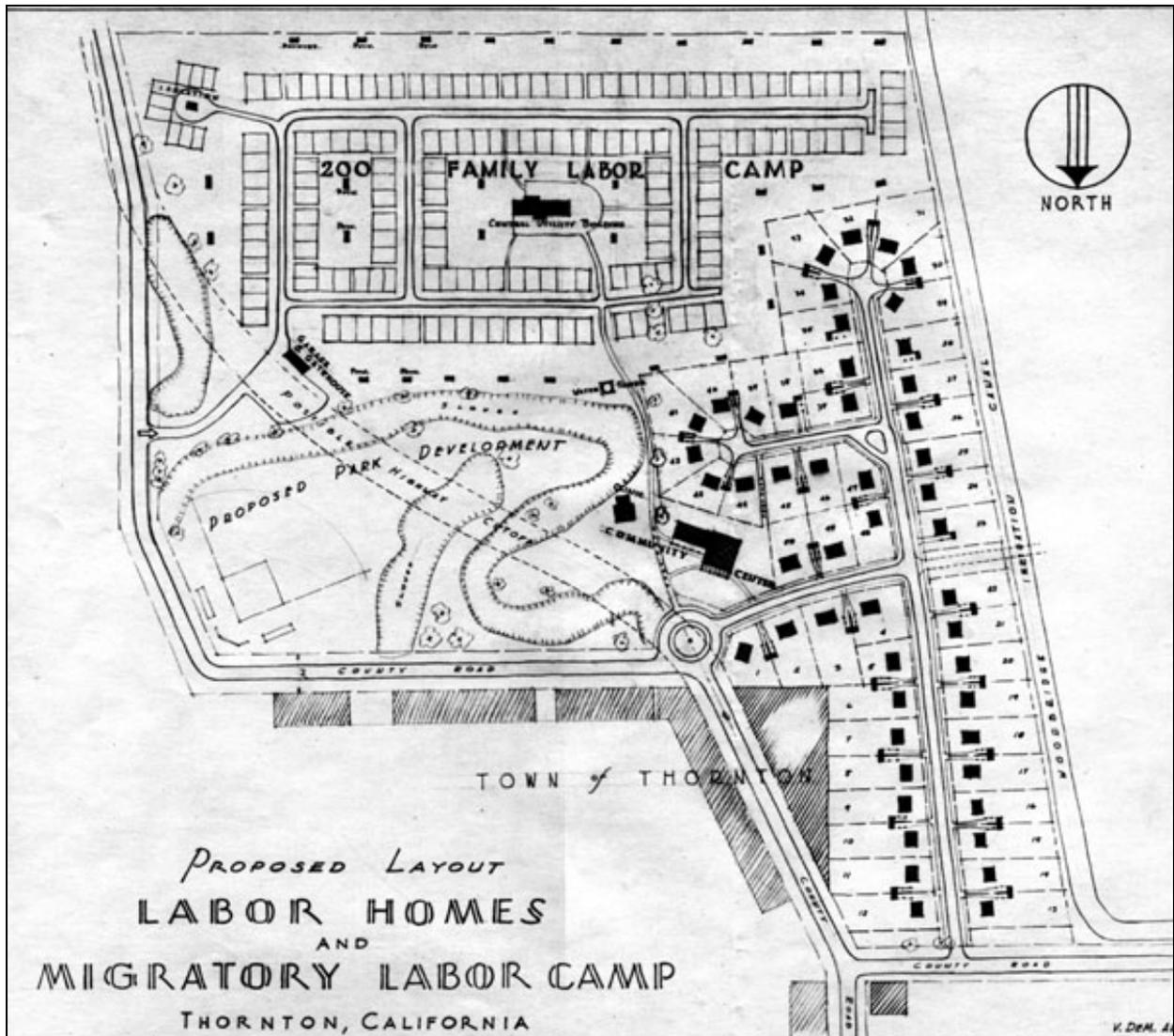
Filed for Record
at 4 O'clock 30 min P.M.
May 17, 1948
Signed Howard A. Fletcher recorder
New Madrid county



Map 5. The 1991 County Assessor's plat for the village of North Lilbourn.



Figure 3. A 1968 aerial photograph of the North Lilbourn Group.



Map 6. Engineering plan for a proposed Labor Homes Project in Thornton, California.

The Greentown communities were designed and constructed by the RA in the mid-1930s, and were unlike any of the other resettlement projects. The initial plans called for the construction of 25 planned communities. Unlike the Labor Homes, these were to be self-sufficient cities, complete with utilities, businesses, schools, parks and local government. Eventually, four cities were budgeted; however, only three cities were built: Greenbelt, Maryland; Greendale, Wisconsin; and Greenhills, Ohio. The total budget for the three Greentown communities was approximately \$34,000,000. Construction began on Greenhills on December 16, 1935 and the first residents moved in on April 1, 1938. Construction on Greenbelt also began in 1935 with the first residents moving in on October 1, 1937. Construction on Greendale began in 1936 with the first residents moving in on May 1, 1938. When the FSA was created in 1937, it assumed responsibility for the project. In 1952, Congress voted to sell the Greentown communities.

A search of the NRHP database indicates that the Greenhills Historic District was listed on the NRHP on January 12, 1989; the Prince George's Greenbelt Historic District was listed on the Register on November 25, 1980. There are no other planned communities or projects developed by the RA or FSA listed on the NRHP.

POTENTIAL EFFECTS

Architecture and Community Design

The properties along the project area are denoted by the lot numbers indicated on the 1948 and 1991 plats. There are eight lots that will be impacted by the proposed project: Lots 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 52, and 54 (Maps 5-6, Figure 3). Within Lot 1, 0.024 ha (0.060 acre) of land will be required for a temporary construction easement. In addition, 0.189 ha (0.467 acre) of land has been purchased from the other seven lots to be used for additional right-of-way. However, since the time of purchase, the project plans have been adjusted negating the need for additional right-of-way. For that reason, the land purchased from Lots 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 52, and 54 will be returned to the original owners at the conclusion of the project. The land will not be used in any manner during the construction, and will not be directly affected by the project. Architectural photographs are provided in Appendix D, Figures 27-45.

Lot 73 (William Jackson):

This lot did not contain one of the original 70 houses constructed by the FSA. Additionally, the lot was not among the sales contracts for the original home sales by the Delmo Housing Corporation. The County Assessor's office records that the existing house was built in 1948 and remodeled in 1972. However, the 1954 U.S.G.S. topographic map does not show any structures in this location. The lot size is 0.139 ha (0.343 acres). No land has been purchased for new right-of-way, and the property will not be impacted.

Lot 1 (Simon S. Thomas):

The records of the County Assessor's office indicate the existing house was built in 1950, remodeled in 1992, and was not one of the original Delmo homes. However, as with Lot 73, the 1954 topographic map does not show this structure. The 1968 aerial photograph of North Lilbourn shows the location of two houses on Lot 1, one facing Liberty Street and the other facing Route D. One of the traits of the Labor Homes Groups is that the houses are focused inward, not away. Even though the existing house was constructed during the formative years of the Delmo Housing Corporation, it is the original layout as established by the FSA in 1940 and as acquired by the Delmo Housing Corporation in 1946 that is significant. The existing house faces Route D, violating the community design. The house on Lot 1 literally has its back turned on the rest of the community. Because of this design alteration, the house on Lot 1 is not a contributing element to the proposed district. The lot size is 0.193 ha (0.477 acres). The project design requires approximately 0.024 ha (0.060 acres) to be used for a temporary construction easement.

Lot 3 (J.W. Moore and Laura Lee Moore):

The existing house was built in 1954, after the property was purchased from the Delmo Housing Corporation. The house was remodeled in 1968, significantly altering its original appearance. The existing house was built after the property was sold by the Delmo Housing Corporation and deeded to Z. D. and Bettie Wheaten. The original lot size was 0.187 ha (0.463 acres) and 0.047 ha (0.116 acres) has been purchased for right-of-way.

Lot 5 (Evelena Strickland):

The original 1940 house is no longer extant. The lot now contains a 1974 mobile home; a carport was added in 1995. The original lot size was 0.188 ha (0.464 acres). 0.046 ha (0.114 acres) has been purchased for right-of-way.

Lot 6 (Joe Henry Thomas):

The original 1940 house is no longer extant; the house burned in 1998 and the lot is now vacant. 0.041 ha (0.102 acres) has been purchased for right-of-way.

Lot 7 (T.L. Clark and Bernice Clark):

The existing house was built in 1940, and is one of the original houses constructed by the FSA. The house has been modified, with new siding, shutters, and roof. The original lot size was 0.187 ha (0.463 acres) and 0.032 ha (0.079 acres) has been purchased for right-of-way.

Lot 8 (Minnie Ruth Marsh):

This property is still deeded to the original owner; however, the original house is no longer extant and the lot is now vacant. The lot size is 0.183 ha (0.452 acres). No land has been purchased for new right-of-way, and the property will not be impacted.

Lot 9 (Fannie Holmes James):

The original 1940 house is no longer extant. The lot is now vacant. The original lot size was 0.182 ha (0.449 acres). 0.016 ha (0.039 acres) has been purchased for right-of-way.

Lot 58 (Sammy Moore and Maxine Moore):

The original 1940 house is no longer extant. There are two mobiles on the lot currently. The lot size is 0.184 ha (0.455 acres). No land has been purchased for new right-of-way, and the property will not be impacted.

Lot 56 (Charles Reed and Sarah Ann Reed):

The existing house was built in 1940, and is still owned by the family of the original owner. The lot size is 0.186 ha (0.459 acres). No new land will be purchased for new right-of-way, and the property will not be impacted.

Lot 54 (Johnnie Long):

The original 1940 house is no longer extant. The existing house was constructed in 1948. The original lot size was 0.182 ha (0.450 acres). 0.004 ha (0.011 acres) has been purchased for right-of-way.

Lot 52 (Jannie B. Anderson):

The original 1940 house is no longer extant. The existing house was constructed in 1948. The original lot size was 0.181 ha (0.447 acres). 0.002 ha (0.006 acres) has been purchased for right-of-way.

A survey was taken of the houses between Liberty Street and Route D to determine how many of the original houses built by the FSA and purchased by the Delmo Housing Corporation still exist (Tables 3 and 4). Of the 18 lots examined, three currently have houses that were definitely constructed by the FSA (ca. 1940) and two other lots have houses that may have been constructed by the FSA (ca. 1943). Some of these dates are suspect, though. One house has a construction date of 1939, but construction for the project did not begin until 1940. Two houses have a construction date of 1943, but the Delmo construction ended in 1941. These two houses may have been constructed ca. 1940, or just as easily, they may have been constructed by the Delmo Housing Corporation (ca. 1946). The early homes built by the Corporation (especially during the late-1940s) were fashioned after the FSA homes, and so it is difficult to distinguish the two without a more detailed examination. There is enough variation among the FSA homes to mask the differences between the Corporation and FSA homes. Four additional houses were built while the Delmo Housing Corporation still held the deeds to the property (1946-1954) and one was built at approximately the time the property was deeded to the new owner (ca. 1954). Of the remaining lots, five are currently vacant, and three have mobile homes on them. A comparison of the 1968 aerial photograph and records of the County Assessor's office suggest that of the original 70 homes constructed by the FSA, a maximum of 35 houses remain.

At the time this report was prepared, the results of the 2000 Federal Census were not available; for that reason data from the 1990 Federal Census was used. The Census records that in 1990, there were 65 houses in North Lilbourn, 55 of which were occupied. Of these homes, 13 were built in 1939 or earlier, and 24 were built during the 1940s. The median construction date was 1948. No construction took place from 1985 to 1990. As with the County Assessor's records, these dates are suspect. Since the FSA did not begin construction until 1940, there are no structures built in 1939 or earlier in North Lilbourn. Therefore, those 13 homes with a 1939 date were probably constructed in 1940. What the Census data does indicate is of the 70 homes built in 1940, approximately 37 still existed in 1990 (Appendix F, Table 5).

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The North Lilbourn community should be considered eligible for listing on the NRHP under Criterion A: Social History. The establishment of this community in 1940 was an important result of the politics of the New Deal and the rising power of agricultural labor unions. It was also a result of one of the earliest acts of civil disobedience. In addition, the formative years of the Delmo Housing Corporation are important for social, political and economic reasons.

MoDOT Job No. J0S0349B will impact the proposed district by altering the lot boundaries of seven lots, using a portion of one lot for temporary easement, moving the highway further south within the proposed district boundaries, and purchasing land south of Route D to be used as new right-of-way. The district boundaries will remain the same, although MoDOT will own a larger portion of the property than before. This will be mitigated by returning unneeded right-of-way back to the original owners at the conclusion of the project.

Table 3. Construction dates for houses on Liberty Street, North Lilbourn.

Lot #	Parcel #	Date of construction	Description
73	32	1948	Delmo Housing Corporation
1	33	1950	Delmo Housing Corporation
3	34	1954	Post-Delmo Housing Corporation
5	35	1974	Mobile home
6	36	-	Vacant
7	37	1940	FSA
8	38	-	Vacant
9	39	-	Vacant
58	40	1972/1974	2 mobile homes
56	41	1940	FSA
54	42	1948	Delmo Housing Corporation
52	43	1948	Delmo Housing Corporation
50	44	1939	FSA (date is questionable)
49	45	-	Vacant
48	46	-	Vacant
47	47	1978	Mobile home
46	48	1943	FSA (date is questionable)
45	49	1943	FSA (date is questionable)

Table 4. Ownership of homes on Liberty Street, North Lilbourn.

Lot #	Original owner	Current owner
73	No sales contract	William Jackson
1	Percy Thomas	Simon S. Thomas
3	Z.D. and Bettie Wheaten	J. W. Moore and Laura Lee Moore
5	Tommie and Rebecca Hamilton	Evelena Strickland
6	Ester D. and Gladys Clark	Joe Henry Thomas
7	Willie L. and Sallie Lee Echols	T. L. Clark and Bernice Clark
8	Ruben and Minnie Marsh	Minnie Ruth Marsh
9	L. D. and Lizzie Lewis	Fannie Homes James
58	Floyd A. and Lillie Dell Jones	Sammy Moore and Maxine Moore
56	Mary Ide Reed	Charles Reed and Sarah Ann Reed
54	M.J. Glaney and Katie Kirk	Johnnie Long, et. al
52	Lillie P. Thomas	Jannie B. Anderson

The proposed MoDOT project will not adversely affect any historic properties. It is the recommendation of this report that this project proceed as planned and that no additional cultural resources work be done in connection with the project.

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APPENDIX A

The FSA/OWI Photographic Collection



Figure 4. *New Madrid spillway where evicted sharecroppers were moved from highway, New Madrid County, Missouri. Photographed by Arthur Rothstein, January 1939.*



Figure 5. *Evicted sharecroppers along Highway 60, New Madrid County, Missouri. Photographed by Arthur Rothstein, January 1939.*



Figure 6. *Farm unit at Southeast Missouri Farms, New Madrid County, Missouri. Photographed by Arthur Rothstein, January 1939.*



Figure 7. *State highway officials moving sharecroppers away from roadside to area between levee and Mississippi River, New Madrid County, Missouri. Photographed by Arthur Rothstein, January 1939.*



Figure 8. *State highway officials moving sharecroppers away from roadside to area between the levee and the Mississippi River, New Madrid County, Missouri.* Photographed by Arthur Rothstein, January 1939.



Figure 9. *State highway officials moving sharecroppers from roadside to area between levee and Mississippi River, New Madrid County, Missouri.* Photographed by Arthur Rothstein, January 1939.



Figure 10. *Laundry room, utility building, Southeast Missouri.* Photographed by John Vachon, 1941.



Figure 11. *Front view, utility building, Wyatt unit. Southeast Missouri.* Photographed by John Vachon, 1941.



Figure 12. *Southeast Missouri Farms. New farm home at La Forge project, Missouri.*
Photographed by Russell Lee, May 1938.



Figure 13. *Interior of group labor home at Grayridge, New Madrid County, Missouri.*
Photographed by John Vachon, November 1940.



Figure 14. *One of the group labor homes. Morehouse group. New Madrid County, Missouri. Photographed by John Vachon, November 1940.*



Figure 15. *Utility building and some of the houses at Morehouse group of labor homes. New Madrid County, Missouri. Photographed by John Vachon, November 1940.*



Figure 16. *One of the scattered labor homes built by FSA (Farm Security Administration) at a cost of five hundred dollars. New Madrid County, Missouri. Photographed by John Vachon, November 1940.*



Figure 17. *Group labor homes. Grayridge, New Madrid County, Missouri. Photographed by John Vachon, November 1940.*

APPENDIX B

Aerial Photographs of the Delmo Communities



Figure 18. The Grayridge Group in Stoddard County. Renamed Circle City. Aerial photograph taken 12/5/97.



Figure 19. The North Wyatt Group in Mississippi County. Renamed Wilson City. Aerial photograph taken 4/6/98.



Figure 20. The East Prairie Group in Mississippi County. Aerial photograph taken 12/8/97.



Figure 21. The Morehouse Group in New Madrid County. Aerial photograph taken 12/3/97.



Figure 22. The North Wardell Group in Pemiscot County. Aerial photograph taken 4/1/96.



Figure 23. The Gobler Group in Dunklin County. Aerial photograph taken 4/10/96.



Figure 24. The South Wardell Group in Pemiscot County. Aerial photograph taken 4/1/96.



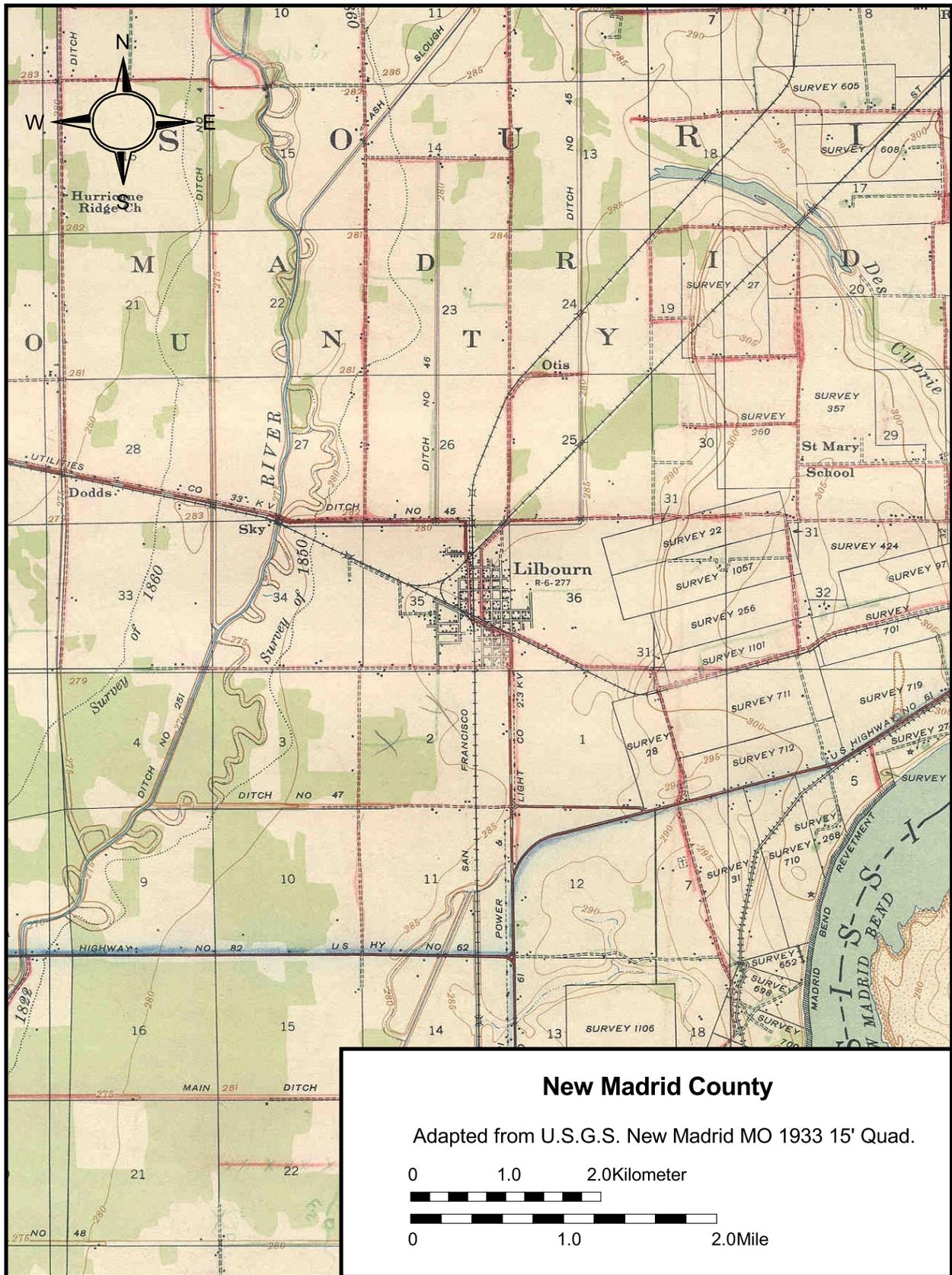
Figure 25. Possible location of the Kennett Group in Dunklin County. Aerial photograph taken 2/2/94.



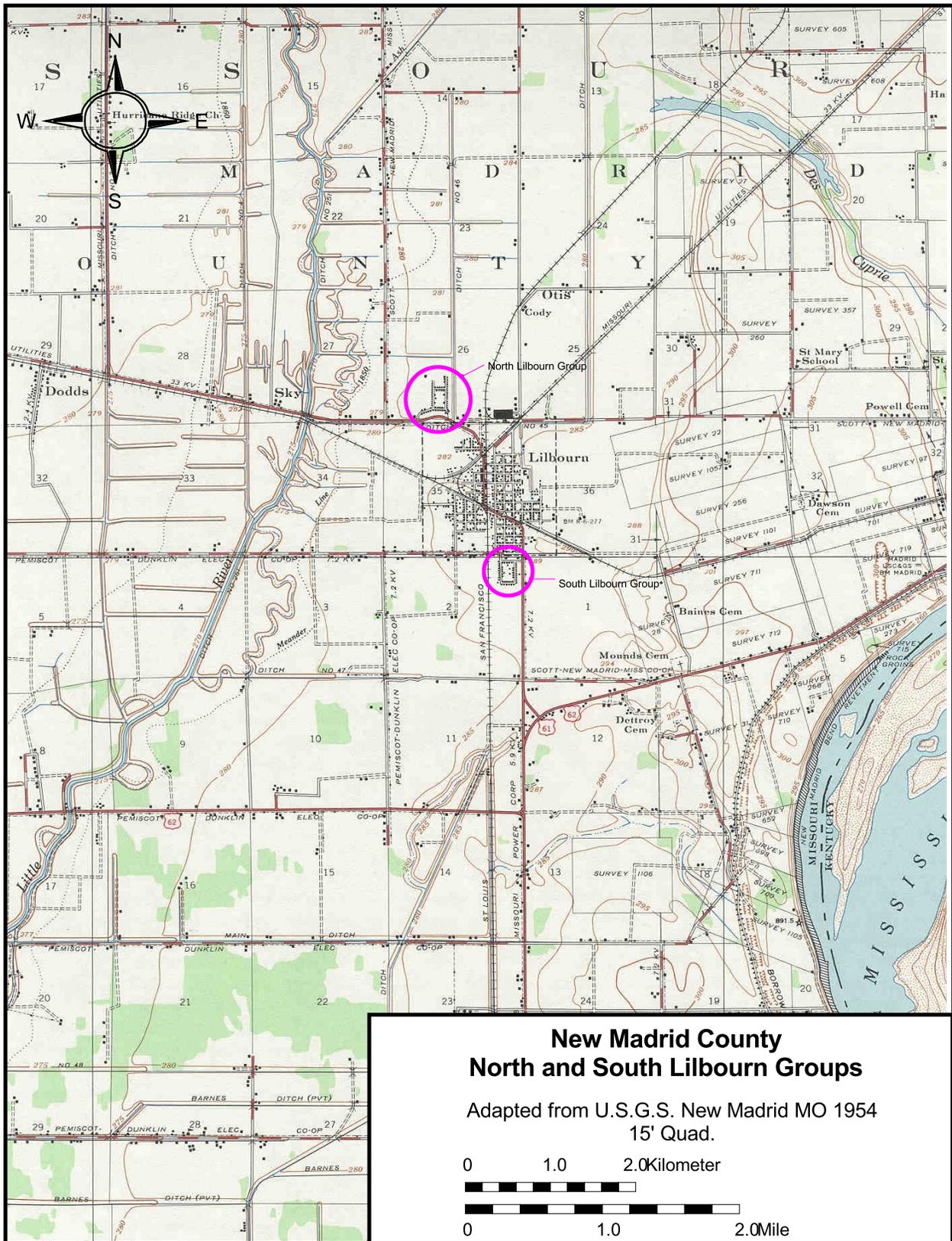
Figure 26. The South Lilbourn Group in New Madrid County. Aerial photograph taken 12/3/90.

APPENDIX C

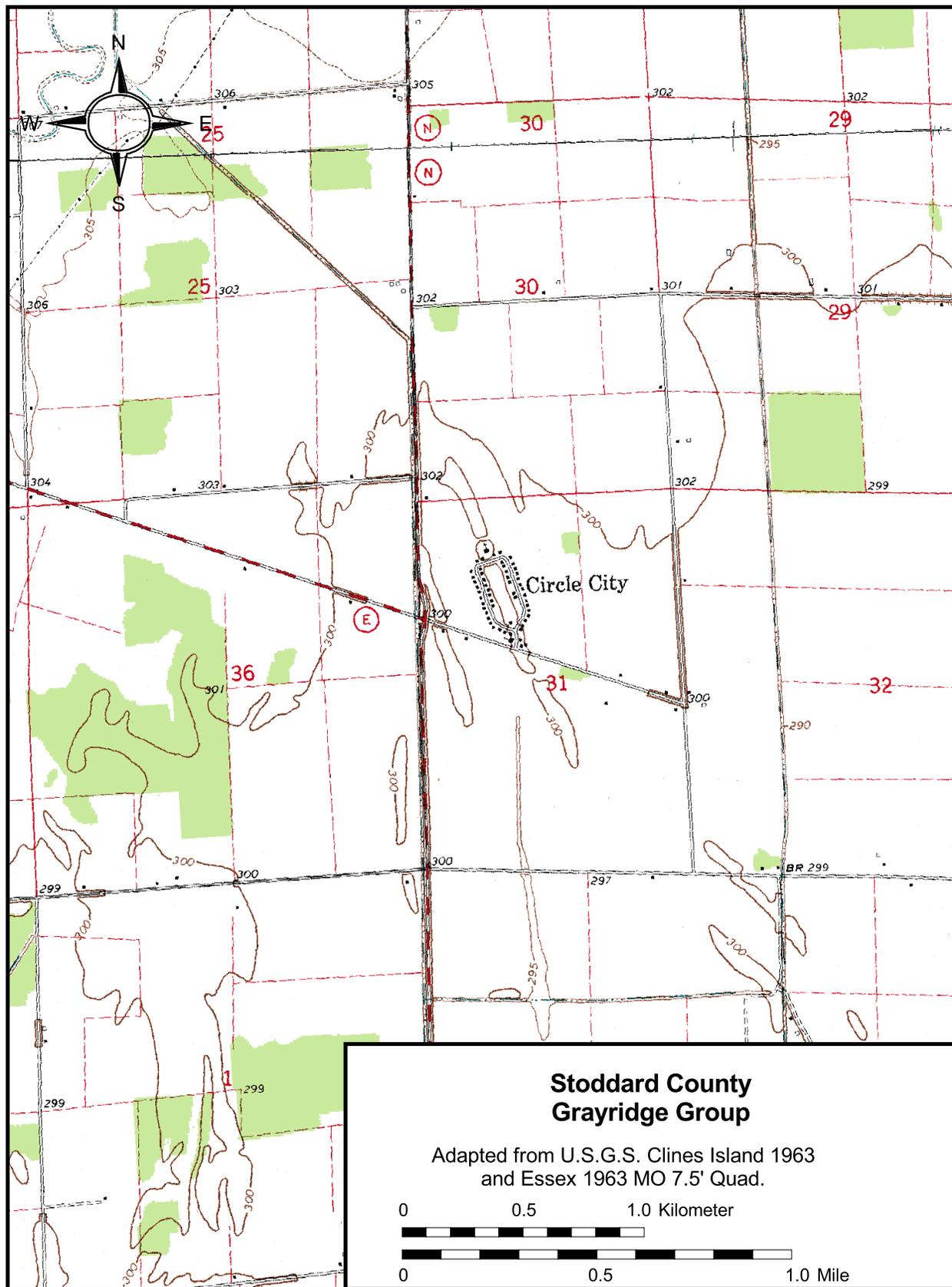
**Topographic Maps Showing Locations
of the Delmo Communities**



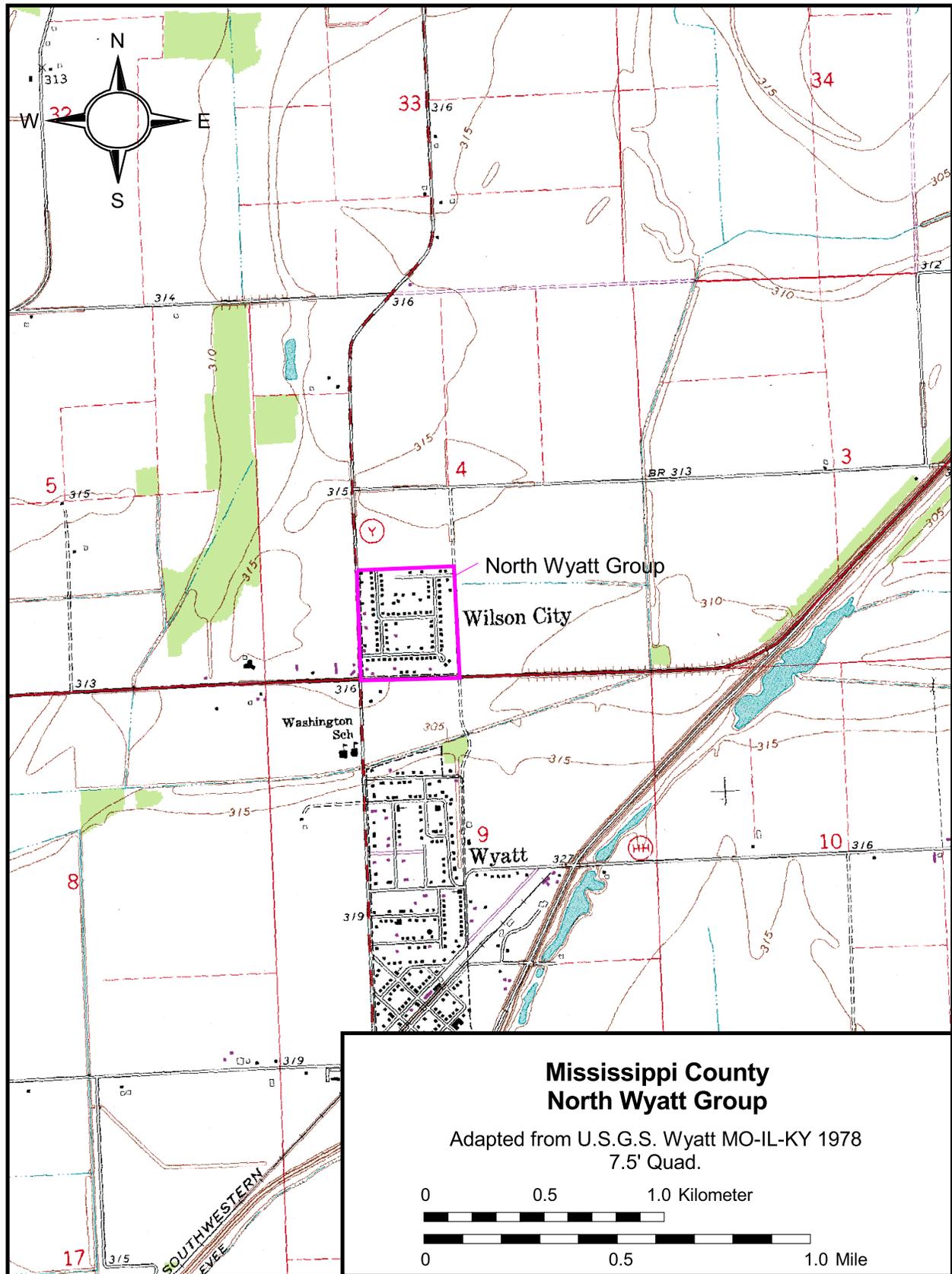
Map 7. The 1933 New Madrid 15' topographic map showing the location of Lilbourn.



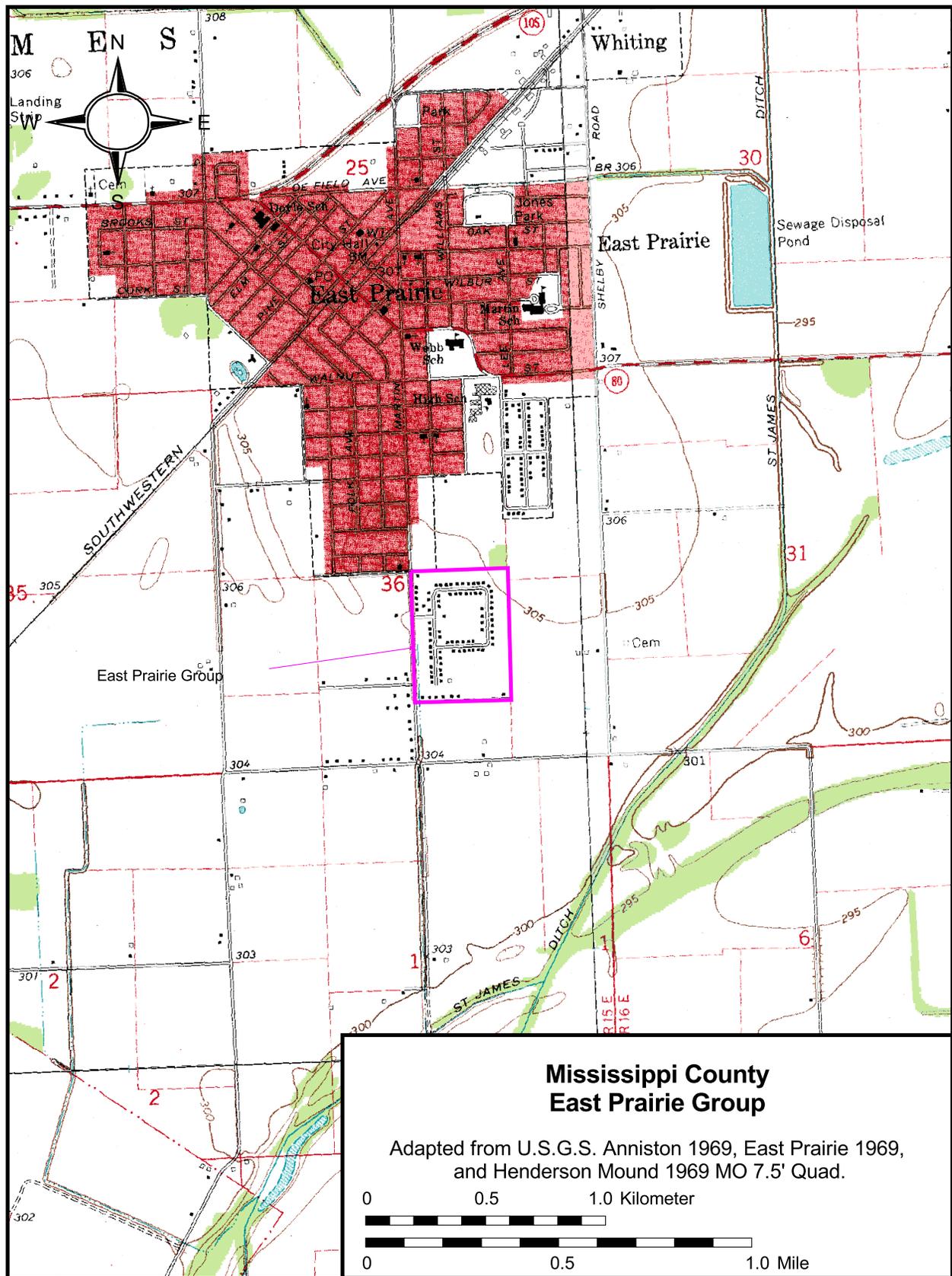
Map 8. The 1954 New Madrid 15' topographic map showing the locations of the North and South Lilbourn Groups.



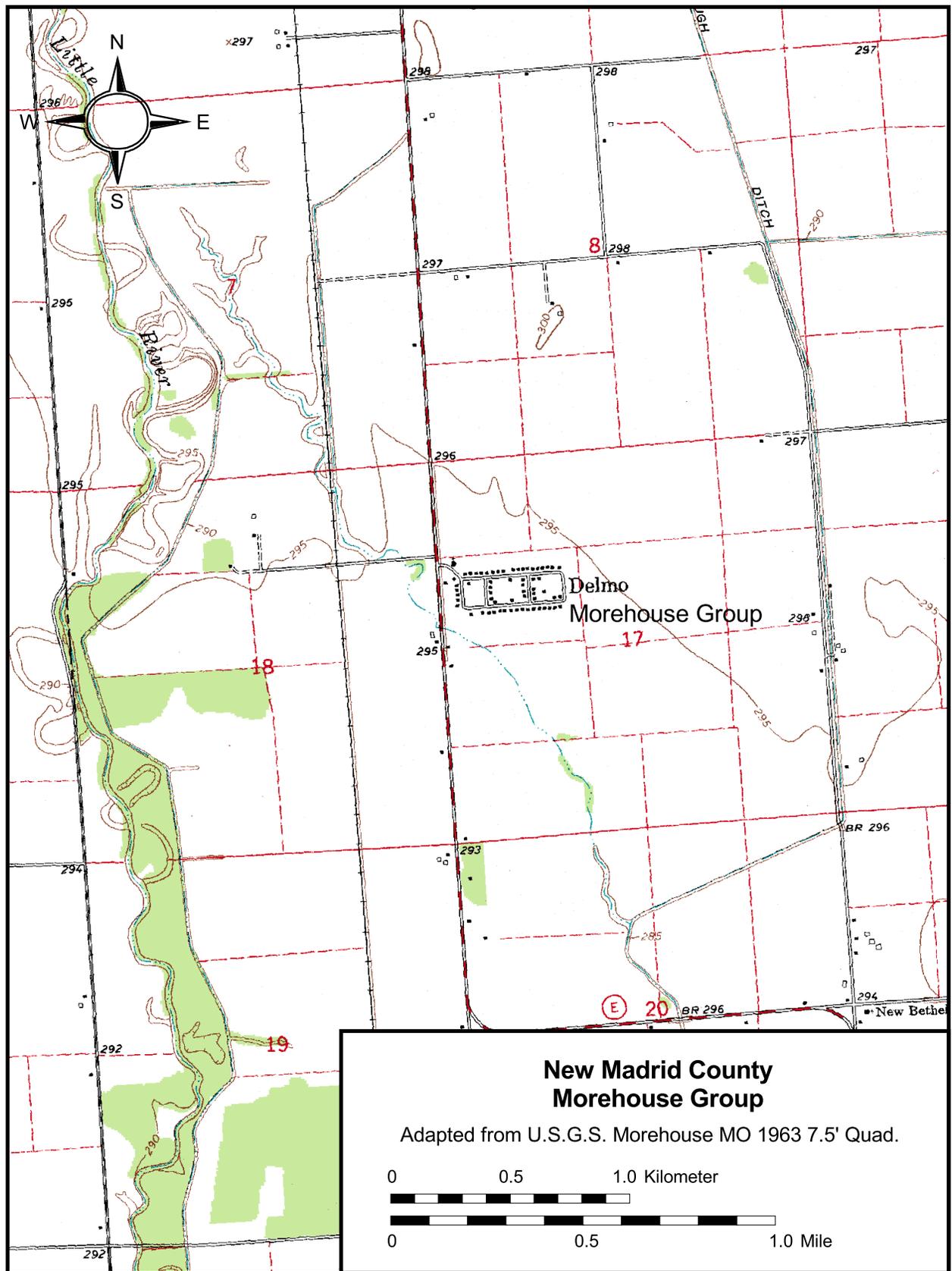
Map 9. Topographic map showing the location of the Grayridge Group (Circle City).



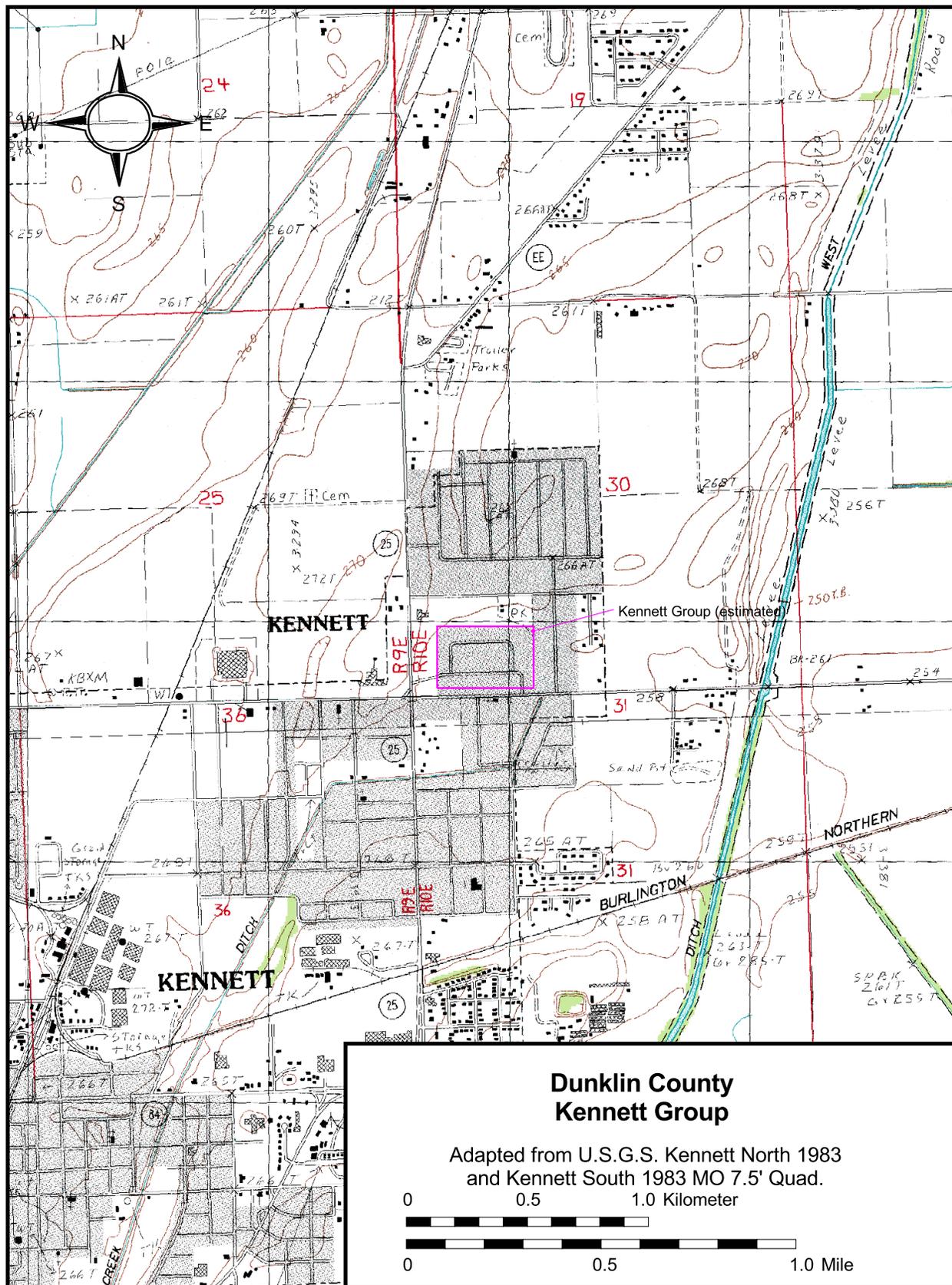
Map 10. Topographic map showing the location of the North Wyatt Group (Wilson City).



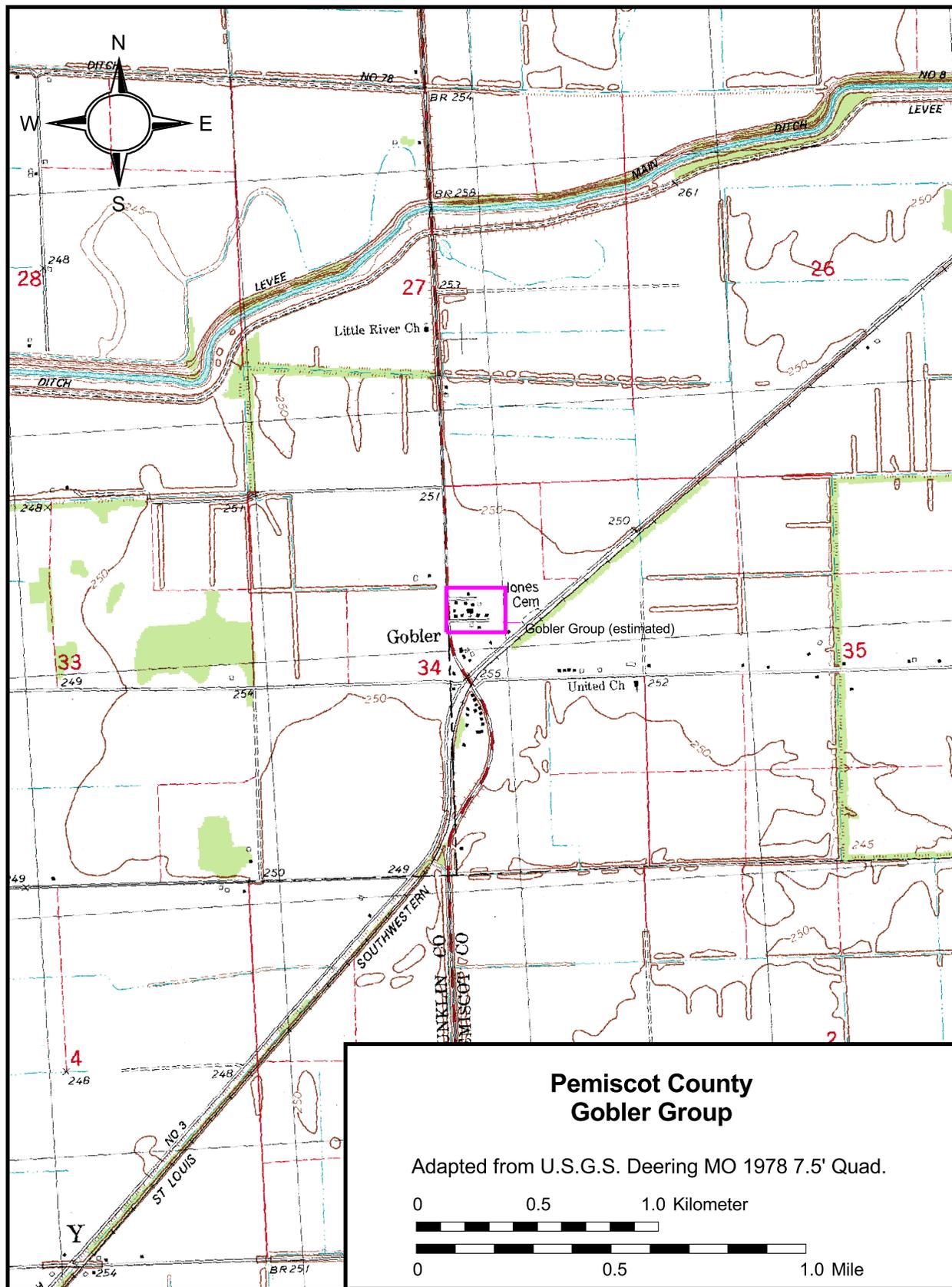
Map 11. Topographic map showing the location of the East Prairie Group.



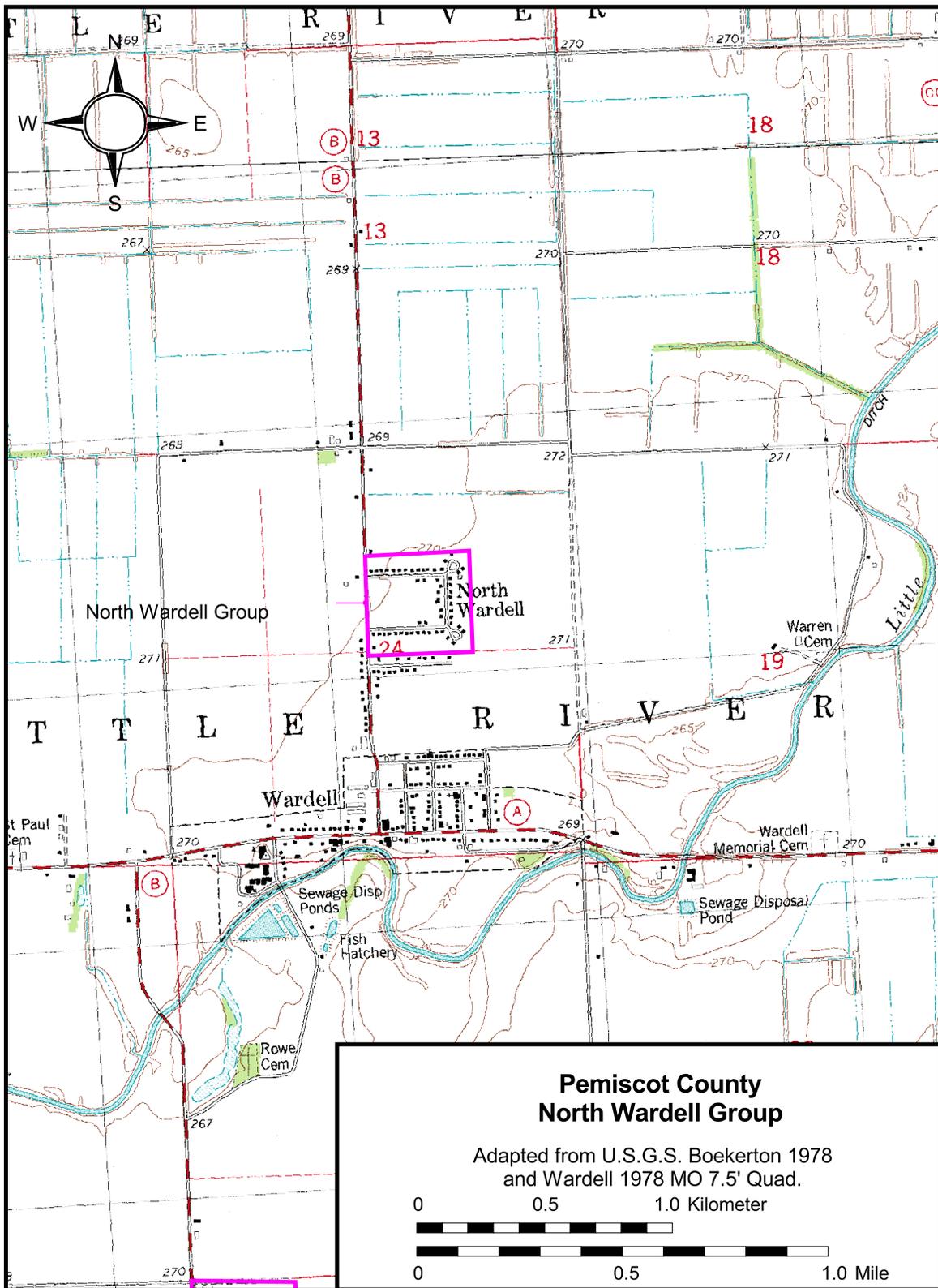
Map 12. Topographic map showing the location of the Morehouse Group.



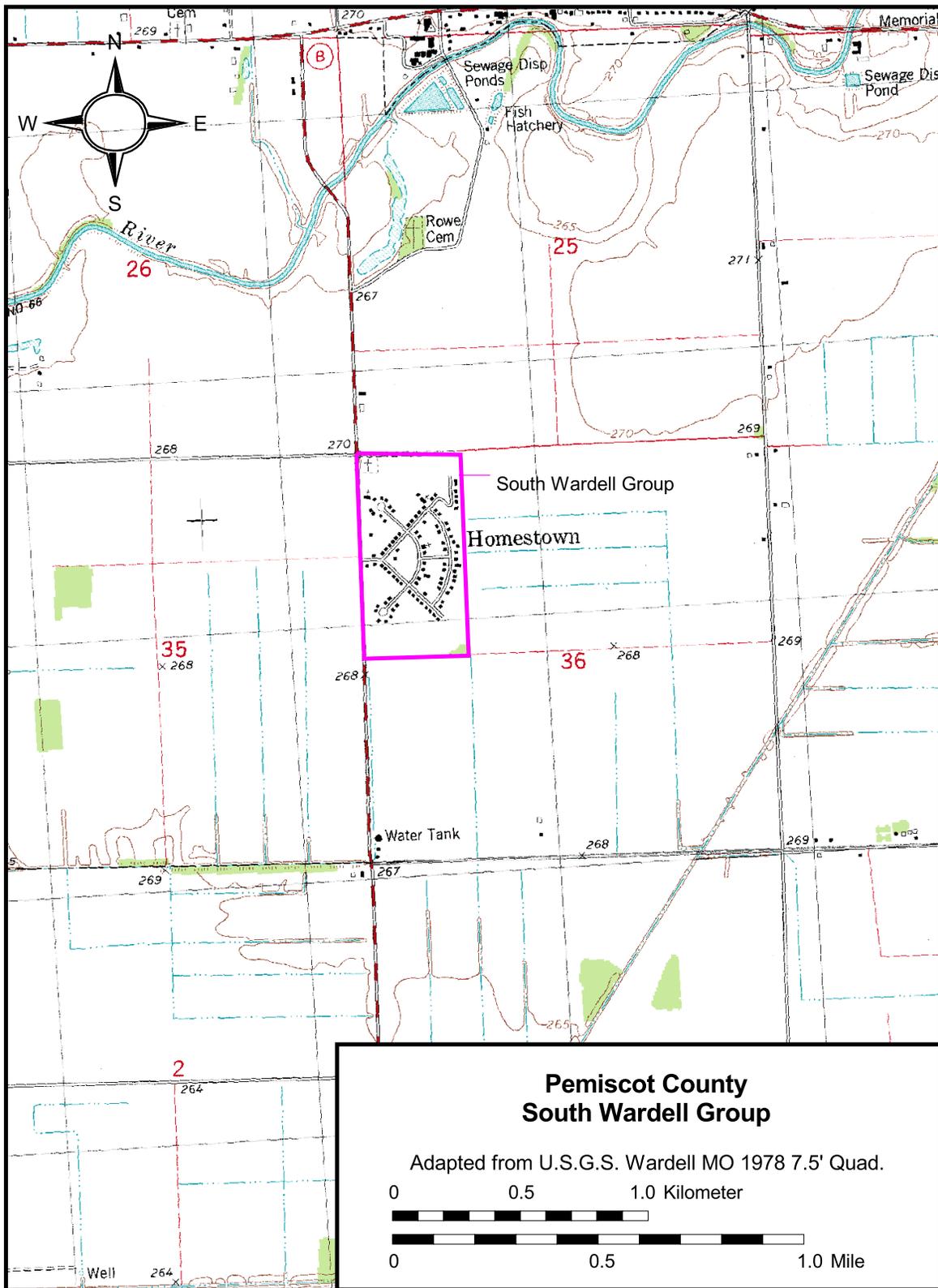
Map 13. Topographic map showing the estimated location of the Kennett Group.



Map 14. Topographic map showing the estimated location of the Gobler Group.



Map 15. Topographic map showing the location of the North Wardell Group.



Map 16. Topographic map showing the location of the South Wardell Group (Homestown).

APPENDIX D
Architectural Photographs



Figure 27. The house on Lot 73, built ca. 1948. The photograph was taken in March 1999, viewing north from Route D.



Figure 28. The house on Lot 1, built ca. 1950. The photograph was taken in March 1999, viewing northwest from Route D.



Figure 29. The house on Lot 3, built ca. 1954. The photograph was taken in March 1999, viewing north from Route D.



Figure 30. The trailer on Lot 5, built ca. 1974. The photograph was taken in March 1999, viewing north from Route D.



Figure 31. The house on Lot 7, built in 1940. The photograph was taken in January 2001, viewing southeast from Liberty Street.



Figure 32. The house on Lot 7. The photograph was taken in March 1999, viewing north from Route D.



Figure 33. The house on Lot 8. The photograph was taken in March 1999, viewing north from Route D. The lot is now vacant.



Figure 34. The house on Lot 9. The photograph was taken in March 1999, viewing north from Route D. The lot is now vacant.



Figure 35. The remains of the house on Lot 9. The photograph was taken in August 1999, viewing southeast from Liberty Street.



Figure 36. The trailer on Lot 58, built ca. 1972. The photograph was taken in March 1999, viewing north from Route D.



Figure 37. The house on Lot 56, built in 1940. The photograph was taken in January 2001, viewing southwest from Liberty Street.



Figure 38. The house on Lot 56. The photograph was taken in March 1999, viewing northwest from Route D.



Figure 39. The house on Lot 54, built ca. 1948. The photograph was taken in March 1999, viewing north from Route D.



Figure 40. The house on Lot 52, built ca. 1948. The photograph was taken in March 1999, viewing north from Route D.



Figure 41. The house on Lot 52. The photograph was taken in August 1999, viewing southwest from Liberty Street.



Figure 42. The house on Lot 50, built ca. 1939. The photograph was taken in March 1999, viewing north from Route D.



Figure 43. The house on Lot 50. The photograph was taken in August 1999, viewing southwest from Liberty Street.



Figure 44. The trailer on Lot 47, built ca. 1978. The photograph was taken in March 1999, viewing northwest from Route D.



Figure 45. The house on Lot 46, built ca. 1943. The photograph was taken in March 1999, viewing northeast from Route D.

APPENDIX E

**Original Landowners of the North Lilbourn Group Homes
(Based on sales contracts with the Delmo Housing Corporation)**

Table 5. The original landowners of the North Lillbourn Group homes^a.

Lot #	Name (on sales contract)	Sales date ^b	Name on deed	Deed date ^c	Notes	Receipt ^d
1	Percy Thomas	March, 1946			Died; estate to Simon Thomas (brother); no deed	Yes
2	King H. Nunn III and Helen Nunn	March, 1946		February 17, 1954		No
3	Z.D. and Bettie Wheaten	March, 1946		February 4, 1954		Yes
4	Charlie and Oniemell Dailey	March, 1946		February 4, 1954		No
5	Tommie and Rebecca Hamilton	March, 1946		October 12, 1953		Yes
6	Ester D. and Gladys Clark	March, 1946		February 4, 1954		No
7	Willie L. and Sallie Lee Echols	March, 1946			No deed	No
8	Ruben and Minnie Marsh	March, 1946			No deed	Yes
9	L. D. and Lizzie Lewis	March, 1946		February 24, 1954		Yes
10	Fred and Lucinda Willis	March, 1946			No deed	No
11	David and Hattie Mae Branch	March, 1946		February 5, 1954		No
12	Alex and Annie Morangne	March, 1946		April 8, 1953		Yes
13	W.C. and Nettie Mae Conner	March, 1946			No deed	No
14	Tom and Naome House	March, 1946			No deed; \$200 down payment	Yes
15	Andrew and Jackie Bean	March, 1946		February 5, 1954		No
16	Alexander and Nora Williams	March, 1946		October 12, 1953		Yes
17	Thermon and Daisy Wilhite	March, 1946		February 18, 1954		No
18	Govan Edwards	March, 1946		October 9, 1953	Added Lucy Edwards 6/1/49; added Walter Ethington 6/22/53	No
19	James D. and Mary Ellen Frederick	March, 1946		February 5, 1954		No
20	Wiley and Venie Jones	March, 1946			Contract rescinded and reinstated; no deed	Yes
21	Andrew and Mary Lou Lee	March, 1946		February 24, 1954		Yes
22	Jones and Sarah Johnson	March, 1946		March 11, 1954		Yes
23	Lonnie and Corine Branch	March, 1946	Anna Haines and Joe Branch	February 19, 1954	Signed over to brother 12/14/51	No
24	George W. and Malissia Block	March, 1946		February 5, 1954		No
25	Roosevelt and Etha West	March, 1946		February 5, 1954		Yes

Table 5 – continued.

Lot #	Name (on sales contract)	Sales date ^b	Name on deed	Deed date ^c	Notes	Receipt ^d
26	Miton and Fannie Anderson	March, 1946		April 22, 1954		No
27	Demyers Lee	March, 1946		February 24, 1954		Yes
28	Jim Johnson and Laura Johnson	March, 1946		February 19, 1954		Yes
29	James and Alberdia White	March, 1946		April 29, 1953		No
30	A. and Lizzie Riley	March, 1946			No deed	No
31	Walton and Dorothy Mae Smith	March, 1946		October 9, 1953	Assigned to Dorothy in 1951	Yes
32	Earnest and Nan Willis	August 14, 1946		March 9, 1954		No
33	Ether Thomas	June 18, 1946			Deed possibly mailed in 1953	No
34	Bennie and Mattie Greer	March, 1946		February 5, 1954		Yes
35	Early Wilderness	March, 1946			No deed	No
36	Savannah and Eddie Blair	March, 1946		February 5, 1954		No
37	Mattie Coleman and Mahalie Hymon	March, 1946		April 18, 1953	Deed possibly mailed in 1953	No
38	Curtis and Lelia M. Marion	March, 1946		February 5, 1954		Yes
39	Perey and Mildred Marsh	March, 1946		May 19, 1953		Yes
40	Leader Hiller	July 26, 1946		February 5, 1954		No
41	Ed and Jassie Gary	March, 1946	Herman C. and Aval Skipper	February 17, 1954	No transfer papers found	Yes
42	Willie and Nellie Miller	March, 1946		February 5, 1954		Yes
43	Arthur and Erma Doward	March, 1946		February 5, 1954		No
44	Fred and Everlena O'Bannon	March, 1946			No deed	No
45	Bessie Jones	July 23, 1946			No deed	Yes
46	Eli and Tinnie Hackney	March, 1946		October 20, 1953		Yes
47	David and Emma Johnson	March, 1946		February 10, 1954	Contract rescinded and reinstated	Yes
48	Thomas and Palmetta Ward	March, 1946		February 5, 1954		Yes
49	Fred and Anne Douglas	March, 1946		September 22, 1953		No
50	Reed and Lucy Glover	March, 1946			No deed	Yes
51	Sammie Lee and Arnell McFerren	March, 1946			No deed	Yes

Table 5 – continued.

Lot #	Name (on sales contract)	Sales date ^b	Name on deed	Deed date ^c	Notes	Receipt ^d
52	Lillie P. Thomas	March, 1946		February 5, 1954		Yes
53	Johnnie, Lula and Wilson Blair	September 18, 1950			No deed	No
54	M.J. Glaney and Katie Kirk	March, 1946	Andrew Lee and Girtie Mae Dowd	February 18, 1954	No transfer papers found	Yes
55	No contract found					
56	Mary Ide Reed	March, 1946	Mary Ide Reed (Phillips) Boyd, et. al	February 5, 1954	Added husband and family	Yes
57	Lula Thompson	March, 1946		February 17, 1954		Yes
58	Floyd A. and Lillie Dell Jones	March, 1946		February 5, 1954		Yes
59	No contract found					
60	Charles L. and Ruth H. Montjoy	March, 1946		March 31, 1954		Yes
61	James A. and Stella Stanford	March, 1946	James Stanford, et. al	February 5, 1954	Added new wife and family; see Lot 62	Yes
62	Mattie (Norman) Stanford et. al	March, 1946		February 5, 1954	Added new husband and family; see Lot 61	Yes
63	Dakota A. and Ruth S. Pippins	August 7, 1952			No deed	No
64	Lonnie and Mary Etta McKay	March, 1946		February 5, 1954		Yes
65	Henry and Fannie Lewis	March, 1946			No deed	No
66	Foster and Silvia Robertson	March, 1946		February 5, 1954		Yes
67	Frank and Emma Robertson	March, 1946		April 8, 1953		No
68	Eugene Green and Lovey Foster	March, 1946	Lovey Foster and Ethel Green		No deed; added Ethel Green 8/5/50	No
69	Brady and Beulah Clark	March, 1946			Transferred to Clark 10/29/51; to Arthur Clark 3/3/52; no deed	No
70	Charlie and Pauline Edmonds	March, 1946			No deed	No

^a From the Delmo Housing Corporation records stored at the Washington University archives. This information does not pertain to the original occupants of the North Lilbourn groups, but rather those that bought homes between 1946 and 1952. These records do not include additional lots that were not part of the original 70 homes constructed by the FSA in 1940.

^b Records with a date of March 30, 1946 were signed between March 18 and March 30. All other dates were the actual day the contract was signed.

^c The date is the date letters were mailed to home owners indicating deeds had been filed, not the actual date on the deed. Records without dates did not have any indication of a deed in the files.

^d Files contained a receipts for \$100 downpayments. 36 files contained receipts.

APPENDIX F

1990 U.S. Federal Census for North Lilbourn

Table 6. 1990 U.S. Federal Census for North Lilbourn.

GENERAL POPULATION			
Total persons / percent sampled	147	44.6%	
Population per square mile / area surveyed	851.89	0.17 sq. mile	
Females / percentage of total population	85	57.8%	
People living in rural areas / on farms	147	0	
People living in families / alone	125	22	
People living in group quarters (e.g. shelters)	0	0.0%	
PERSONS BY RACE/HISPANIC			
White	2	1.4%	
Black	145	98.6%	
Hispanic (any race)	0	0.0%	
PERSONS BY AGE			
0-4 / percentage of total / cumulative percentage	18	12.2%	12.2%
5-9	9	6.1%	18.4%
10-13	4	2.7%	21.1%
14-17	20	13.6%	34.7%
18-24	19	12.9%	47.6%
25-34	22	15.0%	62.6%
35-44	9	6.1%	68.7%
45-54	12	8.2%	76.9%
55-59	7	4.8%	81.6%
60-64	11	7.5%	89.1%
65-74	8	5.4%	94.6%
75-84	6	4.1%	98.6%
85 and over	2	1.4%	100.0%
Under 20	58	39.5%	
20-39	35	23.8%	
40-64	38	25.8%	
65 and over	16	10.9%	
Median age	26.3		
HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE			
Total households / average size	59	2.49	
Households with 1 person / 1 person over 65	22	13	
Percentage of households with 2 people / 3-4 / 5+	13.6%	42.4%	6.8%

Table 6 – continued.

HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE			
Families / percentage of all households	37	62.7%	
Married couples / percentage of families	18	48.6%	
With own children	6	16.2%	
Female householder (no husband)	19	51.3%	
With own children	16	43.2%	
Non-family households	22	37.3%	
HOUSEHOLD INCOME 1989			
Less than \$10,000 / percentage / cumulative percentage	40	67.8	67.8
\$10,000 - \$14,999	4	6.8	74.6
\$15,000 - \$24,999	6	10.2	84.7
\$25,000 - \$34,999	3	5.1	89.8
\$35,000 - \$49,999	6	10.2	100.0
\$50,000 and over	0	0.0	100.0
Median / average	\$6,727 (\$9009)	\$11,330 (\$15,174)	
FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF WORKERS			
Count / average family income for 1989			
0 workers	13	\$6,517 (\$8728)	
1 worker	7	\$5,190 (\$6950)	
2 workers	14	\$23,540 (\$31,527)	
3+ workers	3	\$36,985 (\$49,533)	
OTHER INCOME MEASURES			
Median/average family income	\$9,189 (\$12,306)	\$15,178 (\$20,327)	
Per capita income	\$4,222 (\$5654)		
Persons below poverty level	106	72.1%	
Persons below 50% of poverty	56	38.1%	
LEVEL OF EDUCATION			
Total persons age 25+	77	100.0%	
Less than 9th grade	34	44.2%	
9th to 12th grade, no diploma	8	10.4%	
High school graduate (or equivalent)	24	31.2%	
Some college, no degree	11	14.3%	
Associate/bachelor's degree	0	0.0%	
Graduate or professional degree	0	0.0%	

Table 6 – continued.

UNEMPLOYMENT: CIV LAB FORCE			
Total civilian labor force: unemployed/rate	4	9.1%	
Female: unemployed/rate	2	10.5%	
OCCUPATION			
Total employed persons age 16+	40	100.0%	
Manager and professional specialty occupations	3	7.5%	
Tech, sales, admin. support	4	10.0%	
Service occupations	9	22.5%	
Farm, forestry, fishing	4	10.0%	
All others	20	50.0%	
GENERAL HOUSING UNITS			
Total units/occupied units	65	55	
% Units: Owner occupied/rented/vacant	49.2%	35.4%	15.4%
Single-family units	53	81.5%	
In buildings with 5+ units	0	0.0%	
Condominiums/mobile homes	0	11	
YEAR STRUCTURE BUILT			
Median year built/decade most built	1948	1940-1949	
Built in busiest decade	24	36.9%	
Built 1985-March 1990	0	0.0%	
Built 1939 or earlier	13	20.0%	
HOUSING VALUES AND RENTS			
Specified owner-occupied units/average value	20	\$12,725 (\$17,042)	
Units paying cash rent/average rent	18	\$176 (\$235)	
Median home value/median rent	\$14,999 (\$20,088)	\$175 (\$234)	

Report by the Office of Social and Economic Data analysis, University of Missouri Outreach and Extension, under contract with the Missouri Census Data Center

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census
 1990 Summary Tape File 3 Standard Extract Report - Basic Tables
 Geocode: 29-3115 Areaname: North Lilbourn village MO
 Dollar amounts in parenthesis have been adjusted for inflation.