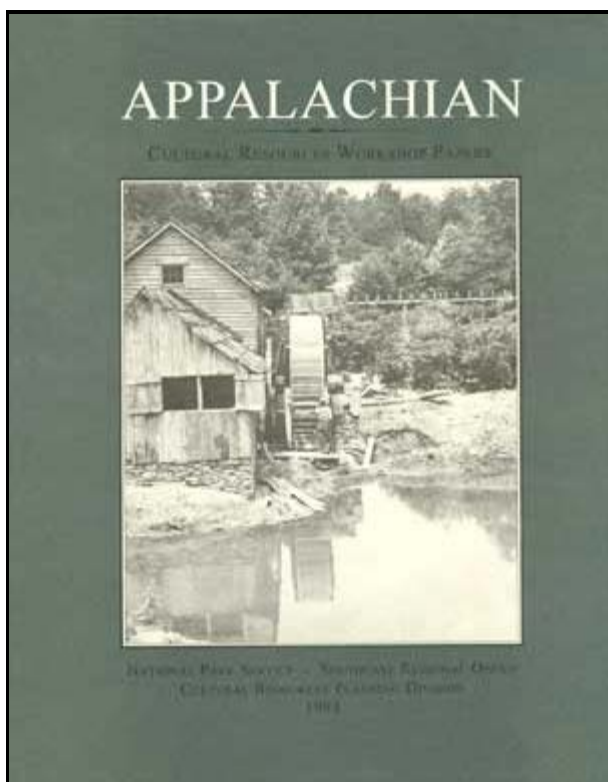


NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Appalachian Cultural Resources Workshop Papers



APPALACHIAN Cultural Resources Workshop Papers

Papers presented at the workshop held at
Owens Hall, University of North Carolina-
Asheville on April 1 and 2, 1991

Edited by
Ruthanne Livaditis Mitchel

1993

National Park Service,
Southeast Regional Office
Office of Cultural Resources
Cultural Resources Planning Division

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This publication was funded in part by the Cultural Resources Training Initiative,
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AN OVERVIEW OF THE WORKSHOP PROCEEDINGS

RUTHANNE L. MITCHELL

CULTURAL RESOURCES PLANNER, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, SOUTHEAST REGION

INTRODUCTION

In a recent discussion of aesthetics, American geographer Yi Fu Tuan commented on the contemporary cultural landscape: *American space dwarfed pioneer settlements, humbled oxcarts and horse-drawn caravans, and made walking on two feet seem impractical or foolhardily heroic. The motorcar has changed all that. Towns, once at the mercy of nature and distance, now fear being by-passed—considered unworthy of a stopover—by speeding motorists. To catch their eyes, local businessmen resort to excesses of size and color, and to creating a carnivalesque atmosphere.* [1]

Perhaps this view of strip development is shared by historic preservationists who seek to preserve the aesthetic qualities and characteristic cultural resources of historic communities and historic rural landscapes. In addition to the impacts of strip development, our historic communities face other forms of changing land use. For example, new suburban residential development is encroaching on historic districts and scenic rural landscapes adjacent to our national parks. A recent newspaper article reported that residential developers were casting their eyes on land adjacent to the Blue Ridge Parkway near Roanoke. [2] Our proposal for the Appalachian Cultural Resources Workshop sprang from concerns about the need for local and regional historic preservation planning strategies to protect cultural resources and to share information about the resources of our southern highlands. The National Park Service, through the Preservation Assistance Divisions Cultural Resources Training Initiative and the Cultural Resources Planning Division of the Southeast Regional Office, provided major funding for the workshop.

The Appalachian Cultural Resources Workshop met at Owens Hall on the campus of the University of North Carolina-Asheville (UNCA) on April 1 and 2, 1992. Sixty-two people attended the event which was sponsored by the Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service (NPS), the Southern Appalachian Man and the Biosphere Cooperative (SAMAB), and the Southern Highlands Research Collection of UNCA.

PURPOSE AND ORGANIZATION

The primary goal for the workshop was to share information on historic context statements, planning strategies, historical overviews, vernacular architecture, and regional material culture research being conducted by Appalachian specialists from the public and private sector. Specific objectives were to provide a forum for discussions and to encourage the preparation of historic contexts needed for the development of state and local comprehensive historic preservation planning.

The workshop coordinator consulted with State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs) and Federal agency cultural resources specialists to develop a varied agenda which would reflect the character of the region. We all agreed that the workshop was a great opportunity to bring

together a multidisciplinary group of professionals to discuss local, state, and federal historic preservation planning efforts.

The workshop featured twenty-two presentations related to five broad categories: Pioneer Settlement Landscapes, Appalachian Resorts/Communities, Industrial Contexts, Planning, and Cultural Conservation. The diversity of the presentation topics represented professional research interests as well as current cultural resources management issues. The participants included cultural geographers, historians, archeologists, folklorists, historic landscape architects, and architectural historians, who shared a special interest in the cultural resources and cultural landscapes of Appalachia. Though the region is nostalgically represented by quaint rural log cabins or mountain scenes, the papers presented discussions on investigations of a distinctly broader scope of resources. It is clear that cultural resources planners are beginning to understand all the discover issues associated with the preservation of significant and complicated historic and cultural landscapes. Such landscapes very often contain a variety of resources from several periods of development. We learned that several southern State Historic Preservation Offices have already recognized the need to preserve and protect these layers of cultural resources and have developed Historic Preservation Plans which include historic contexts for industry and African-American heritage.

Our workshop began with welcoming remarks from Gary Everhardt, Superintendent of the Blue Ridge Parkway. Harley E. Jolley, the well-known historian of the Blue Ridge Parkway, provided us with a delightfully informal view of Appalachian heritage, poetry, and humor which set the tone for the remainder of the workshop.

PIONEER SETTLEMENT LANDSCAPES

Folklorist Jean Spear and landscape architect Ian Firth made formal presentations based upon recent research conducted for the NPS Southeast Regional Office and for the Blue Ridge Parkway. Archeologists Michael Harmon and Rodney Snedeker from the U.S. Forest Service reported on efforts to identify and preserve nineteenth and twentieth century farmsteads in the National Forests of North Carolina. Delce Dyer, landscape architect, and Quentin Bass, archeologist, dealt with the issue of evaluating rural historic landscapes and preparing interpretive plans for areas within the Cherokee National Forest in East Tennessee. Michael Southern of the North Carolina SHPO, showed slides of the rural historic landscapes typical of the New River Valley. Western Carolina University archeologist Anne Rogers shared her knowledge of prehistoric and historic fish weirs, a largely undocumented element of the rural landscape along the scenic river valleys in the mountain counties of western North Carolina.

APPALACHIAN RESORTS/COMMUNITIES

National Park Service historian, Kent Cave, presented his case study of the development of Asheville within the context of the New South. Barbara Church, preservation specialist with the North Carolina Department of Transportation, reviewed her efforts to document historical landscape changes at mineral springs resorts in Virginia. Liz Straw from the Tennessee SHPO traced the historical development of the Cumberland Homesteads community near Crossville, Tennessee.

INDUSTRIAL AND REGIONAL CONTEXTS

Jim Jones and Claudette Stager of the Tennessee SHPO reviewed recent documentation for historic contexts and evaluations prepared for National Register nominations related to the coal and iron industries. Jones proposed the development of regional contexts based upon the common experiences that confirm that the Appalachian region is unique in American history.

He advocates a mutual effort by preservation planners to develop multi-state historic contexts for the coal industry, motor tourism, pre- and TVA hydroelectric development, and the history of urban Appalachian African-American experience. Jones asks if the National Register criteria excludes the not famous, the miners houses, the coke ovens, etc. He challenged historic preservation professionals to justify the study and preservation of the remains of coal and iron industry and related company towns, early motor courts, and urban African-American resources.

PLANNING

Hubert Hinote, director of the Southern Appalachian Man and the Biosphere Cooperative, graciously served as the workshop facilitator for the planning discussions. He was assisted by special invited guest, Luther Propst, director of the Successful Communities Program of The Conservation Foundation (Mr. Propst is currently with the Sonoran Institute). Their session reported on planning for a small East Tennessee community near the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Luther Propst presented an overview of planning strategies to preserve the character or local identity of small communities. The Tennessee Valley Authority's (TVA) historic architect, Charles Tichy, discussed the agency's cultural resources program. Karen Easter, preservation planner from the Georgia SHPO, lead us through the local community planning process and discussed the benefits of the Georgia Planning Act of 1989. Dan Brown the historian from Cumberland Gap National Historic Park reported on the efforts to restore Cumberland Gap to its historic appearance.

CULTURAL CONSERVATION

Peggy Bulger the regional folk arts coordinator for the Southern Arts Federation, made a well-received presentation which advocated a network for sharing information among the multidisciplinary workshop participants. The role of the Museum of the Cherokee Indian in cultural conservation on the Qualla Reservation was presented by Ken Blankenship, the director of the museum. Molly Blankenship discussed the role of the Qualla Arts and Crafts Cooperative in preserving Cherokee heritage and promoting Cherokee basket-makers. Linda Caldwell reported on a three-county heritage tourism initiative in East Tennessee funded by the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

DISCUSSION

Hubert Hinote led the workshop participants into a discussion on the need to build a network to share information, to encourage individual efforts, to advocate for regional planning efforts, and to promote awareness and appreciation of the unique cultural and historical resources of Appalachia. Jean Spear suggested that the Appalachian Studies Conference would be another way to share information about historic preservation planning efforts in the Appalachian region. Other workshop participants agreed that a follow-up meeting should be considered and Kirk A. Cordell, Chief Cultural Resources Planning Division, Southeast Regional Office, said that he would work with Hubert Hinote to organize a cultural resources committee which would plan future meetings or workshops. We also reported that the papers presented at the workshop would be published and at that time, asked the participants to submit their manuscripts.

EDITOR'S NOTE

This publication contains seventeen of the presentations made at the workshop. We are grateful to each of the authors who made the extra effort to prepare manuscripts. As the result of their efforts, we believe that this publication accomplishes the primary goal of the workshop, sharing and disseminating information about the diversity of Appalachian cultural

resources.

ENDNOTES

¹ Yi Fu Tuan, *Passing Strange and Wonderful* (Washington, D.C. Island Press, 1993), p. 158.

² Ron Taylor "Developers cast Their Eyes on Scenic Mountain Route," *The Atlanta Constitution*, Monday, 26 August 1993.

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HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BLUE RIDGE PARKWAY [1]

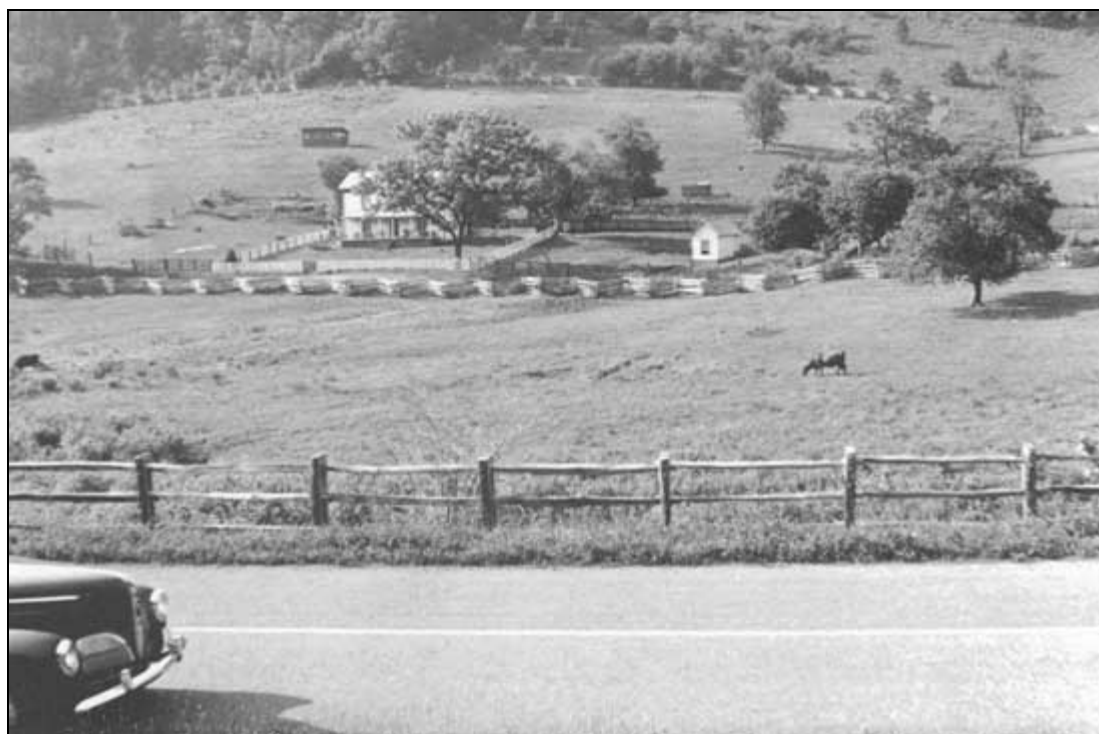
IAN FIRTH

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

INTRODUCTION

The Blue Ridge Parkway runs between Shenandoah National Park and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, a distance of 469 miles. It follows for most of its length the Blue Ridge of the Southern Appalachian Mountains. The lowest point on the Parkway is near the northern end where the road drops to 649 feet above sea level beside the James River in Virginia. The highest point is near the southern end where the road reaches 6,053 feet at Richland Balsam. The Parkway was planned to link the two parks and to open up the mountains to recreational motor traffic.

The Parkway road was the longest road ever to be planned as a single unit up to that time in America. [2] Following existing practice, the road was designed and constructed in sections. There are twenty sections in Virginia identified by the number 1 and letters of the alphabet, and twenty-four sections in North Carolina identified the number 2 and letters of the alphabet. Section 1A starts at Jarmans Gap within the Shenandoah National Park, and Section 2Z finishes near the Oconaluftee Visitor Center in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park.



A 1942 view of rural landscape with rail fences along the Parkway in 1942.

The idea for a scenic road in the Southern Appalachian has been traced to a proposal in 1912 for a Crest of the Blue Ridge Highway. [3] In 1930 the Eastern National Park-to-Park Highway Association made a proposal which included a highway linking the Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountain National Park Projects. [4] A project of that size and complexity was made possible by the National Industrial Recovery Act of June 1933, which initiated a program of public works to relieve unemployment caused by the Great Depression. The idea of extending the Skyline Drive was advanced the following September during discussions involving George L. Radcliffe and Theodore E. Straus of the Public Works Administration, Thomas H. MacDonald of the Bureau of Public Roads, and John G. Pollard, governor of Virginia. [5] The idea was presented to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes by Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia. [6] Promoted as a means of providing employment, it was approved in November 1933 by Secretary Ickes in his capacity as head of the Public Works Administration. Responsibility for planning the highway as a parkway was assigned to the National Park Service. The project was funded at a meeting of a Special Board for Public Works on December 5, 1933, with an allotment of four million dollars. [7] This did not cover the cost of the land which was to be provided by the affected states. In 1936, when the project was under construction, legislation was introduced by Congressman Robert L. Doughton of North Carolina to establish the Blue Ridge Parkway as a unit of the National Park System.

The components of the Parkway will be described under four headings:

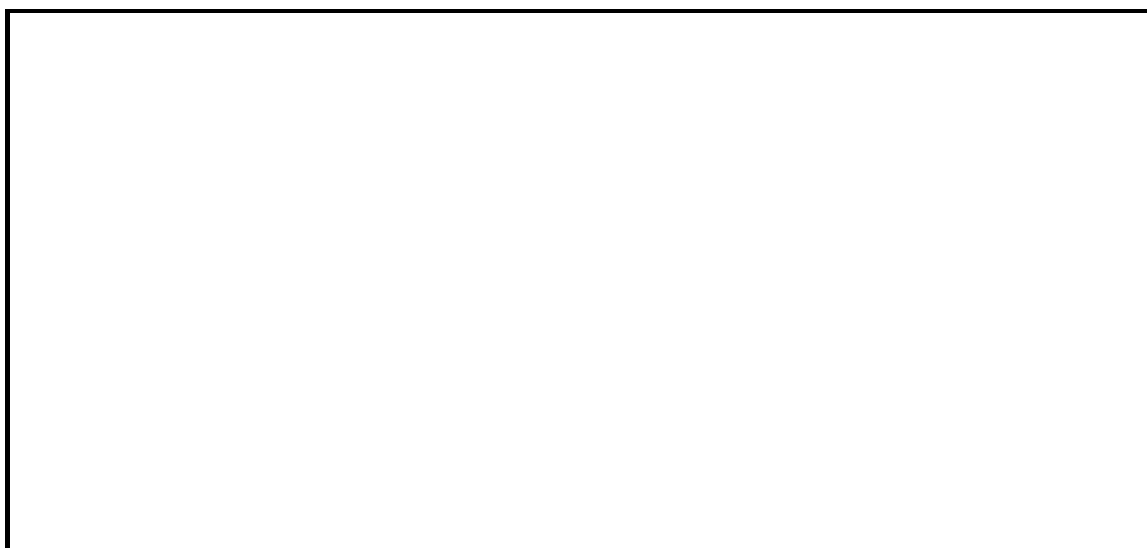
The route—a description of the location, the right of way, and the chain of recreational parks.

The road—a description of the roadway, bridges, tunnels, walls and drainage structures.

The parkway landscapes—an account of the graded slopes and roadside plantings, forests and woods, fields and streams and historic buildings beside the road.

The recreational parks—a description of their natural scenery, facilities for active recreation, provisions for food, lodging and motor services, and maintenance areas.

The Parkway was built in three phases. About two-thirds of the road and five recreational parks were completed between 1935 and the end of 1942 when construction was halted by the war. Construction was resumed in 1946, and all the remaining sections of the road, except one, were completed by 1967. The final section on Grandfather Mountain in North Carolina was built between 1968 and 1987. Although the Parkway can now be considered complete, additional recreational areas may be acquired in the future.





A 1936 view of a culvert headwall, single box culvert.

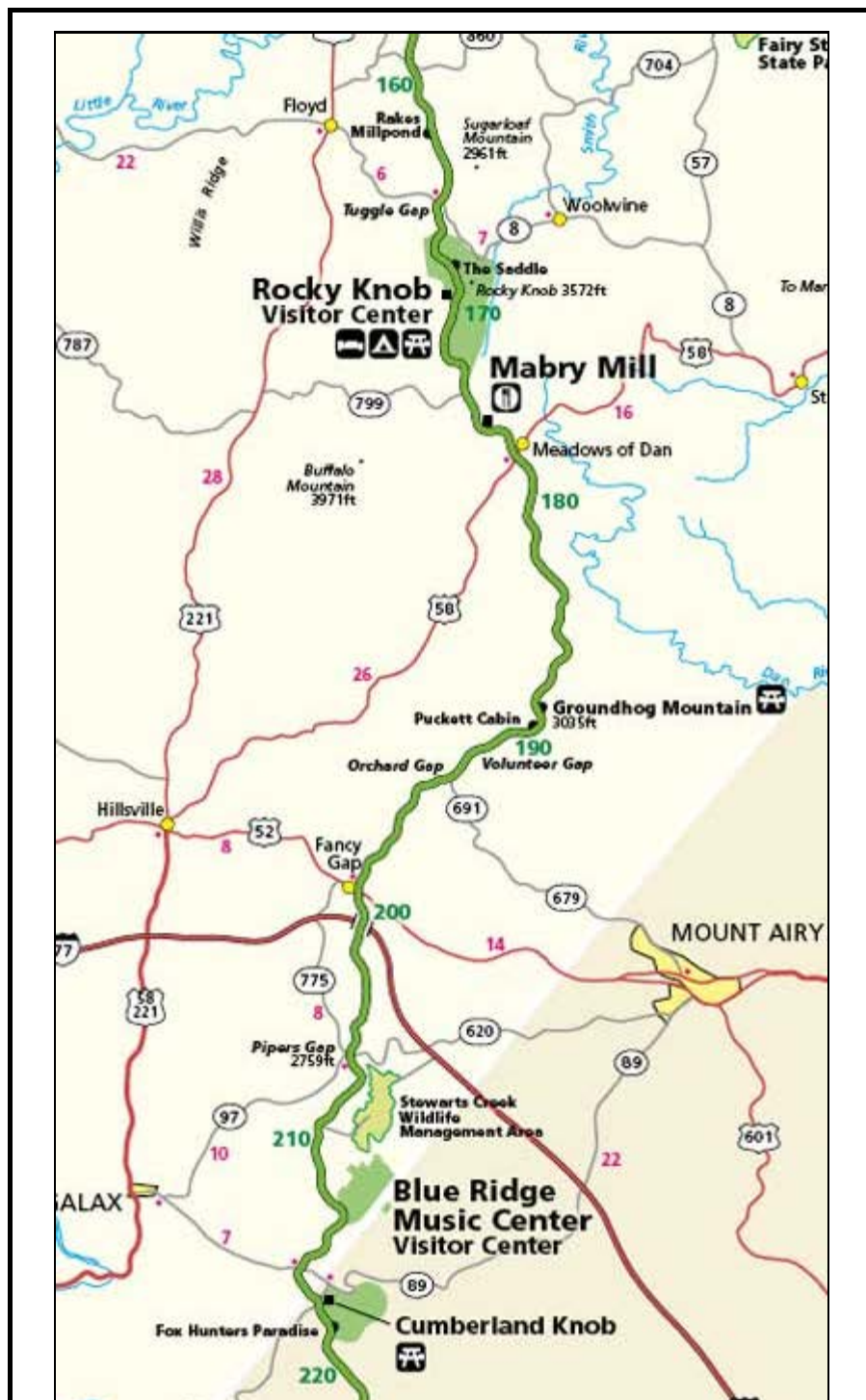
THE ROUTE AND THE PLANNERS

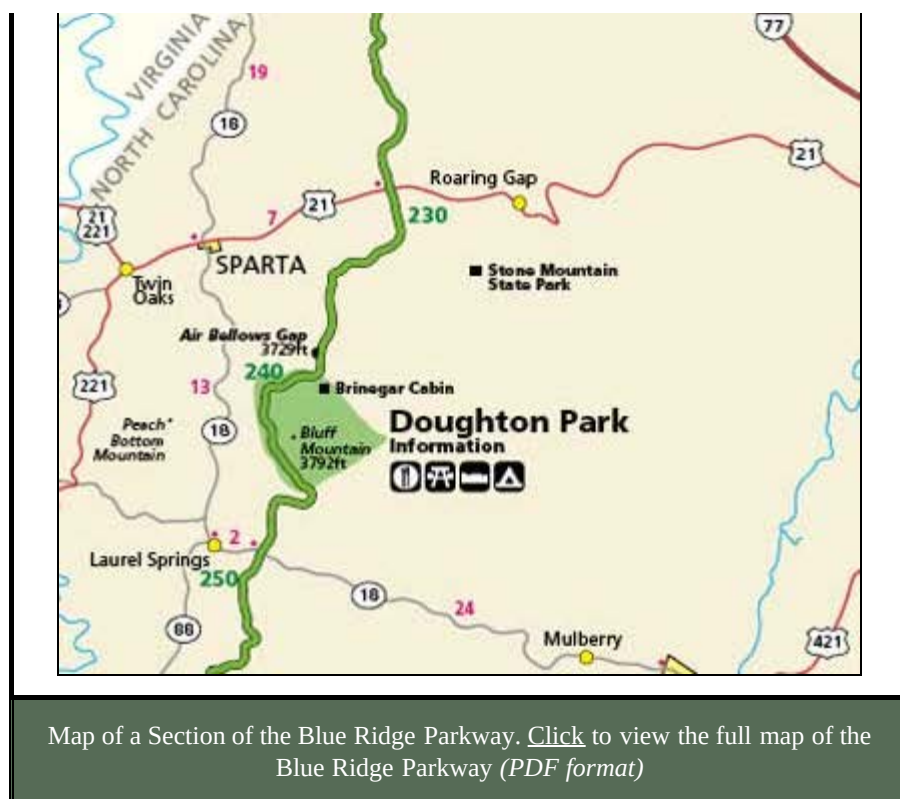
The first step in planning the Parkway was to decide the route it should follow between the Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountains National parks. A vigorously partisan debate erupted between representatives of Tennessee and North Carolina over the southern part of the route. [8] This debate took nearly a year to resolve and involved political figures at the highest levels of the federal and state governments. Harold Ickes as Secretary of the Interior and Administrator of Public Works became the arbiter. He was advised by senior officials in the National Park Service and Bureau of Public Roads. Arthur E. Demaray, the Associate Director of the National Park Service, maintained a close involvement in all matters relating to this and other parkways. Thomas C. Vint, the Chief of the Branch of Plans and Design took part in the assessment of alternative routes. He was joined by N. J. Spelman, the District Engineer in charge of the Bureau of Public Road's Eastern Office. [9] Jay Downer and Gilmore D. Clarke of the Westchester County Park Commission served as consultants for a few months in 1933-34. Their most important contribution was to recommend the appointment of Stanley W. Abbott as Resident Landscape Architect. Abbott was only twenty-six when he was appointed in December, 1933, but he rose to the challenge.

While engineers from the Bureau of Public Roads and landscape architects from the Park Service were walking each mile of location, Stan Abbott was "seeing" the finished project. He had the imagination and ability to think big and make no small plans. While most of the innovations in the Blue Ridge Parkway are the product of a joint effort, to Stan must go the big share of credit for the vision, imagination, and enthusiasm necessary to make the dream come true. [10]

Abbott recognized that the Parkway was to be a new amalgam of parkway and park road, and he had the ability to communicate his ideas.

We were immediately made aware that he was both perceptive and articulate. At the time that he had been pulled out of the Westchester County organization he had, in fact, been serving as the public relations man for the Westchester County organization, though he was a Cornell graduate in landscape architecture. It was especially fortunate that, along with the kind of imagination that was the essential ingredient in the creation of such a work of art as the Parkway, he also had those other qualities. They not only enabled him to "sell" his ideas and concepts of parkway design and development to his Washington Office superiors and to the officials of the State Highway Departments with which he had to deal; they were a necessity of successful relationships with the Parkway's neighbors, the mountain people through or past whose properties the Parkway was to go. [11]





Abbott served as Resident Landscape Architect and Acting Superintendent until 1944 when he was called to military service. He returned to the Regional Office in Richmond, Virginia in 1946, and continued to advise on the Parkway until 1949. In 1950 he became supervisory landscape architect for the Mississippi River Parkway Study.

Abbott's counterpart in the Bureau of Public Roads was William M. Austin, Resident Engineer in the Bureau's Roanoke Office. Austin had supervised construction of the General's Highway in Sequoia National Park, where he had worked with Charles Peterson and was responsible with Peterson for the Skyline Drive. [12] Austin and Abbott saw eye to eye on the planning of the Blue Ridge Parkway and made many decisions jointly. [13] When Austin left Roanoke in 1941, the relationship between his successor and Abbott was not as harmonious. [14] By that time, however, most of the important decisions in the location of the Parkway had been made.

THE LOCATION

A map of a section of the Parkway between Mabry Mill and Doughton Park is shown on Figure 1. The general direction was decided by Secretary Ickes following a prolonged study by officials of the federal government and presentation of the rival claims of Tennessee and North Carolina. In July, 1934, Ickes announced approval of the route from Jarman's Gap (at the southern end of the Skyline Drive) to the James River, and from Adney Gap (fifteen miles south of Roanoke) to Blowing Rock, N.C. In November of the same year, the North Carolina route from Blowing Rock to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park was selected over the alternative route through Tennessee. In making his decision, Ickes was influenced by the economic, scenic, land acquisition, and topographic arguments advanced by the representatives of North Carolina. He was also aware of the fact that federal funds were already being channeled to Tennessee by the Tennessee Valley Authority. [15]

The Secretary of the Interior's decision to route the parkway along the crest of the Blue Ridge provided a general guide, but the actual location was determined after a detailed reconnaissance. Abbott and Austin agreed to the need to avoid the monotony of a continuous

series of panoramic views which would result if the road were located on the ridge line. [16] In deliberate contrast to the Skyline Drive, the policy was to depart from the divide in the interests of varying the scenery. [17]

We and the engineers together just drilled and drilled, all of us, on the business of following a mountain stream for a while, then climbing up on the slope of a hill pasture then dipping down into the open bottom land and back into the woodlands. [18]

Abbott had been joined in the National Park Service's Roanoke Office in April, 1934, by Edward H. Abbuehl and Hendrick E. van Gelder. Abbuehl was assigned to the reconnaissance in North Carolina, and van Gelder to the Virginia portion. They worked closely with engineers from Austin's office.

The detailed locating procedure was to reconnoiter the country over a considerable distance—thirty to one hundred miles or more and establish major controls, generally gaps, and from there work down to lesser control points and then finally establish a tentative flagged location on the ground which would satisfy alignment and grade standards. This was then reviewed by both landscape architects and engineers, and if approved, the State would be authorized to proceed with their topographic surveys which covered a strip two to several hundred feet wide following the flagged line.

Most of the line was flagged by Bureau engineers in 1934 and 1935, but some stretches remained problematic. In 1935 a proposal to depart from the Blue Ridge and include in the route the Natural Bridge area in Virginia was vetoed by the Secretary of the Interior, and the present route through the Peaks of Otter was confirmed. In the same year a dispute began with the Cherokee Indians over the route through their Qualla Reservation beside the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. This was not resolved until 1940. [19] By 1941 the general line of the Parkway was agreed, but difficulties remained along Otter Creek (Section 1G), around Roanoke (Section 1N), near Blowing Rock (Section 2G), on Grandfather Mountain (Section 2H), near Asheville (Section 2Q), and approaching Balsam Gap (Section 2W). In these areas, alternative locations, which represented minor but important variations, were still being evaluated. [20] After the war, some relatively minor changes in location were made; for example, on the Moses H. Cone estate near Blowing Rock, the road was relocated behind the Manor house. The last section to be fixed was on Grandfather Mountain. The original proposal to follow the line of an existing read—the Yonahlossee Trail—was considered unsatisfactory and a higher location had been proposed. This was opposed by the landowner, and the State of North Carolina was not prepared to exercise its option of eminent domain. An agreement reached in 1968 allowed the construction of the road along a mid-level line and involved bridging around, rather than tunneling through, the steep mountain slopes. [21]

THE RIGHT-OF-WAY

In 1936 Arthur E. Demaray, Associate Director of the National Park Service, defined the Parkway right-of-way "as a strip of land acquired in fee simple to provide the area for the construction of the roadway and an insulating area to protect the natural values." [22]

The Blue Ridge Parkway is a strip of land 469 miles and a few hundred feet wide. The land on each side of the road is an essential part of the Parkway: it serves to restrict access and crossings, and it insulates the road from developments which would intrude on its scenic character. [23]

The width of the right-of-way varies. This reflects some changes in policy and a long and difficult process acquisition. The first idea, based on the Westchester parkways, was to acquire a two hundred-foot wide right-of-way, with an additional four hundred feet of scenic

easements on each side. Scenic easements would allow the land to continue in its existing use but restrict any development on the land. As location surveys and planning progressed, a new policy was adopted of acquiring an average of one hundred acres in fee simple per mile of parkway and fifty acres of scenic easement per mile. [24] One hundred acres in fee simple would provide a right-of-way averaging approximately 825 feet. This more flexible approach to the determination of boundaries allowed the width of the right-of-way to be adjusted to reflect property boundaries and natural conditions. Where the Parkway crossed national forest land, the 1936 legislation authorized a right-of-way of no more than two hundred feet in width, but in 1940 this was amended to allow Parkway lands to be increased by agreement between the secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture. [25]

Once the location of the Parkway had been determined by the National Park Service and the Bureau of Public Roads, the state highway departments made topographic surveys and mapped property boundaries. The National Park Service and Bureau of Public Roads then produced Parkway Development Plans which provided a basis for land acquisition by the states. Despite the flexible approach to boundaries, the process of acquisition was difficult.

Studies by the Service call for a taking which varies in width from 200 to 1,200 feet, and the requirements must be judged as much for effect upon the residual property as for control of the roadside picture. Private and public roads, cattle crossings, water rights, and phone and power lines seriously involve the entire economy of many larger mountain properties. Relocation of these facilities must be arranged or the entire holdings purchased outright. Those considerations and the natural tendency of many mountain people to hold to the old homes of their forefathers combine to make a more than usually difficult problem of acquisition, especially if condemnation is to be avoided. [26]

In North Carolina, R. Getty Browning, the chief locating engineer, who had played an important role in advocating the North Carolina route, cooperated wholeheartedly in the acquisition of Parkway land. [27] In Virginia there was some reluctance to accept the National Park Service policy, and there were considerable difficulties with acquisition, particularly in the settled agricultural areas. It proved difficult to acquire scenic easements at anything less than the cost of the land in fee simple, so the state eventually agreed to buy a wider strip in fee simple. The width varied between four hundred feet and eighty feet depending on the type of land. [28]

Acquisition was generally by agreement. The states were reluctant to institute condemnation proceedings. This could mean long delays and had an important effect on the progress of construction. For example acquisition of a right-of-way through the Moses H. Cone estate was delayed until after the death of Cone's widow in 1947. The long delay in the construction of the last section on Grandfather Mountain is another example. The states and the National Park Service were generally reluctant to displace people and wanted to foster good relations with land owners adjoining the Parkway. In some cases, houses were moved from the right-of-way onto the residual property retained by an owner, and in other cases people were granted a life tenancy and continued to live beside the road until their deaths. [29] This approach was in marked contrast to the resettlement policies being pursued in the Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountains National parks in the 1930s.

By 1942 the acquisition of the right-of-way had been almost completed in Virginia, except for a stretch around Roanoke where construction had not started (Sections 1L, 1M and 1N). In North Carolina where the legal process of land acquisition was different, construction had run ahead of the final transfer of title from the State in some places. [30] Nevertheless, by the end of 1942 approximately two thirds of the right-of-way had been acquired and most of the remainder lay within the National Forests. Acquisition was completed in 1968, but the boundaries of the Parkway continued to change as land was acquired to eliminate road

crossings, to protect areas from intrusive suburban development, and to protect special plant and animal habitats. [31]

RECREATIONAL PARKS

At intervals the ribbon of Parkway land widens to include recreational areas. These wayside parks were referred to by Abbott as "beads on a string, the rare gems in the necklace" [32] and more prosaically by Vint as "bulges" in the right of way. [33] The idea of adding these areas came from Abbott's experience with the Westchester County Park Commission. [34] Although they were not part of the original concept of the Parkway, Abbott argued that these parks would be as important as the road itself.

In locating the Parkway the effort has been to provide a scenic motorway devoted in an almost complete sense to recreation. It will be a road type which will invite leisurely driving and frequent stops for a period of hours or of days b the vacationer. It is unquestionably desirable therefore, to set aside certain worthwhile areas at which the motorist may stop and to provide facilities for such activities as camping picnicking, hiking, horseback riding, fishing, and swimming. [35]

The search for suitable sites was initiated in May, 1934, when Abbott inspected the Pinnacles of Dan in Virginia. [36] The first Master Plan for the Parkway was prepared in 1934 and approved by the Secretary of the Interior in January, 1935. This plan followed the line of the road as far as Blowing Rock, North Carolina, and recommended the addition of a number of major and minor recreational areas. The major areas were Natural Bridge, Peaks of Otter, Pinnacles of Dan, and The Bluff. In addition to the recreational areas, there were six areas to be acquired for their scenic qualities and held as "undeveloped reservations." Another plan covering the entire length of the Parkway was approved in August 1936. This included a total of nineteen recreational parks. [37] By this time Natural Bridge had been eliminated from the list, and the Pinnacles of Dan had become a doubtful candidate because of the impact of a hydroelectric power project on the Dan River. Most of the areas had been selected by Abbott and Abbuehl.

As we traveled through the mountains on general reconnaissance, favorite places came into our thinking and we might say to ourselves or out loud "We ought to control this," or "A gem." Then we were guided, too, by some sense of need for rhythm or pattern—or a jewel on the string of bead occurring every so often, so there was comprehensive plan—but not a rigid one. Our theory was a major park every sixty miles, and in between two lesser day-use areas, as against night use, or larger, more rounded development. [38]

The following areas were included in the 1936 plan:

- Humpback Rocks on Sections 1B and 1C
- Norwall Flats on Section 1E (dropped from the list)
- Lick Log Spring on Section 1F
- Peaks of Otter on Section 1H
- Pine Spur on Section 1P
- Smart View on Section 1Q
- Rocky Knob on Section 1S
- Fisher Peak on Section 1W
- Cumberland Knob on Section 2A
- The Bluff on Section 2C
- Tompkins Knob on Section 2E
- Linville Gorge on Section 2J
- Crabtree Creek on Section 2M

Mt. Mitchell on Section 2N
Craggy Gardens on Section 2P
Bent Creek on Section 2S
Mount Pisgah on Section 2T
Pigeon River Falls on Sections 2U and 2V
Tennessee Bald on Section 2V
Richland Balsam on Section 2W

Nine of these areas were wholly or partly within United States Forest Service ownership.

The acquisition of these areas was not the responsibility of Virginia or North Carolina. In 1935 some funds were made available by the Resettlement Administration under their submarginal lands program. [39] Negotiations were begun for the acquisition of lands at Pine Spur, Smart View, and Rocky Knob in Virginia, and Cumberland Knob and The Bluff in North Carolina. Sam P. Weems was sent by the Resettlement Administration to appraise the lands and became project manager for the development of the recreational parks. He subsequently rose to be superintendent of the Parkway.

Because of the uncertainty and opportunism associated with the acquisition of land, the 1936 Master Plan had to be regarded as a flexible guide. Of the nineteen areas listed in 1936 only the five areas acquired with Resettlement Administration funds were developed before the war. The land for two of the areas within national forests—Humpback Rocks and Crabtree Meadows—had been acquired by 1942, and acquisition of a third area—Peaks of Otter—was completed in 1944. [40] After the war another three areas on the original list—Linville Gorge, Craggy Gardens and Mount Pisgah—were added. However, most of the areas transferred by the U.S. Forest Service were considerably smaller than Abbott had wanted. [41] Other areas have been acquired as opportunities arose. The Moses H. Cone Memorial Park and the Julian Price Memorial Park were obtained through private donations in 1949 and 1950. Today there are twenty-three sites which provide recreational facilities and services along the Parkway, though of these only sixteen could be considered recreational parks along the lines proposed in the 1936 plan. There are still proposals to add additional areas. The acquisition of Fisher Peak, one of the original nineteen sites, is underway after a fifty-year wait.

CONCLUSIONS

In his report for the years 1934, 1935, and 1936, Abbott summarized the innovative features of the Parkway.

This office has discussed with you various problems of location. If these ideas are carried forward, the parkway which we consider to be a thoroughly modern motorway will thread 500 miles between the Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountains Parks of beautiful and varied scenery. Towns and cities, as well as other encroachments of civilization, have been successfully avoided. This natural environment will be protected by the wide acquisition of parkway lands, together with the wayside park program, placing under Federal protection outstanding scenic areas. The program of wayside recreation and service development which we have discussed will complete a concept which will, in the opinion of this office, meet in a new way the requirements of the thousands of vacation motorists along the Eastern Seaboard. [42]

The Blue Ridge Parkway follows a route quite different from that of any earlier parkway or park road. Unlike earlier parkways it is located away from cities in the mountains, connecting two national parks. Unlike earlier roads in national parks, it runs through settled countryside as well as wild mountain landscapes. In contrast to the Skyline Drive, it does not keep to the ridge tops.

In order to keep construction costs within reasonable bounds while still maintaining standards of curvature and grade, and what is more, to avoid excessive scar, it has been necessary to skirt some of the more rugged regions with the result that the Parkway does not exclusively follow the skyline, but assumes a changing position in the mountains. Like the movie cameraman who shoots his subject from many angles to heighten the drama of his film, so the shifting position of the roadway unfolds a more interesting picture to the traveler. The sweeping view over the low country often holds the center of the stage, but seems to exit gracefully enough when the Parkway leaves the ridge for the more gentle slopes and the deeper forests. [43]

The ribbon form of the Parkway made it very different from most units in the National Park System. Although a wider right-of-way was obtained than had been the case for any earlier parkway, it was clearly impossible to control through ownership the use and appearance of all the land visible from the road. This meant the Parkway staff had to seek the cooperation of their many neighbors. This led to the development of innovative cooperative programs of land management along the Parkway.

The acquisition of the land for the recreational parks changed the character of the Parkway from being a link between two national parks to being a destination in its own right. While not entirely new in concept, the plan for a chain of parks was innovative in its scale and organization. It greatly expanded the scope of the Parkway project and the responsibilities of the landscape architects.

ILLUSTRATION OF AN IMPORTANT TYPE AND PERIOD OF PARKWAY CONSTRUCTION

The Blue Ridge Parkway is the premier example of a rural national parkway. Of the various proposals for national parkways advanced in the 1930s, only this parkway and the Natchez Trace were actually built. The prewar sections of the Blue Ridge Parkway illustrate the features which distinguish this type and period of parkway construction.

The plans for the Blue Ridge Parkway differed from the plans for its suburban predecessors in three ways. The route avoided cities and ran through a wide variety of mountain scenery between two national parks. The right-of-way was, for much of its length, several times wider than the right-of-ways of suburban parkways, and a chain of recreation parks was planned as an integral part of the Parkway. These features became accepted within the National Park Service as standard requirements for what Demaray referred to as "this new concept of elongated parks through which run highways dedicated solely to recreational and social use." [44]

The design and construction of the road illustrates the state of the art in the 1930s. The engineering of the road was based on the advances in highway design demonstrated in the Westchester and Long Island parkways—a curvilinear alignment, limited access, and grade separated interchanges. Some compromises were made because of the mountain location and recreation function: the design speed was only forty-five miles per hour, and the roadway was not divided. Also at first, access was not limited as strictly as it should have been because few anticipated the growth of traffic along rural roads. Nevertheless, the building of a modern road for several hundred miles through mountains required extraordinary feats of engineering. Here, the builders of the Blue Ridge Parkway benefitted from the experience gained in the construction of earlier roads in national parks, where procedures had been developed to reduce construction scars. Downer and Clarke, after their tour of inspection in 1940, gave the road high praise.

The location, alignment and gradient of the drive, and the attention to the policy of utilizing

the most modern practices give to this great parkway a distinction unequalled by any other project of its character in the world. [45]

The landscape and architectural designs along the Parkway were guided by the prevailing design philosophy of the National Park Service which sought to fit new developments unobtrusively into their natural settings. Naturalistic effects were achieved in grading slopes beside the road and also in the planting and selective cutting programs along the road and in wayside parks. Park structures were designed in a rustic architectural style, at least in the early years. This conservative design philosophy had been developed in western parks, but it transplanted well into the East where it became allied with early attempts to preserve historic places. The preservation of pioneer structures along the Parkway was part of the comprehensive program of rural conservation. The resulting landscapes, with well managed forests and fields, restored mill ponds and pioneer cabins, represented an idealized rural Appalachia, freed from the problems of soil depletion and poverty. The national parkway had become a route into the half-remembered past.

HIGH ARTISTIC VALUES

The location of the Parkway was selected with great skill. Abbott likened the road reconnaissance to making a film. In 1958 he wrote that "A Parkway like the Blue Ridge has but one reason for existence, which is to please by revealing the charm and interest of the native American countryside. To accomplish that end requires the finest exercise of the several planning arts." [46] Abbott suggested that much of the aesthetic appeal of the Parkway is derived from the contrast between difference scenes:

I can't image a more creative job than locating that Blue Ridge Parkway, because you worked with a ten-league canvas and a brush of a comet's tail. Moss and lichens collected on the shake roof of a Mabry Mill measured against the huge panoramas that look out forever. [47]

The road is a gracefully curving line, threading contrasting scenes—mountains and valleys, wild and settled landscapes. It provides a transect through the geography and history of the Southern Appalachians.

ENDNOTES

¹ This narrative is an excerpt from a draft historic resources report on the Blue Ridge Parkway, prepared by Professor Ian Firth under a cooperative agreement between the University of Georgia and the National Park Service.

² Stanley W. Abbott, "Annual Report of the Blue Ridge Parkway, Roanoke, Virginia, to the Director, National Park Service" (National Park Service, Branch—Plans and Design, Salem, Virginia, 30 June 1939), 3.

³ Edward H. Abbuehl, "History of the Blue Ridge Parkway," Paper prepared for Ranger's conference (1948), 1; Harley E. Jolley, *The Blue Ridge Parkway* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), 1.

⁴ Ibid., 16-17.

⁵ Ibid., 26-32.

⁶ Ibid., 2-26.

⁷ Ibid., 44.

⁸ Abbott, "Blue Ridge Parkway: Historical Report to the Chief Architect, Branch of Plans and Design, for the Years 1934, 1935, and 1936 by the Resident Landscape Architect, Roanoke, Virginia" (National Park Service, Branch—Plans and Design, Salem, Virginia, 10 January 1937), 3-5; Abbuehl, "History," 3-5; Jolley, *Blue Ridge*, 57-92.

⁹ Abbott, Oral history interview by S. Herbert Evison, Tape no. 55 (1958), 7.

¹⁰ Abbuehl, "A Road Built for Pleasure," *Landscape Architecture* 51, no. 4 (1961): 235.

¹¹ S. Herbert Evison, Introduction to 1958 Oral History interview of Stanley W. Abbott (1974), ii.

¹² Sarah Georgia Harrison, "The Skyline Drive: A Western Park Road in the East," *Parkways: Past, Present, and Future: Proceedings of the Second Biennial Linear Parks Conference 1987* (Boone, N.C.: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1989), 41.

¹³ Abbuehl, "History" (1948), 27.

¹⁴ Abbott, "Confidential Memorandum for Regional Director Taylor, Region One, Re: Problems on the Blue Ridge Parkway"(3 December 1943).

¹⁵ Jolley, *Blue Ridge*, 87.

¹⁶ Abbott, 1958 interview, 132.

¹⁷ Abbott, "Blue Ridge Parkway Report" (10 January 1937), 6; Abbott, 1958 interview, 12.

¹⁸ Abbott, 1958 interview, 13-14.

¹⁹ Abbott, "Annual Report of the Blue Ridge Parkway, Roanoke, Virginia, to the Director, National Park Service" (30 June 1940), 3.

²⁰ Abbott, 6/30/1942, 4.

²¹ Jolley, *Blue Ridge*, 11.

²² A.E. Demaray, "Federal Parkways—A Paper Presented Before the Council Meeting of the American Planning and Civic Association," *Parkways: A Manual of the Revised Requirements, Instructions and Information Relating to National Parkways for Use in the National Park service* (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service), 3.

²³ Abbott, "Blue Ridge Parkway: Historical," 10 January 1937, 9.

²⁴ Ibid., 10.

²⁵ Abbuehl, "History," 1948, 10.

²⁶ Abbott, "The Blue Ridge Parkway," *The Regional Review*, 3, no. 1 (July 1939), 4.

²⁷ Abbuehl, "History," 1948, 9; Abbott, 1958 interview, 27.

²⁸ Abbuehl, 7

²⁹ Abbott, 1958 interview, 32.

³⁰ Abbott, "Annual Report of the Blue Ridge Parkway, Roanoke, Virginia, to the Director, National Park Service" (30 June 1942), 5.

³¹ *Blue Ridge Parkway Land Protection Plan 1989*, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Asheville, N.C. 1989.

³² Abbott, 1958 interview, 2.

³³ Ibid., 14.

³⁴ Ibid., 23.

³⁵ Abbott, "Appalachian National Parkway from Shenandoah National Park to Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Report on Recreation and Service Areas, Type and Scope of Development Proposed" (15 December 1934).

³⁶ Abbott, "Blue Ridge Parkway: Historical," 10 January 1937, 14; Abbuehl, "History," 1948, 18.

³⁷ Blue Ridge Parkway, "Brief Description of the Recreation Areas Adjacent to the Parkway, to Accompany the Master Plan Thereof, Drawn June 3, 1936" (National Park Service, Branch—Plans and Design, Salem, Virginia, 1936); Abbott, "Blue Ridge Parkway: Historical," 10 January 1937, 17.

³⁸ Abbott, 1958 interview, 35.

³⁹ Abbott, "Blue Ridge Parkway: Historical," 10 January 1937, 15.

⁴⁰ S.P. Weems, "Annual Report of the Blue Ridge Parkway, Roanoke, Virginia, to the Director, National Park Service" (National Park Service, Branch—Plans and Design, Salem, Virginia, 30 June 1944), 5.

⁴¹ Abbott, 1958 interview, 2.

⁴² Abbott, "Blue Ridge Parkway: Historical" (10 January 1937), 1.

⁴³ Abbott, "The Blue Ridge Parkway," *The Regional Review*, 3, no. 1 (July 1939), 5.

⁴⁴ Thomas A. MacDonald and A.E. Demaray, Parkways of the Future: A Radio Discussion between Mr. MacDonald, Chief of the United States Bureau of Public Roads and Mr. Demaray, Associate Director of the National Park Service," *Parkways: A Manual of the Revised Requirements, Instructions and Information Relating to National Parkways for Use in the National Park Service* (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1938), 5.

45

Jay Downer and Gilmore D. Clarke, "Notes on Shenandoah—Blue Ridge—Great Smoky Mountain Parkway" (National Park Service, Branch—Plans and Design, Salem, Virginia, 8/27/1940), 8.

⁴⁶ Abbott, 1958 interview, 3-4.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 14.

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THE PEAKS OF OTTER AND THE JOHNSON FARM ON THE BLUE RIDGE PARKWAY

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Landscape shapes culture. It may also obscure it. Fascination with the scenic qualities of mountain lands can lead to the feeling that human culture is an intrusion, perhaps an intrusion to be eliminated or, at least, recast to fit the contours of the landscape. Looking back over the history of Appalachia, it is easy to find instances of the hegemonic preference for landscape over culture. In this essay, I want to illustrate through a case study how the hegemony of landscape reshaped some of an Appalachian community and obliterated most of it.

In 1935, construction began on the Blue Ridge Parkway, envisioned as a scenic road connecting the Shenandoah National Park and the Great Smoky Mountain National Park. The Peaks of Otter area, already a well-known scenic attraction, was one of the first areas on the parkway planned for development as a recreation and service area. [1] Stanley Abbott, the landscape architect who designed the Parkway, envisioned the development at the Peaks of Otter as including a lodge of 125 rooms, cabins for tourists, a lake in the natural bowl between the twin peaks, a boat house and restaurant, bath house and gravel shore area, camping sites, and horse stables. Abbott predicted that

unquestionably the proposed Peaks of Otter development will become a major objective for drivers from Roanoke and Lynchburg [Virginia]. It is notable that on Apple Orchard Mountain....the parkway will reach 3910 feet, its highest elevation in Virginia. South toward Roanoke the drive coasts on the absolute skyline on a well-defined ridge providing one of the most spectacular sections of the parkway location in Virginia. [2]

In a later report, Abbott added, almost as a footnote, that "the main basin area formed by the triangle of mountains (Sharp Top, Flat Top, and Harkening Hill) at the Peaks of Otter is known as the Mons area. This has been under one kind or another of cultivation and use over more than a century..." [3]

Abbott might have said "more than five hundred centuries." Archaeological digs at the Peaks of Otter have determined that early Indians occupied the site at least five thousand years ago and, since that time, human settlement and culture have been a continuous and significant part of the Peaks of Otter area. And while Abbott is certain of the scenic values of the Peaks of Otter, he only alludes to the richness of cultural resources, unrealized even today.





Callie Missouir and Mack Bryant

The earliest European settlers were Charles and Robert Ewing, who came to the area about 1700 from Scotland. [4] Although there are several stories accounting for the Peaks of Otter name (some say it derives from the Cherokee "Atari" or "Ottari" for "high mountain"), it is

more likely that the brothers named the twin peaks for Otterburn, a famous place name in Scotland. [5] Other settlers came to the area as early as 1735, and by the 1770s the area was developing quickly. In 1772, a turnpike was constructed through the Peaks of Otter that connected Liberty (now Bedford, Virginia) and Buchanan on the James River. Wagons hauled pig iron, lead, and produce over this road prior to and during the Revolutionary War to supply soldiers in the lowlands. Thomas Jefferson wrote about his measurements of the Peaks in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785).

In the early 1800s, the Peaks of Otter was already luring tourists attracted by the majestic scenery. Polly Wood, a widow, had sufficient business to earn her living running an ordinary. Soon a second ordinary, run by Leyburn Wilkes, took in visitors to the area. Wilkes was so successful that by 1857 he opened the first hotel on the site, the Otter Peaks Hotel, with accommodations for fifty people, a springhouse, smokehouse, wagoner's house, stable, and a hut on the top of Sharp Top for guests who made the arduous ascent. A visitor to Wilkes' establishment wrote:

His buildings multiply with the increase of travel, and no labor or expense will be spared to make this the most attractive watering place in America. The air is cool and salubrious, and in the hottest season an exhilarating breeze sweeps through the mountain pass, while the low lands of the State are parched, sultry and infected. [6]

Two well-known artists of the mid-nineteenth century, Edward Beyer and David H. Strother (known as "Porte Crayon"), made the Peaks of Otter area famous through their illustrations in popular magazines, attracting even more tourists. Travel to the Peaks was difficult, but tourists felt the natural attractions of the area made it well worth the journey. Henry Morgan, an early travel writer, summarizes with exuberance the feelings of the mid-nineteenth century Peaks of Otter visitor:

We leave the (train) cars at Liberty, twenty-five miles from Lynchburg, and ten or twelve miles from the Peaks. Here we find stages, carriages, buggies and riding horses to suit every persons taste for travel. Those desiring to continue from the Peaks to the Springs generally prefer public conveyance, but the parties visiting only the mountains choose the more social and chivalrous pleasure of horsemanship. Tremendous is the excitement! The wild prancing steed catches the wilder spirit of its rider—and paws for the race. Now the mighty forest echoes with the multitudinous bound of iron hoofs. Vociferous shouts of laughter drive the partridge and the pheasant from their old possessions, and the sylvan songster flies with notes half spent in air and half down his throat, frightened half to death. Dogs from distant cabins rouse from their slumbers, bark, howl, run over fences and hedges to join the chase, and yelp in the tangled briar with mad despair. On! on! rush the fiery coursers with the speed of thought. The mountain heaves in sight, but only to cheat the senses, for perspective hath lost its rules of distance. We seem within a short walk of the mountain top; we inquire and find it ten miles. The fact is, the mountain being exceedingly grand beyond our common experience, we cannot judge of its distance, but the delightful road amidst towering forests and beautiful plantations compensates for the length of the journey. [7]

While some tourists found excitement in their trip to the Peaks, others came seeking peace and meditation. In *The Peaks of Otter, A Monograph of the Religious Experience of a Young Man* (1859), the unnamed author tells of a horseback ride to the top of Sharp Top that led him to a religious conversion. Whenever he had doubts about God forever after, he "recurred to the scene and the prayer on the topmost Peak of Otter, and said, I will believe God." [8]

Near the close of the nineteenth century, the community that had grown up around the Peaks of Otter, now called the "Mons" community, was thriving and bustling. According to one local resident, there were at least twenty families, some with as many as twelve children,

living within a radius of two miles around the Peaks of Otter. [9] There was a church, a school, an Odd Fellows Lodge, the hotel now called the Hotel Mons, two mills, and the homes and outbuildings of local residents, including black families who lived and worked in the area. There was an economy based on farming, fruit orchards, legal distilling, turnpike traffic, and a thriving tourist trade.

One of the families in the Peaks of Otter area about whom we have a great deal of information is the Johnson family, whose mountain farm is now an interpretive site on the Blue Ridge Parkway. John Therone and Mary Elizabeth Johnson bought land on Harkening Hill in 1852 and established a farm that would remain in their family for three generations, a period of eighty-nine years. John T., as he was called, raised sheep, grew potatoes in abundance, and operated a distillery in a nearby hollow on "Still-house Stream," where he made brandy from apples grown on the mountainside. He was father to thirteen children, a leader in the New Prospect Baptist Church, and a man of inestimable value to the Mons community. In an article written after John T.'s death in 1901, a local resident said:

He was a man of integrity. This was shown in all his transactions and relations.... He was a man of decision. He would assume a position by slow degrees, but when once he planted himself according to his best light and judgments he was there to stay. He seemed to absorb the firmness and sturdy strength of the mountain near whose summit he resided. [10]

Jason Johnson, the favorite son who had a clubfoot, bought the farm from his parents in 1884. He took over the development of the farm with his wife, Jennie, and the seven of their nine children who survived childhood. Like his father, Jason was a prominent and respected member of the Mons community. He was a farmer, carpenter, and cobbler, making shoes for his family and neighbors. According to census records of agricultural production, Jason and Jennie created a productive farm; they had swine, poultry, a milk cow, and horses, and they produced eggs, butter, Indian corn, oats, and potatoes in abundance. [11] Because of his handicap, Jason often sowed seeds from horseback or planted and weeded on his knees. Jason took special pride in his horses. A granddaughter recalls that "he had the prettiest horses. You know, people in those days, I've heard my grandparents say, if you drive down the road and if you see a skinny hoss, horse, watch out for the people who owns it. It was sorta their way of, you know, judgin' character." [12]

The Johnsons worked side by side with their neighbors in the large apple and peach orchards grown on terraced slopes of Flat Top mountain. One of Jason and Jennie's children remembered that "the best grade of apples were packed in home-made barrels that were made in the orchard, hauled by wagon to Bedford—15 barrels to the load—then shipped to the English market." [13] While apple production tied the Johnson family into an international economic market, it also provided them with pleasurable community contact. Each fall, communal apple butter "stirrings" made gallons of apple butter.

Typical of the mountain region, the Johnsons and their neighbors also gathered for Sunday dinners (usually at the Johnson farm), quiltings, and corn shuckings at which time, according to one of the Johnsons, "the women would have a cookin'." Another family member remembered that "people [in the community] were very sociable," especially during the Christmas holidays. There were dances every night at different homes in the area, but drinking was frowned upon.

You would see a candle-light in every window and beautiful wreaths on every door, and everyone was happy and would give you a warm greeting. We did not have many Christmas toys in those days...we made our own sleds out of plank and we had long hills to ride...About the only thing we'd get for Christmas in the way of toys was some kind of candy animals—goat, sheep, etc. and firecrackers. [14]

Jason and Jennie and their family were economically tied to the old hotel in the Mons community, just as the previous generation had been, sometimes earning extra money by taking in boarders from the overflow of the hotel. The children found the numerous tourists who came to the Hotel Mons a source of odd jobs that gave them pocket change and a world of experience. The children would run errands for visitors and serve as guides to take guests to such local attractions as Buzzard's Rock, Needle's Eye, and Table Rock. One of the sons remembers his first trip as guide to the peak of Sharp Top:

My first trip three pious old ladies were boarding at my home and they wanted to go on the Peaks. My mother dressed me up and had me go with them to catty the lunch. I was eight years old and I could walk much faster than they—I got way ahead of them around a curve—and, child-like I wanted to see what was in the lunch basket. There was a bottle containing some red fluid so I decided to taste it. I took a big swallow and it liked to have burned my stomach up. I thought I was going to die, so I waited for them to catch up with me. I asked them what was in the bottle and they said it was "Snake-bite medicine," and I made the remark that I would rather have a snake bite me than to have that stuff in my belly. This was my first taste of whiskey. I also got a whipping when I returned home because of my bad behavior. [15]

The Johnson farm prospered during the tenure of Jason and Jennie, and that prosperity, combined with their traditional values of strong family, religion, hard world, loyalty and duty, gave their children opportunities for success not always found on mountain farms. Their son, Robert, became a successful farmer and merchant in the local area. Ed wanted to be a doctor, so his family helped him finance his medical education, and Jason built a small room on the house to serve as Ed's study. He trained as a male nurse in New York City and then earned his medical degree from the Medical College of Virginia, practicing in his home region until he was in his eighties. Callie Missouri, a daughter, married but continued to live near her parents, and eventually took over the farm. The youngest child, Hattie, had music lessons, a pump organ at the farmhouse, and went to boarding school in Bedford. Jason's granddaughter recalls, "he, I guess made a fairly good livin'. He raised a big family and had... you know, they had good lives, and he educated those who wanted to [be]." [16] The children all attended the Mons school in the community.

This middle period of the life of the Johnson family on their farm was probably the farm's most consistently prosperous and stable period. The years from 1894 until 1913, when Jennie died, were halcyon days for the Johnson farm and the Mons community.





Callie Johnson Bryant and Bryant children

After Jennie's death, Callie Missouri and her husband, Mack Bryant, returned to the farm to assist Jason, now alone. Jason must have welcomed the coming of the Bryants; this assured continuation of the farm for a third generation of Johnson descendants. Callie and Mack did bring continuity to the farm, but they also brought change, adding their own personal stamp to the life of the farm. Like their forebears, they ran a farm that provided for most of the needs of their family, and they found ways to augment their income with small entrepreneurial ventures.

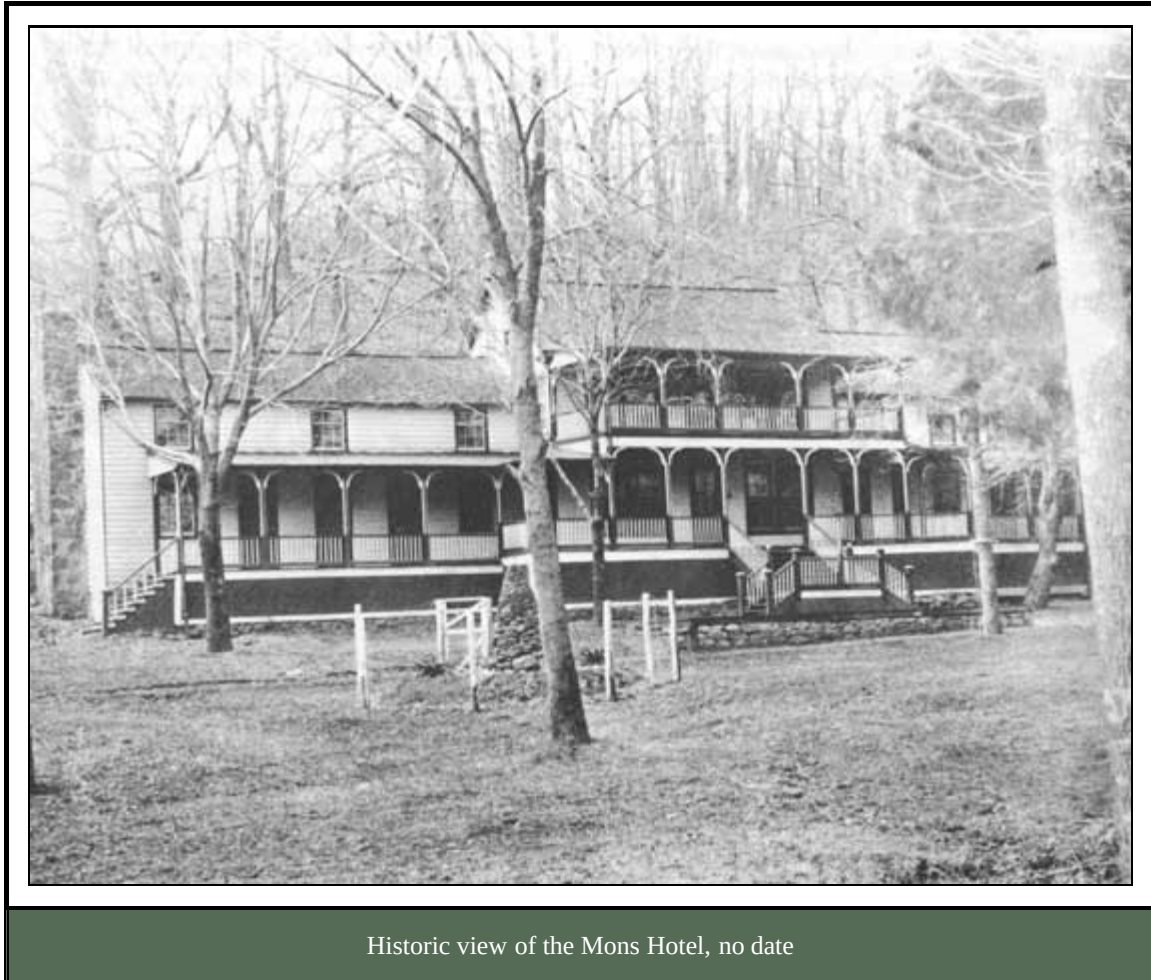
The excess of their crops of potatoes, beans, cabbages, and tomatoes were taken to markets in nearby Bedford and Roanoke or to the local Kelso's Mill. Like many mountain farm families, chestnuts provided a source of income until the blight began killing trees about 1917. Then Mack and some of his neighbors shaped the wood for sale as railroad ties. [17] Mack Bryant also served as the local "vetinary," and insisted on good care for all animals. Continuing in the Johnson family tradition, good horses were a point of honor with Mack. A neighbor remembered getting his car stuck in the snow once "and goin' up there and gettin' Mack to bring the team down and pull me out. Our horses were in the field and were cold and wouldn't pull, and Mack's were in the barn and they pulled. That tickled Mack to death." [18]

All of the family members had tasks to do in the running of such a busy mountain farm. For larger jobs, the Bryants and members of the Mon community continued the tradition of communal "workings." Neighbors would gather to saw wood for the winter, shell beans, butcher cattle and hogs, cut oats, shuck corn, make apple butter, and quilt. If the work concluded in time and with enough reserve energy, the whole group would be fed, followed by a party with music and dancing. Contrary to some myths about the isolation and lack of community among Appalachian people, "family responsibility and independence did not have the strong association with isolation and competition that we currently make." [19] As one Bryant family member in later years puzzled:

Everyone helped one another; you didn't have to have any money, see, but if you wanted to

get your winter's wood today, you cut it and you fed twenty to twenty-five, thirty people and then the next day you went to one of those houses and spent your time like at, and now we don't have time to even to see a neighbor with the conveniences now. You figure that one out. [20]

On Sundays, there was a steady stream of visitors to the farm, not only neighbors who came for dinner (often twenty-five to fifty guests) but also visitors from the Hotel Mons. (The old hotel was bought by the Peaks of Otter company in 1916, and in 1920 they erected a new hotel, named the Hotel Mons, that doubled the capacity of the old hotel.) Many came to see Callie's flower gardens, which were vast and varied in species. Callie sold her flowers to the hotel, and they were famous among the hotel guests who made regular pilgrimages up to the farm to see the glorious blooms:



I just betcha there was a, well there never was a mornin' there was anywhere from 10 to 25 to 35 guests that walked from the hotel up to our house to see our flowers an to, you know, they jus' set down out there in the yard, it was so cool. The wind would jus' blow an' they'd sit down there an' talk. [21]

Aesthetic sensitivity to their environment was not lost on any of the Bryants, even the children.

The Bryant children, like each generation of Johnson family children, benefitted from their association with hotel guests. They earned money as local guides, played music, and sang to entertain at the hotel. (Dick Bryant played a homemade banjo with a groundhog skin head.) Some family members worked from time to time at the hotel. Buford Bryant milked cows for the hotel and ran its sawmill; Eula worked as a waitress and collected entrance fees for

visitors to the peak of Sharp Top. In return, some of the guests who came year after year befriended the children and brought them clothes, candy, and sent Christmas presents (dolls for the girls one year); Mr. Troughbridge, a regular visitor from England, often bought Hershey bars and marshmallows for the children.

The Hotel Mons was a focal point for the whole community and was a lively place during the 1920s and early 1930s. One proprietor of the hotel during this era recalled:

To visit Hotel Mons was to develop "the Mons habit" and to several generations of Mons-goers the old hotel was a summer landmark. There they enjoyed the cool quiet of summer days in the beautiful Blue Ridge mountains. They enjoyed hearty meals supplied from country gardens and good companions for an evening stroll to mark the last colors of the sunset reflected against the two summits, Sharp Top and Flat Top—the Peaks of Otter. From Mons they returned home refreshed and replenished. And they returned to the mountain year after year. [22]

The Mons community had its own active social and cultural life as well, evident in the Bryant clan. Mack and his son Harry were members of the Odd Fellows Lodge in the community, where the family attended ice cream socials and free oyster suppers. They went to church gatherings and to the agricultural fair in nearby Bedford. The Bryants collaborated with their neighbors, the Putnams, in building a small swimming pool that served the community and the Hotel Mons, supplying water for the pool from their springs for twenty-five dollars a year.

The Bryants also supported education in their community by taking their turn boarding teachers for the Mons school. In later years, as the population of the area dwindled, the school met in various buildings in the community, including the Hotel Mons. Keeping the school open required a minimum number of students, so Mack Bryant had his daughter attend school two years past the legal requirement to maintain their community school. Nevertheless, the school finally closed, and the last two of the Bryant children had to travel by foot and by bus some distance to a school in Botetourt County.

The demise of the school was not the only sign that the community and the Johnson family farm were beginning a period of decline. In the early years of the twentieth century, more and more families in the Mons community began to sell their land to the U.S. Forest Service; more and more of the children of local families began to leave the area to look for work, no longer willing or able to be mountain farmers. The year 1929, a calamitous year for the whole United States with the stock market crash and the beginning of the Depression, was a dark year for the Bryants as well. Mack Bryant suffered a paralyzing stroke. Several of the older children had already left the farm to find work or live elsewhere, two of them being married that year, and sources of income for the farm declined. [23] The next year, the Peaks area was hit by a drought.

Callie and the remaining children struggled to keep the farm going and care for Mack, but in 1931, Mack died and the condition of the farm deteriorated. In the Mons community, the school and the church closed with the decline in population, and the Hotel Mons was in financial trouble because of the decline in tourism during the Depression and prewar years. The hotel company sold the hotel and its land to the federal government in 1935. The government had plans to develop the area into a major tourist site, as part of the Blue Ridge Parkway on which they had just begun construction.

For three generations, the Johnson family farm had been a prosperous farm in a thriving community, with a lifestyle of which the family was proud. But in the last years of the 1930s, the family watched their farm and their community wither, and they became painfully aware

that the gap between their lifestyle and others in the country now was widening. The family began to feel a need to join the mainstream that seemed to be passing them by and leaving them isolated in a way they never had been before. Most of the other families in the community had moved away, and the hotel was shut down in 1936. Jimmy Bryant, a grandson, was married and had a child by 1940, and he could see no future for his child if he stayed at the farm—we knew it was a comin' thing when we'd have to move, you see." [24]

The family found its opportunity to move when they sold their land to the Peaks of Otter Corporation in 1941; the corporation then sold the property to the National Park Service in 1942. As the Blue Ridge Parkway plans developed, the Mons community disappeared. The sprawling old Victorian hotel was torn down, as were all the civic and residential buildings. On the side of Harkening Hill, the once lively Johnson homestead languished. As the years went by, a new lodge was built, a lake was constructed, and other visitor services added. In the mid 1960s, the Park Service became interested in developing what was left of the Johnson farm as an interpretive site.

Unfortunately, at the present time, visitors to the Peaks of Otter on the Blue Ridge Parkway may come and go and never know the fascinating saga of human experience that preceded them on the same landscape. Some visitors may stay at the lodge, walk to the lake's edge, look at the Peaks and leave knowing nothing of the area's cultural richness. Others may go to the visitor's center and learn something of the natural history of the area. Some will venture up the path to the Johnson farm, walk around the farmstead, perhaps ask questions of the interpreter, and leave with the impression that this was a lovely, but isolated mountain farm, perched on the side of a lonely mountain, idyllic and out of the ebb and flow of the changing currents of history.

How did this happen? The breathtaking scenic beauty of the area and the mandates for the Blue Ridge Parkway by the National Park Service obscured understanding of the significant cultural life of the area. The hegemony of natural landscape, and of constructing a cultural landscape to fit it, is expressed over and over in Park Service documents about the Peaks of Otter.

In the Superintendent's Annual Report of 1939, it was clear the Parkway planners had high expectations for the Peaks of Otter portion of the scenic road: "Unquestionably the proposed Peaks of Otter development will become a major objective for loop drivers from Roanoke and Lynchburg. It is notable that on Apple Orchard Mountain... the parkway will reach 3910 feet, its highest elevation in Virginia. South toward Roanoke the drive coasts on the absolute skyline on a well-defined ridge providing one of the most spectacular sections of the parkway location in Virginia." [25] Stanley Abbott, the landscape architect who designed the Parkway, noted in a 1943 report that "the scenic quality of the Peaks of the Otter as they are viewed from the Parkway" is the major consideration in development plans and that it was "undesirable" to plan anything "obscuring the view of the twin mountains from the Parkway." [26]

There was interest in the cultural life of the region surrounding the Parkway, but even here the comments of the developers of the Parkway reveal the supremacy of visual quality over accurate preservation and portrayal of cultural life. A 1942 Parkway report notes:

Many place name signs giving elevations of points of interest and a number of story signs recounting tales and legends and bits of history were placed during the year. In this the aim has been to stress the lived-in quality of the mountains as the heart of the story rather than the limited interest of political history in the mountains. It has been gratifying to note the contribution to the folk picture along the Parkway of the closely allied leasing program. Restoration of farm fields, the re-building of miles of split rail fence, and the turning out of

the sheep and cattle again to pasture have added much interest to the drive. [27] (Emphasis mine.)

Regional culture was to be part of the Parkway experience only insofar as it fit the "folk picture" of the region as conceived by Parkway planners. The political history of the region was of such "limited interest" that it was entirely subsumed by the hegemony of picturesque landscape.

In the mid-1960s, as part of the "Mission 66" program to rehabilitate the nation's parks, the Peaks of Otter and the Johnson farm became a focus for increased development and infusion of funds. What had been the wet meadows of the Mons community became Abbott Lake, necessitating the moving of Polly Wood's Ordinary from the site on which it had stood since the early 1800s. Attention then turned to the remaining buildings of the Johnson farm, with plans to turn the farm into an interpretive site telling the story "of pioneer mountain farms in the Southern Appalachians." [28]

In 1968, restoration of the Johnson farm began. Decisions were made, based on little documentation, to restore the farm to its imagined condition in the late nineteenth century. [29] This meant that the weather-boarding was removed to expose the logs underneath, the tin roof came off and was replaced with wooden shakes, some rooms were removed, and sizes of windows changed. A primitive footpath through the woods and up the mountain became the access route for visitors to the farm, not the old road that so vitally connected the Johnsons and Bryants to their community. The farmhouse was stripped of all the improvements it took the Johnsons and Bryants years to earn and build to add comfort and status to their lives. The folk-picture on the landscape again was the guiding principle, rather than cultural history.

By the 1970s, several voices raised alarm about interpretation of the Johnson farm site. The Park historian, F. A. Ketterson, called for new, more thorough research in order to present the farm in its relationships to the larger Peaks community of which it had always been part. He felt the Johnson farm offered "a rare opportunity to interpret a mountain home from its beginnings as a rather rude, one-story cabin that grew and became somewhat refined as the economic lot of its owners improved." [30] Ketterson also worried about access to the farm, saying

We bring visitors in by means of a foot path that I do not believe existed in historic times, instead of bringing them in over the historic access road to the Johnson Farm. In bringing people in by this footpath, we convey, albeit unintentionally...a false impression of the isolation in which the dwellers at the Johnson Farm lived...The fact of the matter appears to be that they were relatively unisolated. [31]

In recent years, the farmhouse was returned to its 1930s appearance and furnished extensively with Johnson family or historically appropriate pieces. Thorough research to document the farm, the family, and much of the community has been undertaken. Although little else has changed as yet, the Parkway administration is excited by the possibilities for more comprehensive interpretation of the cultural life of the Peaks of Otter area.

In 1853, just as the Johnson family began their tenure at the farm that bears their name, Henry Morgan wrote: "Perhaps no American scenery is more interesting than the Peaks of Otter." [32] His feeling was true then and prophetic. The scenery was so compelling that it literally engulfed the human culture of many generations. Near the end of his life, Dr. Ed Johnson remembered his home in truer words than he realized:

The village at Mons was a thriving community and everyone was a neighbor and willing to help each other day or night. The good old days are all gone now, so are the beautiful old

homes that formed this community. If you make a visit to that area today, you see only the Peaks, Flat Top Mountain, Harkening Hill—made by nature—and the beautiful drive which has been made by man...I feel I owe a lot to my parents and the good people who lived eighty years ago where the Blue Ridge Parkway is today. [33]

We all are haunted by the loss of Appalachia's cultural life. The saga of human experience at the Peaks of Otter and the Johnson Farm is one of scope and texture and surprise. It is a story worth knowing and worth telling.

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⁶ Henry Morgan, *Peaks of Otter* (Lynchburg, VA: Virginia Job Office, 1853), 14.

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⁸ *The Peaks of Otter, A Monograph of the Religious Experience of Young Man* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1859), 31.

⁹ Paper written by Dr. E. L. Johnson, December 1960, Bedford, Virginia. Blue Ridge Parkway Archives.

¹⁰ Rosemary Johnson, Karen Lee, Mel Lee, Julie Savage, *The Johnson Farm, Back In 'At Day 'N Time: A Social and Historical Study of the Johnson Farm and Its Inhabitants, 1852-1941, Vol. III* (Blue Ridge Parkway, 1975), 73.

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¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

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¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Code CC, 6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Code TT, 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 100.

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²¹ *Ibid.*, 108.

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³⁰ *Ibid.*, 66.

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³² Johnson et al., Vol. V, Code R, 3, 5.

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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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IDENTIFICATION AND PRESERVATION OF NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURY HOMESITES IN THE PISGAH AND NANTAHALA NATIONAL FORESTS

RODNEY J. SNEDEKER AND MICHAEL A. HARMON

Numerous historic homesites have been located during cultural resource surveys on the Pisgah and Nantahala National Forests in western North Carolina. From survey data, historic research and limited test excavation, themes and contexts are being developed to better define, assess, and evaluate these sites. Historic site types on the Forests are described and categorized, relative to historic uses of the Forest environment. Directions for research, preservation, and interpretation are suggested.

INTRODUCTION

The Pisgah and Nantahala National Forests contain more than one million (1,024,902) acres of the Southern Appalachian Mountains in western North Carolina. Nearly nine percent (8.7 percent), 89,246 acres, has been surveyed. One thousand three hundred and five (1,305) prehistoric and historic archeological sites have been recorded in compliance-directed surveys. Approximately twelve percent of these sites are historic components. The vast majority of historic sites date to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. If fifty years old, these sites meet National Register of Historic Places age criteria, and one hundred years of age gives them protective status under the Archeological Resources Protection Act. Most of these sites are recorded for compliance projects, and site significance (eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places) must be determined before proposed management activities proceed. Preservation of important sites must then be planned and protective measures implemented. Measures include avoidance, stabilization, restoration, site excavation, relocation, and/or public interpretation.

In order to complete assessments, historic contexts are needed to evaluate historic homesites and determine their relevance to ongoing-search problems. To develop contexts, one must be aware of the total range of historic resources and all historic exploitation and use of the Forest resources. To effectively interpret historic resources one must have at his or her disposal accurate contexts or themes. The historic resources of the Forests include a diverse and unusually rich range of artifacts and sites. These include historic cabins (Plate 1), trails, mines, logging camps, homesteads, mills, original highway and railroad grades, cemeteries, and historic Forest Service structures such as guard stations, lookout towers, camps, administrative centers, and Civilian Conservation Corps era campgrounds, roads, and buildings (Plate 2).





Plate 1. Historic cabin chimney, Grandfather Ranger District, Pisgah National Forest, McDowell County, N.C.



Plate 2. Yellow Mountain Fire Lookout, built by the Civilian Conservation Corps, Macon County, NC.

Throughout the Forests, there is evidence of exploitation of its resources in recent history. Old homeplaces, cleared fields, rock terraces, fruit trees, and cemeteries are common. Old railroad grades and roads are identifiable. Remnants of logging camps can be found in every District. Mica, soapstone, silver and gold mines are documented on the Forests along with common building stone quarries. The Cradle of Forestry on the Pisgah Ranger District exemplifies pre-Federal and early public agency involvement in managing the resources of the forests.

HISTORIC ARCHEOLOGY METHOD AND THEORY

Traditionally, historic archeology focused on known, documented sites of historic importance such as early settlements, missions, forts and mansions. Nineteenth and twentieth century sites were largely ignored unless associated with specific historic events.

During the 1960s and 1970s, archeology underwent a series of changes in research directions. Historic archeology was evolving into a scientific discipline, with decreased emphasis on particularistic artifact-oriented studies and site restorations. Research directions changed to artifact quantification and pattern recognition studies aimed at recognizing more of the unwritten portion of historic archeology.

There was a concurrent emergence of Cultural Resource Management (CRM) Archaeology which caused archaeologists to study previously unexplored historic site types and problem areas. Relatively recent problem areas include the study of share cropper/tenant and farmer/slave occupations and their importance to economic development. The undocumented and poorly documented sites are studied with research emphasis on reconstructing unwritten day-to-day events. Industrial archeology has emerged, with recent investigations at mica mines. Archeology of historic Indian groups, such as the Cherokee, has become a popular subject area. This increased range of historic archeology problem areas has improved understanding of variety and the entire spectrum of historic archeology.

FOREST HISTORY

Understanding the history of the Forests and the total range of uses and exploitation is a prerequisite to identifying all types of historic resources and developing contexts with which to define them.

In the early sixteenth century, Spaniards came seeking gold in the Great Smokies. By the mid-1600s, the influence of European contact had begun in the area as explorers and traders moved into the mountains. Settlers arrived in the area in the late 1700s. When the first Europeans came, western North Carolina was a part of the Cherokee nation. Later, during the Removal period, a number of Cherokees were able to hide in the mountains and eventually obtained the lands comprising the present Cherokee reservation in western North Carolina. The 56,000-acre Qualla Boundary (Cherokee Indian Reservation) is located in the western counties of North Carolina.

The larger part of the reservation is contiguous; however, numerous outlying Indian land parcels are adjacent to and intermingled with Forest lands. Incentives for settlement included the Land Grants given to Revolutionary War Veterans. Resettlement of the Cherokee, the "Trail of Tears", took place in 1838, and Indian land soon became the property of the Whites.

For early settlers, farming became the main lifestyle. Livestock were grazed on the cleared land. Logging along the rivers allowed easy access to sawmills. A heavier demand for lumber and other wood products increased logging. Oxen, flumes, cable yarding equipment, and logging railways were used to move the timber, lumber, acid wood (tanbark), and firewood out of the Forests. The area was sparsely populated until the years following the Civil War, when western North Carolina was linked to the east by improved roads and completion of the railroad. Asheville grew as a regional center, and increased demand for lumber and wood products led to intensive logging of nearby areas in the 1880s. Logging was initially limited to areas along rivers and creeks, but when these areas were clearcut and depleted, operations moved into the higher, more remote sections of the forest.

George Vanderbilt hired Gifford Pinchot to manage his holdings and restore the privately owned Pisgah Forest to its former grandeur. Pinchot later became head of the U. S. Department of Forestry and was replaced by Carl Schenck. Schenck established the Biltmore

Forestry School in 1897, the first forestry school in America, at the site of the present Cradle of Forestry in America. The forestry school was disbanded in 1909 when George Vanderbilt removed his financial backing. Pinchot and Schenck began stabilizing the environment by building wicker fences to control erosion, replanting forests, and practicing selective cutting. In 1917, Edith Vanderbilt, widow of George Vanderbilt, sold 86,700 acres to the U.S. Forest Service. This tract of land was the basis for the Pisgah Ranger District. Many historic homes on acquired land tracts were razed by the Forest Service following purchase for safety reasons and to eliminate "squatters". These homesteads in the higher elevations of the forest date mainly to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The National Forests were established to protect lands on the headwaters of navigable streams from deforestation, fire, and erosion, so that streamflow could be protected. Forest Service management has produced a relatively stable physical environment in the present Pisgah and Nantahala National Forests. In the past, terrain was substantially damaged by a combination of natural and cultural factors. This damage was especially intensive during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Prior to reforestation massive erosion of the uplands occurred, creeks and rivers were flooded and scoured by soil runoff and the damaging effects of splash dams. Splash dams produced artificial impoundments to raise the water level, which was then released causing timber to flow downstream to lumber yards. Wildfires were also rampant and, combined with the annual freeze/thaw cycle, damaged the surface integrity of both prehistoric and historic sites. Numerous logging roads and railroads were constructed, and because of the small percentage of level land in the mountains, they frequently impacted saddles, gaps, and flats which contained archeological sites. Although severe past disturbances are evident, intact archeological remains exist and can be recovered and preserved.

FOREST SERVICE HISTORIC SITE TYPES

Archaeologists on the National Forests in North Carolina have recorded numerous historic components. Background research conducted prior to fieldwork includes Forest Service land acquisition files containing land ownership history which details land condition at the time of acquisition. The survey report frequently describes land improvements such as houses, dependencies and agricultural fields which can be relocated during survey. Surface reconnaissance, surface collection, and limited sub surface testing are conducted at historic sites to determine extent, contents, and functions.

HOMESITES

Homesites are denoted by house remains. Attributes usually consist of one or more (intact or partial) chimneys, foundation stones or walls, and occasionally lumber and roofing material (Plate 3). A root cellar, well, or springhouse foundation, shrubbery, flower beds, and "homestead" trees are generally associated, as are the remains of one or more dependencies such as a smokehouse and carriage house or car shed. A road or trail is usually noticeable and may either be an overgrown roadbed or a road currently in use. Most houses were constructed of logs up to the period of the Civil War. Frame buildings increased as transportation routes improved and sawmills became more easily accessible.





Plate 3. Historic house foundation, French Broad County, North Carolina.

FARMSTEADS

Many early settlers were farmers. Farmsteads range from small sharecropper or tenant farms to large upland plantations. The majority of farms were small, family-owned operations. These archeological sites include house and dependency remains (and associated artifacts) but also structures and artifacts that are primarily associated with farming activities. Ancillary structures include one or more of the following: barn with stables and storage compartments, animal pens and shelters (chicken yard, hog lot), and structures for product storage such as a corn house (double corn cribs), tobacco barn, or silo (Plate 4). [1] Remains of a lot fence (either board or woven wire) may be found enclosing the outbuildings. Field rock walls, rock piles, and terraces have been recorded in many areas providing evidence of past agriculture. The mountains were considered "open stock range" prior to 1885 when the "stock law" was passed. [2]





Plate 4. Chestnut smokehouse, French Broad Ranger District, Pisgah National Forest, Haywood Ranger District, Pisgah National Forest, Madison County, North Carolina.

Functions of individual structures may be difficult to determine at the survey level. Historic records and local informants provide insights. Relative size architectural complexity, artifact content, and structure "lot" orientation are additional techniques for inferring the function of individual structures. The number, size, and complexity of ancillary structures reflect the extent of the agricultural operation. Smaller farms such as sharecropper or tenant farms may only have a barn, while larger farms will have the range of dependencies described here and possibly additional house (domestic) remains that provided habitation space for slaves or hired hands. Although homesites and farmsteads are the most common kind of historic site in the mountain forests, many other activities are represented by physical remains.

LOGGING OPERATIONS

Evidence of past logging operations is fairly common. Logging camps were constructed in various areas, but they were usually dismantled and moved following exhaustion of timber. Earlier sawmill sites contain rock-lined, rectangular depressions which held steam boilers, trenches for belts, ash piles, and remnants of slab and sawdust piles. These sites are near water sources. Later sawmill sites are relatively common and contain sawdust and slash piles, sawpits and discarded oil cans, jars, bottles, etc. The main information potential of sawmill sites is their location and evidence of logging activity in a given area. Some of the better preserved sawmill sites have been protected for interpretive purposes.

MINING OPERATIONS

Mining operations are a common historic site type in the National Forests. Several mining areas have been attributed to sixteenth century Spanish explorations, although these accounts have not been substantiated. The majority of recorded sites reflect mica mining. These sites range in size from prospecting pits and trenches to extensive quarry areas. Mica has been used as insulation and in place of window glass. A variety of other minerals have been recovered from the mountains, including soapstone, talc, olivine, quartz, feldspar, silver, and gold. Occasionally, mine locations are recorded on U.S. Geological Survey maps. Most of the

mines recorded represent poorly documented and undocumented small scale operations. However, several large mining areas encompassing an entire drainage of nearly five hundred to one thousand acres have been recorded.

CEMETERIES

Cemeteries are relatively common within the National Forest boundaries (Plate 5). A substantial range of variation is represented which presumably reflects both temporal and socioeconomic differences. Historic Cherokee burials have been recorded, and most are denoted by rock mounds over the graves. Individual graves are denoted by shallow (surrounded) rectangular depressions. Most graves are marked by head and/or foot stones which include quarried stone and field stone). Quarried stone markers generally have engraved inscriptions. Field stone grave markers generally lack inscriptions. Rock wall enclosures have been recorded for several sites (Plate 5). Most cemeteries are nuclear and extended family plots rather than church graveyards evidenced by their proximity to homesites and farmsteads.



Plate 5. Webb gravesite (1913), Highlands Ranger District, Nantahala National Forest, Macon County, N.C.

MOONSHINE STILLS

Numerous moonshine still sites have been recorded. Moonshine was produced by many settlers for both personal use and as an income source. Common attributes include hearth remnants made from stone or brick and evidence of fire in the form of ash or charcoal. Artifacts include containers (mainly canning jars and buckets) and various metal objects from still construction such as sheet metal, barrels, radiators, and copper tubing (Harmon 1980). [3] Many of the stills are located in coves or ravines that are not evident on U.S. Geological Survey maps.

Still locations are recorded and plotted but are given a site number only if there is artifactual evidence of fifty or more years of age.

WATER-POWERED MILLS

Less common historic sites include water-powered mill locations (Plate 6). Mills were a common landscape feature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These mills were often multi-purpose with sawmills, grist mills, and blacksmith shops operating from the same power source. Mills were usually associated with small settlements or villages. Although there are former town and village locations within the Forests, most of these settlements were not included in public acquisitions. An exception is the Harmon Den area in the Pigeon River gorge, the location of a town that existed prior to Forest Service obtainment.



Plate 6. Stone structure at water-powered mill complex, McDowell County, NC.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The historical archeology of the mountainous Pisgah and Nantahala National Forests has been described. This discussion has been general because site data is primarily from survey-level investigations. Excavations have not been completed on historic sites. Those sites that have potential for yielding information to general research problems and which are also considered potentially eligible for the National Register are protected from further damage by preservation and exclusion from proposed terrain-disturbing projects. Not only significant sites are protected. Many historic sites and associated landscape features are effective interpretive opportunities. An old railroad bed now used as a hiking trail adds a new dimension to the user experience (Plate 6). A standing chimney with a small interpretive sign (Plate 7) adds to the use of an adjacent mountain bike trail along a logging road relocated to preserve the site. Historic buildings, Black Forest Lodges (Plates 8 and 9), have been moved to the Cradle of Forestry and are maintained along interpretive trails. It serves as an interpretive site with more than sixty thousand visitors per year. Historic archeological sites

recorded during surveys in the surrounding area are studied with reference to the forestry school. The Yellow Mountain Fire Lookout, constructed by the Civilian Conservation Corps, is currently being documented. A Challenge Cost Share agreement with a private company is being used to restore the structure located along a well-used hiking trail on the Highlands Ranger District. Historic sites can be used to add a quality dimension to a visitor's experience, and to promote tourism; their use will foster greater public awareness and preservation of valuable resources. Historic resources are often the tie to the land that connects those publics interested or concerned about public land management. Understanding these ties, both by the publics and land managers can lead to more sound analyses and decisions being made. The historic resource can tell a true story of past land use and changes in condition over time.



An increased understanding of historic site types and continued shared efforts to assess them using well-founded contexts will foster more meaningful research. Investigations are currently being conducted by Brett Riggs (University of Tennessee) on Citizen Cherokee homesites (1794-1838), several of which are located on the Forests. This study will aid our understanding of Cherokee adaptation, and identification of undocumented historic Cherokee sites.

The historical record of the Pisgah and Nantahala National Forests is rich and varied. General trends and settlement patterns, from survey data and historic research, are evidence which should be productive for development of historic contexts. These contexts will better direct ongoing and future research and lead to more effective evaluation, interpretation, and preservation of historic resources (Plate 7, Plate 8, and Plate 9).



Plate 8. Cantrell Creek Lodge at Cradle of Forestry, Transylvania County, N.C.



Plate 9. Black Forest Lodge at the Cradle of Forestry.

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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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RURAL HISTORIC LANDSCAPES AND INTERPRETIVE PLANNING ON SOUTHERN NATIONAL FORESTS

DELCE DYER AND QUENTIN BASS

The U.S. Forest Service manages over four million acres in six Southern Appalachian forests. The Cherokee National Forest in Tennessee is one such Appalachian forest with a wide variety of cultural resources found throughout its 625,000-acre expanse. Most of these resources can be considered cultural landscapes, and each exemplifies typical patterns of land use over time in the Southern Appalachians.

In the past year, National Forests in the Southern Region have been developing forest-specific master plans for interpretive services. At each Forest, a mission statement, a set of specific goals, and an initial inventory of interpretive resources has been developed by an interpretive team of landscape architects, archaeologists, recreation specialists, and others. In addition to this planning approach, the Cherokee National Forest has recently received a draft "Cultural Resource Overview" which provides a bibliographic base for documenting and assessing forest cultural resources.

Whether an agency is trying to interpret themes over thousands of acres or just one acre, a systematic process is necessary to determine what and how to reveal cultural landscapes to the public. The Forest Archeologist has prepared a flow chart to clarify steps in the interpretive planning process (Figure 1). The following are also a few questions to be considered by cultural resource managers:

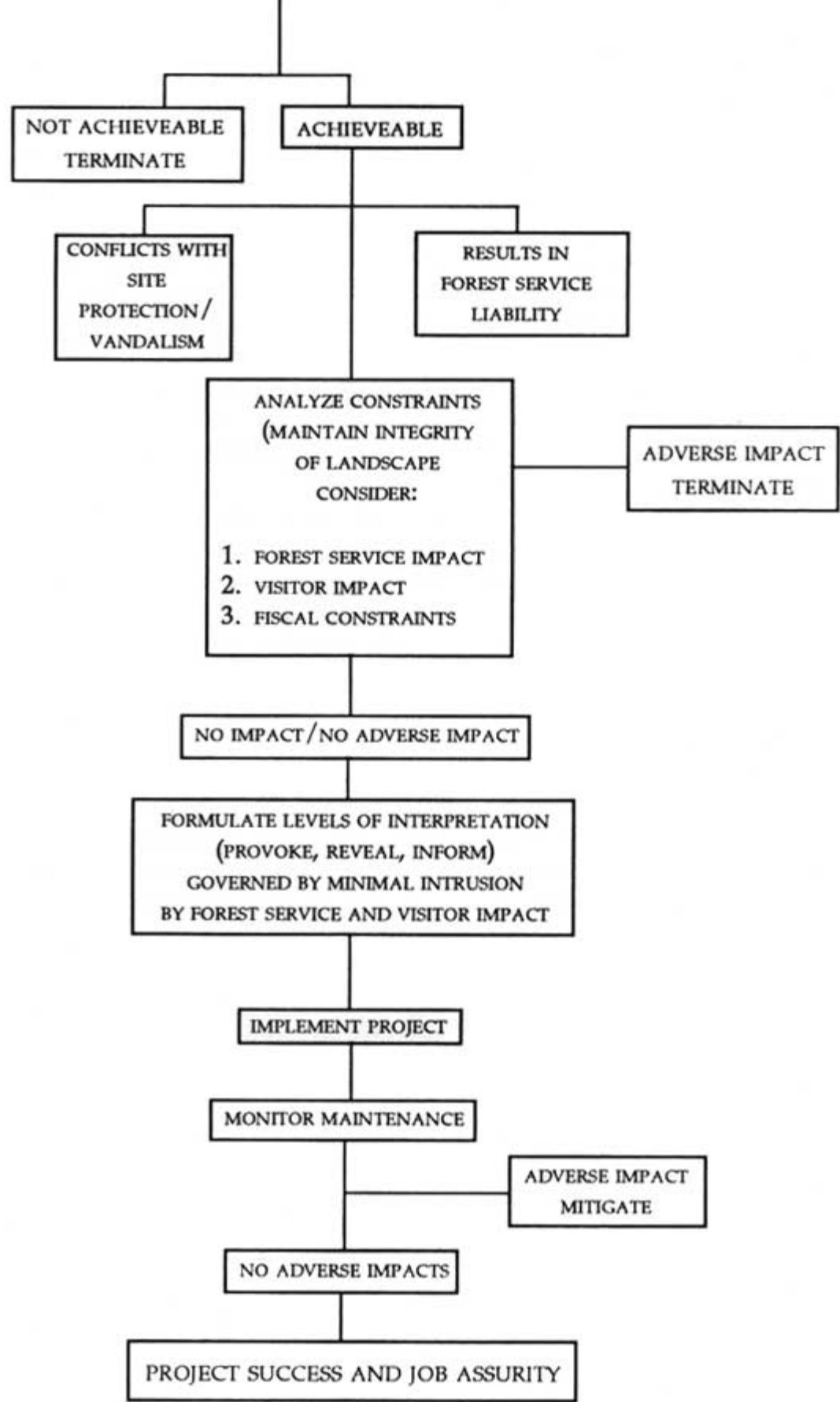
1. What landscapes should we, as single agencies and members of Southern Appalachian Man and the Biosphere Cooperative (SAMAB), strive to conserve and in what condition?
2. Do we allow the public to view fragile cultural resources, or do we keep them secreted away for their own protection?
3. What do we want to interpret to the public? We can be guided by interpretive goals and Appalachian themes/contexts developed on-forest, through SAMAB, and through other multi-agency partnerships to determine which resources best reflect our interpretive goals.
4. How do we plan for, monitor, and mitigate the effects of increased tourism upon those cultural landscapes placed under our curation?
5. How do we sensitively interface modern additions—visitor circulation, restrooms, parking, signage—with the least intrusion to the cultural landscape?

PLANNING STEPS FOR CULTURAL LANDSCAPE INTERPRETATION

WHY INTERPRET?

PART OF CRM MISSION

(IDENTIFY, EVALUATE, PROTECT, AND ENHANCE RESOURCES) FSM 2360.



Given these criteria, it is incumbent that cultural resource managers and land planners develop and delineate aesthetic design guidelines and tailor them to the individual cultural resources on a case-by-case basis. One possible method for guiding design of sensitive

amenities may be the Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (ROS) system, a land management planning system developed by the Forest Service in the early 1980s. [1] This is a system that strives to categorize settings and facilities sought by visitors into a range of seven landscape experiences from primitive to urban. These guidelines can be applied to interpretive development, but in the Southern Region, they have not yet been tied to interpretative facilities.

The following examples of categories of cultural landscapes from the Cherokee National Forest will help introduce the range of resources found on public and private lands throughout the Southern Appalachians.

OLD ROADS/WATER CROSSINGS

The Unicoi Turnpike was a major artery used by the Cherokee Indians and later by Euro-American settlers to travel between South Carolina, North Carolina, and east Tennessee. A pristine, preserved, two-mile section of the historic roadway still exists in a remote area of the Hiwassee District near the North Carolina border.

The Old Copper Road, on the banks of the Ocoee River and adjacent to the Ocoee Scenic Byway, is another historic road built in the 1850s with Cherokee Indian labor to improve transportation of copper from its source in Copperhill to the railroad in Cleveland, Tennessee, a distance of thirty-five miles. The last significant segment of the road, a four-mile length, is currently used by local residents to access a popular swimming area called "Blue Hole," so named from the bluish tint cast by copper sediments in the water. Plans are underway to restore this section of the Copper Road and develop the area into a major recreation corridor.

With portions of nine rivers and innumerable streams running through the lands of the Cherokee National Forest, there are scores of river-fording sites that range widely in historic importance. One well-known ford is located on the Tennessee-North Carolina line on the French Broad River at a place known as Paint Rock on the Nolichucky Ranger District. The site has a long history as a culturally significant locale, as evidenced by prehistoric pictographs on Paint Rock, archeological remnants of a blockhouse dating to the 1790s, and remains of structures from subsequent layers of settlement. Another site of this type is a ford located at the mouth of Little Citico Creek on the Tellico Ranger District. This point served as an 1819 boundary corner which defined a northernmost point of Cherokee lands prior to the Cherokee Removal of 1838. The area is currently being developed into a horse camp and trail system: the old ford will provide a solid-base crossing for the horses. The area's archaeological sites associated with this period are also preserved.

NATIVE AMERICAN SITES

One excellent example which displays the continuum of Native American habitation on the Cherokee National Forest is the 345-acre tract known as the Jackson Farm on the Unaka District near Greeneville, Tennessee. Spectacularly preserved archaeological evidence of prehistoric, early historic, and protohistoric occupations, as well as the entire range of Euro-American exploration and settlement patterns are present at this site and can be investigated and interpreted through on-going archeological research. Located on the Nolichucky River between Greeneville and Jonesborough, Tennessee's two oldest towns, the site has excellent potential for tying Native American land use directly to later aspects of Southern Appalachian development.

UPLAND GRAZING

Transhumance, the seasonal movement of livestock to upland pasturage, was a major land-

use pattern unique in America to the Appalachians. Along the upper elevations of the Cherokee National Forest are the remnants of a number of grassy "balds," the product of this upland grazing of cattle and sheep during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Multi-resource inventories and management plans for each of the Cherokee's "balds" are scheduled. Out of these studies will come information on historic boundaries, associated structures, fence patterns, and site-specific historic land-use practices. Plans are now underway for protection and interpretation of a series of these balds along the Tellico-Robbinsville Road, a proposed scenic byway which, when completed, will provide an overmountain connection between Tennessee and North Carolina.

Rock walls along the Appalachian Trail and elsewhere are often associated with upland grazing. A few extant structures, such as the log shepherd's cabin on the Appalachian Trail near Shady Valley, Tennessee (now used as a hikers' shelter), and archeological remnants of other structures attest to this widespread practice.

FARMSTEADS

The Forest Service is engaged in a major land acquisition program for the protection and relocation of the Appalachian Trail, a national scenic trail. In the process, the Cherokee National Forest has acquired a number of old farmsteads. One recent acquisition, near Dennis Cove on the Unaka District, included a double-pen log house (in poor condition), a log barn, a mature Chinese chestnut grove, some old apple trees, and other small scale elements.

Another significant farmstead acquired through the same process is the Scott-Booher tract near Shady Valley, on the Watauga District. At one time, the site was considered the most complete single rural historic landscape on the Forest. Public access to the site has been limited to foot traffic only, over about a half-mile of old road that offers glimpses of the farmstead. The approach road passes a series of fenced areas, all with similar gates: the orchard; the entrance to the house yard; the side yard and various outbuildings; the vegetable garden; and the barnyard/clothes washing place. Still in existence are a number of small scale elements, including a hand-hewn clothesline pole and the house spring, surrounded by a stone wall (one of five springs on the site). A twenty-tree apple orchard has a number of antique varieties yet to be identified. Through the umbrella of an organization like SAMAB, a comprehensive inventory of historic fruit varieties, old roses, and other ornamentals, as well as small-scale elements used at historic house sites in the Appalachians, could be compiled and made available to researchers of the regional cultural landscape.

One final note about the Scott-Booher site: the house was burned by arsonists in early 1991, which brings up tricky preservation and interpretive questions. Should we try to maintain structures which are susceptible to arson and vandalism? With the loss of one or more major architectural features, has the integrity of the site been too compromised? Should the fences, gates, and outbuildings be maintained as if the whole unit were still intact? Can the relict landscape itself be interpreted with signage?

FIRE TOWERS

Fire detection and its architecture is a part of Forest Service heritage. Towers on the Cherokee National Forest were constructed between 1920 and the mid-1940s, a few of these by the Civilian Conservation Corps. Each tower was labelled with huge identifying characters fashioned from poured concrete forms flush-mounted in the ground. On the Cherokee National Forest, the labels ranged from C-1 to C-18. C-1 is located near the VA-TN border, now on the Appalachian Trail; C-15 is atop Buck Bald on the Hiwassee District in the southern portion of the Forest.

With the advent of all-aerial detection, these structures have become anachronistic and have fallen into complete disuse. Several towers have been taken down in recent years. Remote locations and disuse have left the structures open to vandalism. As funding is available, extant towers and tower sites will be inventoried and documented. With a renewed interest in interpretation, selected towers may become facilities/points for interpretation of a by-gone era of forest management. The Meadow Creek tower on the Nolichucky District in Cocke County, Tennessee, is in fairly good condition, and is currently being maintained against vandalism. The structure is one of two of its architectural type on the Forest—a large square building, no more than twenty feet above ground level, accessed by a stairway, with a wide outdoor deck surrounding the interior windowed viewing-and-living facility. The architectural style better lends itself to public access than towers fifty feet or more above ground, accessed by narrow ladders or stairs. This structure could remain in place to interpret fire detection and could perhaps be retrofitted to be barrier-free. On the other hand, a tall tower such as the ninety-foot one at Oswald Dome near the Ocoee River seems dangerous for even fire spotters to climb! If this structure is taken down, it is possible that the cab could be mounted at ground level, either outdoors or inside a visitor center, to allow Forest visitors to climb through the trap door and operate the "Osborne Fire Finder" inside the diminutive space.

CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

On the lands of the Cherokee National Forest, there is a wide range of CCC-constructed camps and recreation areas, in varying states of preservation and repair. Some are in good condition, where modern development has been incorporated with sensitivity; others are poorly maintained or have been altered with little attention to the historic fabric.

McKamy Lake is one of at least five extant CCC-constructed swimming holes still in existence on the Cherokee National Forest. Located in a campground off the Ocoee Scenic Byway, this is the best preserved and is the most used of the CCC swimming areas. Heavy-timbered pavilions constructed by CCC labor remain in a number of picnic grounds; among these are Horse Creek, Backbone Rock, and The Laurels. Two 1937 photographs of the Laurels, a picnic area between Johnson City and Erwin were recently unearthed. Some elements are no longer there, but the old growth is still a prevalent feature. The 1937 plans called for retention of "Grove of White Pine and Hemlock (Demi-Virgin)." In 1958 and later, a series of site alterations were made, some sensitive, others not so. The roofing on the two pavilions was changed from wood to asbestos shingles. Paved walkways were installed in an attempt at barrier-free circulation or minimum maintenance. Some rock retaining walls, particularly those that completed an accessible wading area, were sensitive to the original design.

The Tellico Ranger Station was built for the Forest Service on the site of the first CCC camp in the state. The original CCC administrative office remains on-site, complete with terracing and stone wall. Two large buildings flanking the ranger station were used by the CCC enrollees; one is the former dining hall, now used for offices, classrooms, and storage. Barracks and other buildings were concentrated behind the present ranger station. Most of these structures, however were removed as the CCC camp was closing. What remains from the CCC era—administrative office, powerhouse, dining hall and its twin storage building, CCC-built ranger office, entrance drive, and other landscape elements—retain to a large degree the integrity of their original fabric. Down the Tellico River Road from the ranger station is the Dam Creek Picnic Area, marked by a typical CCC portal. The Dam Creek portal is similar to one at the Pink Beds picnic ground on the Pisgah National Forest, with the exception of a large carving wheel inside the shelter. This is a wonderful area with lots of old growth and secret nooks and crannies. The design and materials of this picnic area are relatively intact. Small scale elements remain, like low concrete grills, water fountains, a

slate-lined drainage system, and a series of contemplation sites. The CCC designers anticipated heavy site use by constructing flagstone pads underneath each picnic site and bench.

Another type of CCC resource is the abandoned site of a former camp, like Camp Rolling Stone, in a remote corner of the Hiwassee District near the North Carolina border and the Unicoi Turnpike. Enough remains on the ground at this former camp to determine the arrangement. A camp swimming pool was fashioned by widening a part of the creek that ran through the camp. Extant are the steps to the barracks, chimneys to administrative buildings and mess hall, remains of the latrine, and the camp's protected water source, a spring with a dry-laid stone hood.

These are by no means an exhaustive inventory of the Forest's cultural landscapes. Southern forests are just beginning to develop their interpretive plans. These are however, representative of what can be found throughout the Appalachian forests, along with historic logging sites, caves, railroad beds, and a host of other resources.

All of us who are involved with public interpretation have a challenge before us, not only to inventory, document, evaluate, and protect our cultural landscapes, but to plan how to present them to the visiting public in the safest, most informative, thought-provoking and least intrusive way.

ENDNOTE

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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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FISH WEIRS AS PART OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

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Fish as a food source has been utilized in eastern North America since at least 2500 B.C., the beginning of the Late Archaic period. Fish provides animal protein which be can eaten fresh or stored for future consumption by drying or smoking. It may have contributed more to prehistoric diets than has been generally recognized. Because of their relatively fragile nature and small size, fish bones frequently do not preserve well in archaeological contexts, and the number of bones recovered can be affected by the use of equipment which is not designed to recover very small faunal remains. Fish hooks have been found in archaeological sites dating to the Late Archaic period, and it is likely that other means of capturing fish were in use at this early time as well. [1] Other methods may have included the use of nets, spears, fish poison, and various types of traps. The use of fish weirs represents an additional technique of capturing fish. Various forms of these are found throughout North America, absent only in those areas which have relatively unpredictable or minimal stream flows. [2]

Many methods used to capture fish also would not have left recognizable evidence in the archaeological record, as wood, bone, and fiber implements are subject to decay, especially in wet environments. For that reason, it is difficult to determine the range of methods used to capture fish, but it is likely that prehistoric peoples were familiar with a number of ways to obtain them. Ethnographically there is evidence for the use of nets, spears, bows and arrows, vegetable poisons, basket traps, and hooks and lines of various types.

The use of weirs is one of the most efficient means of capturing fish in terms of effort expended in relation to potential return. Various forms of these have been found throughout much of North America, constructed of wood, stone, or both. Rostlund suggests that while all weirs had a similar purpose, they varied greatly in form. [3] This reflects in part the situations in which they were constructed and also the purpose for which they were intended.

The principal function of a weir is to guide fish in to a situation that facilitates capture. In the case of weirs in tidal waters, fish come upstream with the current and are trapped when the tidal water recedes. In areas where anadromous fish swim upstream to spawn, weirs force the fish into enclosures where they can be easily taken. In inland rivers, fish are channeled downstream through a V-shaped structure where they can be captured in nets or traps, or by spearing or shooting with a bow and arrow. Stewart (1977) provides excellent illustrations of the various types of weirs and basket traps used on the Pacific Northwest Coast. [4]

In 1700 John Lawson visited North Carolina where he encountered the use of fish weirs along the coast. He describes "Jack, Pike, or Pickerel" being taken as an important fish and continues to say, "I once took out of a Ware, above three hundred of the Fish, at a time." [5] Several years later, John Brickell, also traveling in North Carolina, describes the capture of herring in "large Wears with Hedges of long Poles or Hollow Canes, that hinder their passage only in the middle, where an artificial pond is made to take them in, so that they cannot return." [6]

In a 1902 description of the Kepel fish dam on the Klamath River in northwest California, Yurok informants explained the construction of a dam or weir used to catch salmon as they swam upstream to spawn. This was made of poles, logs, and small stakes and was designed to force the salmon into enclosures from which they could not escape. [7] These weirs were constructed annually, requiring ten days to build. They were then used for ten days and were then intentionally destroyed, even though the salmon run lasted for several weeks. [8]

The construction of this weir involved much ceremonial activity, lasting from fifty-one to sixty-two days. [9] The emphasis on ceremonial proceedings may have indicated the importance of this storable protein food which helped to sustain them throughout the year, but it likely had social connotations as well. As this was one of the few communal activities engaged in by the Yurok, the ceremonial aspects may also have served to increase group solidarity.

In the southeastern United States, there are also ethnographic accounts of the use of weirs. These accounts include the use of nets and traps in conjunction with the use weirs. In Speck's description of the various hunting, trapping and fishing activities practiced by the Catawba Indians of South Carolina, he mentions weirs constructed of brush or stone. These were used in conjunction with basket traps which are described as follows:

In material and construction the basket trap is the same here as it is over the Atlantic coast region wherever found. The material is of white oak unplanned splints averaging one inch in width. The weave is checker-work (under-one-over-one) for both uprights and filling. The small or rear end is closed by the bent over splints, not by a plug of wood as are those of the Whites and Negroes...The entry to the basket is, as usual in such constructions, provided with splints with their free ends pointing toward the center of the interior and fastened to converge in the manner of a funnel. The entering funnel extends about two-thirds the length of the interior. The fish enter the basket to reach the bait, passing through the splint funnel but cannot go in the opposite direction to escape. The fish-trap, baited with corn bread, onions or persimmons, is attached to the bank of the lagoon where it is set by a line tied to a tree, and weighted with a stone. There being no opening at the rear of the Catawba fish-basket, the fish caught have to be removed by clumsily pressing down the in-turned splints of the funnel and squeezing them out by the way they entered. Some informants say that occasionally several splints in the side of the basket are left loose so that they may be taken out to empty the basket of fish. [10]

Speck also describes other methods used by the Catawba to obtain fish. One method involves impaling fish on cane or hardwood spears with fire-hardened ends. Speck says these implements were manufactured when needed and discarded after use. The Catawba also used bows and arrows, poisoned fish with the bark of the walnut tree (*Juglans nigra*), fished with a hook and line, strung trot-lines across rivers and streams, or used a net carried by two men walking on opposite sides of a creek to capture fish. [11]

While any or all of these methods may have been used prehistorically as well as historically, the advantage of using weirs to assist in the capture of fish is obvious. In coastal areas, fish are easily trapped behind dams or weirs when tides recede. Where fish swim upstream to spawn, large number of fish can be taken in a short period of time. In inland river and streams, the use of weirs is extremely efficient in terms of high return in relation to the amount of energy expended.

In the Southern Appalachian area, there is evidence of the use of weirs in a number of rivers and streams. While the dates at which these weirs were first constructed is impossible to determine, their widespread distribution is an indication of their previous utility. They are found in the Appalachian Mountains of North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and Georgia. In

Georgia, weirs can still be seen in the Etowah River near the Etowah Mounds. In southwestern Virginia and upper east Tennessee, they have been reported in the Clinch and Holston rivers. In North Carolina, they are found in the Nantahala River at Standing Indian Campground, in the Hiwassee River near Murphy, in the Little Tennessee near the Cowee Mound site, and in several places in the Tuckaseegee River. There are no doubt weirs in other areas as well.

Weirs have tended to persist in these areas, in spite of legislation enacted in 1877 which could have served to eliminate them. The purpose of this law is not clear, but it may have been associated with efforts at that time to establish a commercial fishing industry in Jackson County. The law reads as follows:

AN ACT TO PREVENT THE OBSTRUCTION TO THE PASSAGE OF FISH IN THE TUCKASEEGEE RIVER.

Section 1. The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact, It shall be unlawful for any obstruction to the passage of fish up the Tuckaseegee river to remain in said river up to the mouth of Colooche creek in the county of Jackson, during the months of April and May, of each year, hereafter.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of any justice of the peace living within the limits of any of the townships of said county adjoining said river to see that this act is enforced, and said justices shall have full authority to enforce the same.

Sec. 3. Any one violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding fifty dollars, or imprisoned [not] more than thirty days for each offence.

Sec. 5. That this act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

Ratified the 10th day of March, A.D. [12] (The "Colooche Creek" referred to in this passage is most likely Cullowhee Creek. Also, Sec. 4 is missing in the original).

In light of this statute, it is surprising that any weirs remain intact in this area. There has also been extensive flooding on the Tuckaseegee River in the past, with a major flood of one hundred-year proportions occurring in 1940. However, there are still several weirs visible under ideal conditions. In general, identification of these structures is dependent on water level, although careful observation of water surfaces in areas here they can be expected often indicates their presence.

Three weirs in Jackson County exemplify the range of visibility which characterizes these structures. All appear to be of prehistoric origin, and one has a history of recent utilization. These three weirs are similar in configuration to others observed in the Southern Appalachian area. Constructed of river cobbles and approximately twenty to thirty centimeters high, they are roughly V-shaped, with asymmetrical sides. The bottom of the V is downstream and is open to allow fish to pass through. The opening is oriented towards one bank rather than directly downstream. As a result, one side of the V is longer than the other.

All of these weirs are located in similar topographic situations. Each is in a shallow section of the river, at a depth which would allow unimpeded wading except in times of unusually high water. Banks tend to be low in these sections, permitting easy access to the river. In each case, there is a large, relatively flat terrace present on one or both sides of the river. A prehistoric archaeological site is adjacent to each weir. Unfortunately, these sites have not been scientifically investigated, so temporal assignment for their occupation is not available.

The first weir is immediately downstream from the present town of Cullowhee. The valley along Cullowhee Creek and the Tuckaseegee River in this area was extensively occupied prehistorically. The weir is less than one kilometer from a large Mississippian village and mound site and is within two kilometers of another site which contained evidence of Woodland, Mississippian, and historic Cherokee occupation.

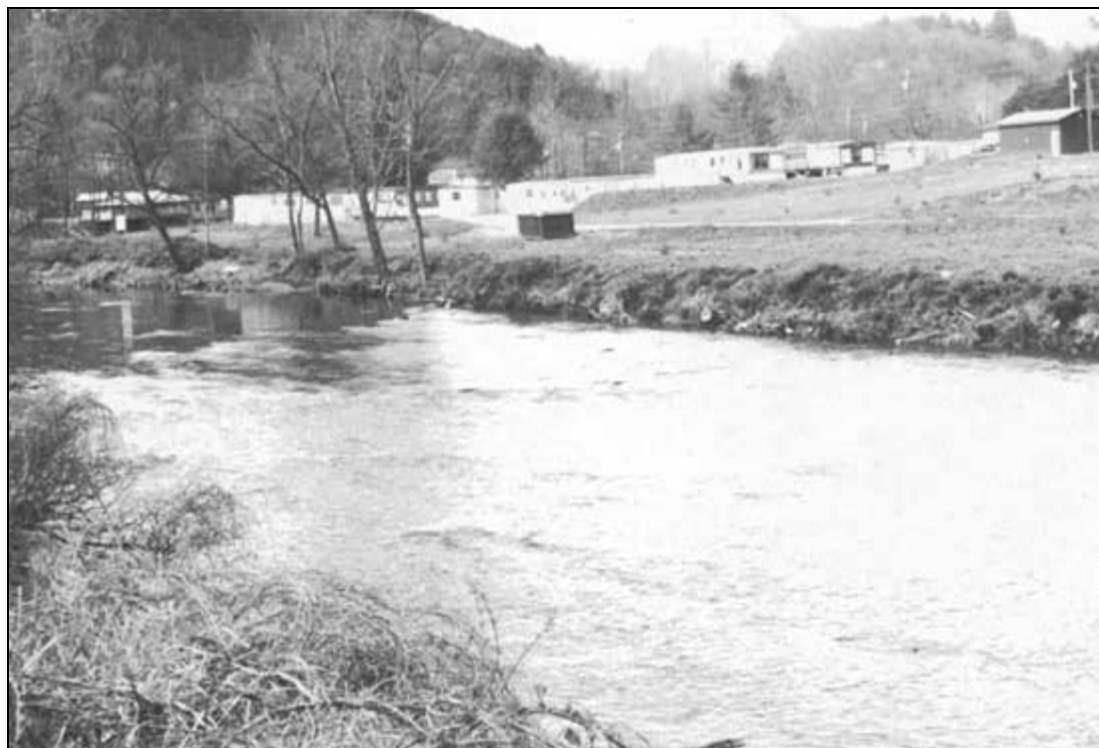


Figure 1. Cullowhee fish weir

This weir was the most difficult to identify. While ripples in this section of the river had suggested the presence of a weir, it was not until the river was at an unusually low level that the weir could be clearly seen. It still exhibits the characteristic V-shaped form, although it appears to have been disturbed by either human or natural forces. The walls are no longer intact, and its outline is somewhat irregular, but it is undeniably a weir.

Approximately five hundred meters upstream from this weir are two additional obstructions that may be remnants of weirs, but these are so seriously disturbed that their identification is questionable. It is possible that these are weirs which were partially destroyed as a result of the statute passed in 1877.

A second, more easily recognizable weir is located further downstream in the Tuckaseegee, in the wide bottom south of the town of Webster. This weir is mostly obscured except during periods of low water, but then its configuration is well delineated (Figure 3). It also has the characteristic V-shape, with walls formed by river cobbles and an opening at the downstream end.





Figure 2. Webster fish weir.

The third weir, also located near the town of Webster, is the best defined of the three (Figure 4). This definition, however, appears to be the result of relatively recent rebuilding. According to Mr. James Allman, the present occupant of the property adjacent to this weir, it was built by his great-grandfather Allman and a friend around 1880. [13] While this might be true, there are several reasons to believe that this weir was originally constructed prehistorically. First, the presence of prehistoric artifacts in both the garden of Mr. Allman and on the terrace across the river from his property strongly suggests that this is a prehistoric structure which was refurbished or reconstructed in recent times.





Figure 3. Allman fish weir.

Its location is sufficiently similar to that of the others in the area to support this suggestion, and its shape is virtually identical to the two upstream. Furthermore, since the previously mentioned North Carolina statute of 1877 specifically prohibited obstructions to the passage of fish during certain months of the year, it is doubtful that the effort required to construct such an obstruction would have been undertaken. The weir was later repaired by James Allman's grandfather, Mr. Arthur Allman, during the 1920s. One interesting aspect of Allman's recollections of the weir is its utilization as late as the 1940s. According to James Allman, his grandfather Arthur used the weir consistently until he was told by the local game and fish warden, a Mr. Ashe, that using traps to catch fish had become illegal in North Carolina. James Allman says that his grandfather stopped using the weir at that time, leaving his trap on the bank of the river where it eventually decayed.

Allman's recollection of the trap is that it was made from scraps obtained from a sawmill. These scraps consisted of the edges sawn from boards as they were trimmed, and ranged in width from one-half to two or three inches. Allman remembers the trap as being rectangular with a removable top. It was constructed so that fish could enter easily but were prevented from swimming back out by a cone-shaped arrangement of pointed slats facing the interior of the trap. The end of the cone was sufficiently narrow to prevent the fish from escaping, in a configuration similar to the Catawba basket trap described by Speck (1946). The trap was anchored at the downstream end of the weir by placing rocks on its top. It was only partially submerged, and could be opened easily to remove the fish which it contained.

Fish captured in this trap were hog suckers, white suckers, and red horse. These are all bottom-feeding fish and tend to be very bony. Mr. Allman said that his grandmother would preserve red horse, but not the other types of fish, by placing them in a fifty-gallon barrel between layers of salt. He said this salting process caused the smaller bones to "dissolve," making it possible to eat the fish more easily than when they were consumed fresh. This could have provided a dietary advantage. If small bones were consumed along with the flesh, they would add a small amount of calcium to the diet. A serving of red horse provides 98 kilocalories, 18 grams protein, and 2.3 grams of fat. [14]

Allman also remembered that his grandmother would preserve catfish by canning them in glass jars. These fish were skinned and gutted by his grandfather and sliced laterally into steaks to prepare them for canning. His grandmother would roll the catfish steaks in cornmeal and fry them to prepare them for the table. Catfish provide 103 kilocalories, 17.6 grams protein, and 3.1 grams of fat per serving. [15]

While Allman did not mention that catfish were captured in the trap placed at the end of the weir, their use as a storable food source indicates that the river was considered an important source of food for the Allman family, both for immediate consumption and for future use.

Both historically and prehistorically, fish appear to have been an important component of the diet of people in the Southern Appalachian mountains. They can be eaten fresh, stored for future use, and would have been an important adjunct to the small and large mammals that are usually thought to have provided the bulk of animal protein in the diets of these people. The widespread presence of weirs suggests that these structures played at least some part in subsistence procurement.

Although weirs that can be easily recognized are usually recorded by archaeologists, there has been little attempt to undertake a systematic study of their distribution or their placement on the cultural landscape. This is due in part to the difficulty of providing weirs with a temporal assignment, which limits their use in reconstructing the culture history of an area. However, their widespread occurrence indicates that they were useful to the prehistoric inhabitants of the area and were used to some extent by the later occupants as well. While sometimes difficult to recognize, weirs can be identified if careful examination is carried out in area where they are likely to be located. These include shallow sections of rivers which are bounded on one or both sides by relatively flat terraces. Even though many of these structures may have been partially or completely destroyed, an understanding of their placement and distribution can be of real value in understanding the utilization of the terrain by both prehistoric and historic occupants. As important components of the cultural landscape, fish weirs need to be recognized, interpreted, and preserved whenever possible.

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⁷ T. T. Waterman and A. L. Kroeber, The Kepel Fish Dam, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. XXXV (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1943) 49.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 78.

¹⁰ Frank G. Speck, Catawba Hunting, Trapping and Fishing (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1946), 16-17.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 17-19.

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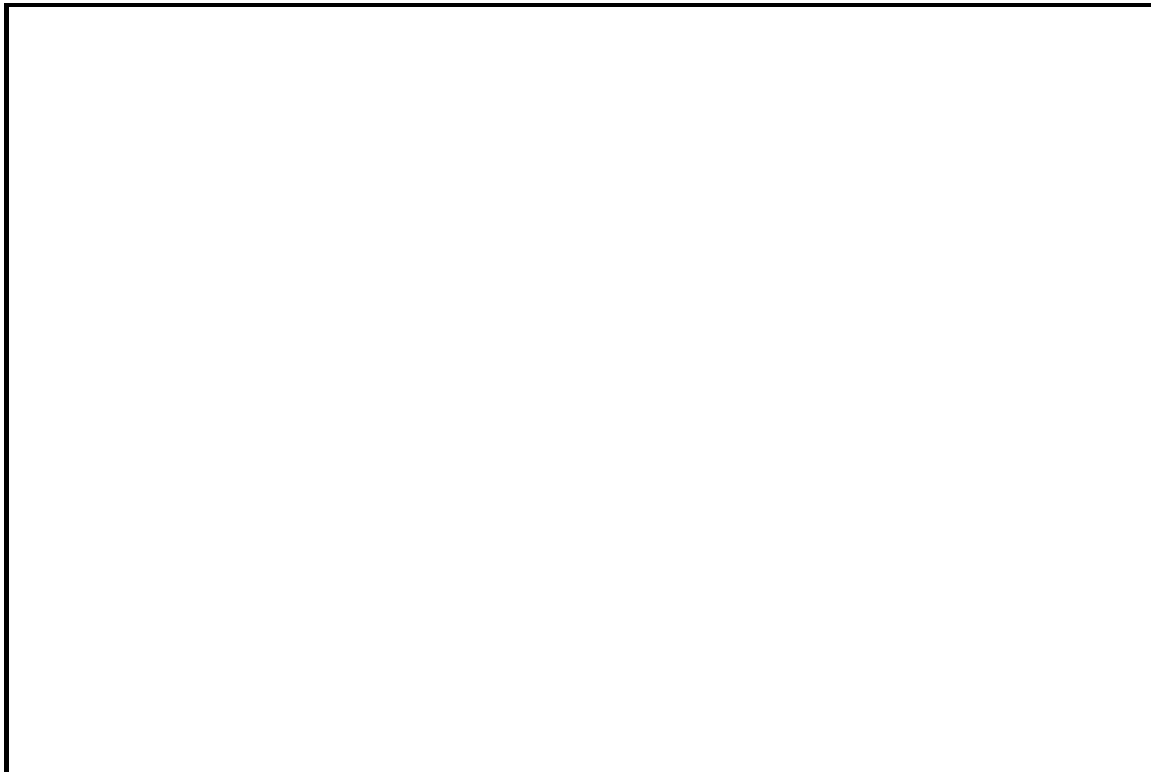


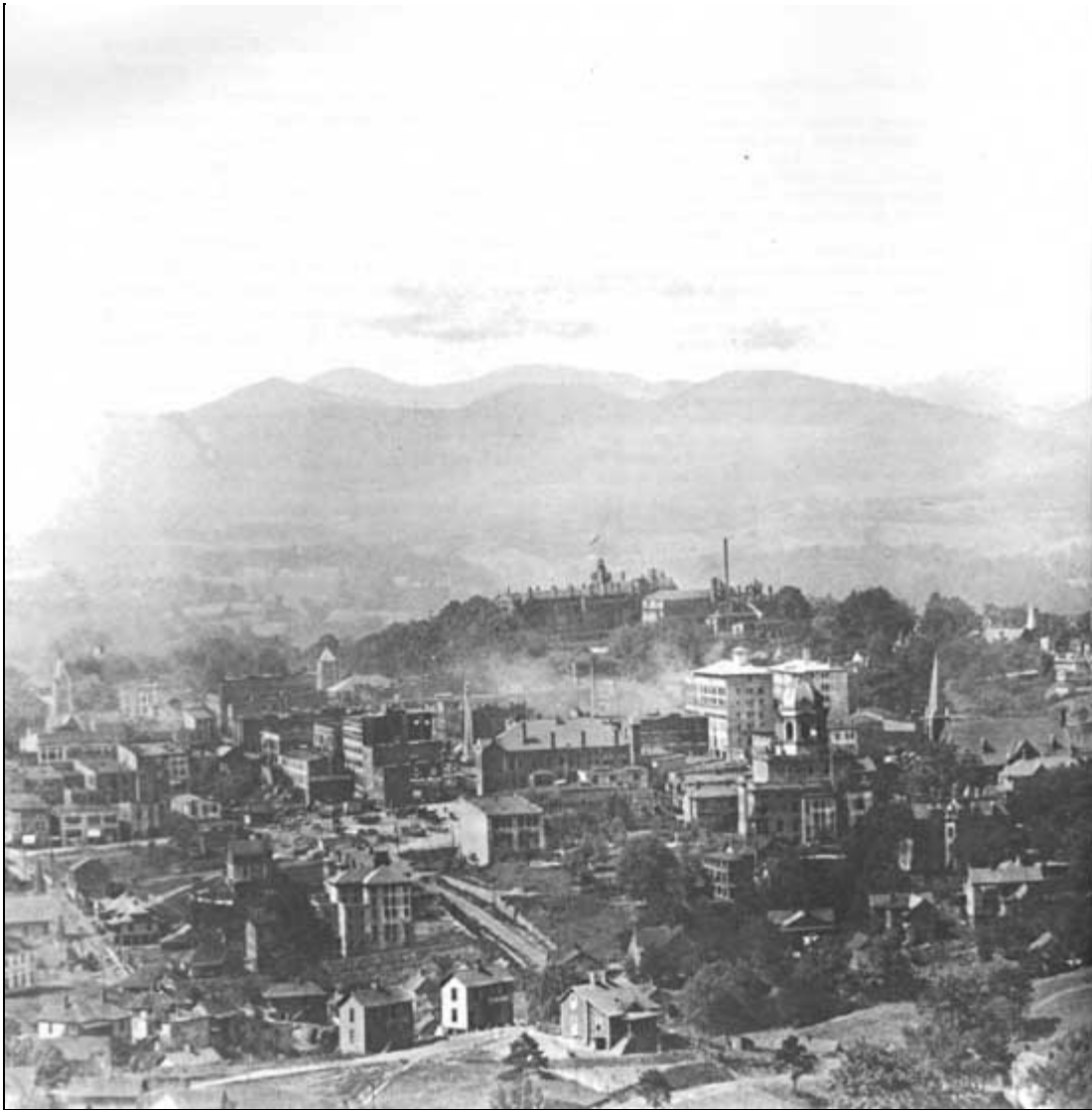
SOUTHERN APPALACHIA AND THE NEW SOUTH IDEAL: ASHEVILLE AS A CASE STUDY IN DEVELOPMENT

KENT CAVE

FORT PULASKI NATIONAL MONUMENT

"Asheville was in all its watering-place gaiety, as we reined up at the Swannanoa hotel. A band was playing on the balcony. We had reached ice-water, barbers, waiters, civilization." [1] Such was Charles Dudley Warner's first impression of Asheville in 1882. The city, nestled in a valley amid the mountains of western North Carolina, had long been an oasis of comforts among the hardships of the Southern Appalachians. Though since the 1830s, planters from the South Carolina low country had recognized the advantages of the area as a summer resort, Asheville remained, until the coming of the railroad in 1880, little more than a crossroads town which furnished sustenance for livestock and drovers on their way from Kentucky and Tennessee to the lower South. But by the 1870s, the town had begun to exhibit, perhaps in anticipation of the railroad, some of the characteristics of its future prosperity. The salubrious quality of the Asheville climate was beginning to be promoted by this time, and the village's reputation as a resort for both health seekers and tourists was growing, not only in the South but in the North as well. Like many other cities, Asheville experienced a tremendous period of population growth between 1879 and 1900. But this expansion, based as it was on tourism rather than industrialization and commerce, would appear to differ from the widely accepted model of the New South city. [2] Indeed, the lessons learned and decisions made during the three decades prior to the turn of the century, would set the course for Asheville and western North Carolina to the present day.





Asheville from Beaucatcher Mountain, c. 1910. Courtesy of the Pack Memorial Library, North Carolina Collection.

In 1870, Asheville had a population of fourteen hundred. By 1900, the town had become a city which, along with its major suburbs, supported almost twenty-one thousand people. Indeed, in the decade after Asheville was linked by railroad with eastern North Carolina, East Tennessee and northwestern South Carolina, the population of the city itself quadrupled to over ten thousand. [3] This growth fostered by railroads and promoted vigorously by the local commercial-civic elite, led to an increased recognition of Asheville's qualities as a health and tourist center. The city attracted people from all parts of the country who came not only as visitors but as residents in order to fill the needs of the resort business. This may well account for Asheville's relatively large foreign-born population, second among the state's cities in 1900, as well as a black population of nearly one-third the total. [4]

This cosmopolitan population growth after the coming of the Western North Carolina Railroad in 1880, seemed to some to set Asheville apart from other southern cities. As one writer analyzed:

No other southern city is like Asheville. It is unique, not alone on account of its peculiar geographical position and natural advantages of unrivalled excellence, but also as the chief centre of northern society. Probably no southern city has so large a proportion of northern

people among its population. [5]

The business community was proud of its northern residents and visitors. Dr. H.P. Gatchell in his promotional pamphlet, *Western North Carolina, Its Agricultural Resources, Mineral Wealth, Climate, Salubrity and Scenery*, took care to assure the reader that the political climate was harmonious. [6] Even though there were many political animosities in the mountains generated by the Civil War and the major newspaper, the *Citizen*, was of the unreconstructed Democratic persuasion, the local U.S. Congressman was a Republican. Other papers, such as the *Asheville News and Hotel Reporter*, spoke out frequently on reconciliation with the North. "What the South needs is Yankee ingenuity, industry, perseverance and money to develop her abundant resources," the paper stated in 1896. [7] This attitude was typical of much of the Asheville promotional literature of the late nineteenth century. Warner saw in Asheville "a happy coming together...of Southern abandon and Northern wealth." [8]

For all its cosmopolitan attributes, ostensibly owing to Northern immigration, Asheville was still a Southern mountain town. The promotional pamphlets also stressed the virtues of the native-born population as "a frank, hospitable, whole-souled people" who desired to have their land developed. "For this cause they look with pleasure on the arrival of industrious and enterprising immigrants." [9] The literature extols the simple life of the mountaineer: "Here these good people toil and labor, live and die amid Nature's great handiwork, oblivious to the great throbs and pulsations of a cosmopolitan life." [10] The idea of the mountaineers as "our contemporary ancestors" was taking shape in documents promoting hotels and railroads.

The contrast between city dweller and mountaineer became especially apparent on market days. Many guidebooks and hotel pamphlets contained pictures of mountain cabins and humorous renderings of poor mountain people in the midst of downtown. Some texts speak of the "shaggy mountaineer" along with the "cultivated Southern families." This dissimilarity could be easily visible each time one walked on the public square, dodging in the same motion ox-drawn carts and electric streetcars. The gap between Northern capitalist and native mountaineer widened as Asheville grew, making it a city of palaces and tenements. [11] One typical Northerner wrote concerning the disparity in culinary tastes:

I regret that I am forced to warn those habituated to well-cooked meats, that he who would enjoy them in this as in other mountain regions, will be forced to exercise his utmost skill and tact. For the natives do not deem meat properly cooked until it approximates dried raw-hide soaked in a greasy gravy, and their devotion to and abuse of the barbarous frying-pan is well calculated to dry lip the digestive juices of any well-fed Christian. [12]

But the wave of immigration did not generally produce a corresponding wave of hostility in the city. Indeed, most civic-minded locals could see the benefits of outside capital.

Much of the wealth from the North which descended upon Asheville had as its purpose the building of the tourist and health resort industry, which was promoted as vigorously as any cotton mill crusade in the entire South. But the stirring of interest in the mountains could not be noised abroad to any great degree until the arrival of the first train over the Western North Carolina Railroad in 1880. However, even in the decade before, the city began to realize its destiny as a resort. The first widespread attempt to draw tourists came as early as 1870, with the pamphlet by Dr. Gatchell. This publication for the first time welcomed tuberculosis patients and opened the doors for a mass migration of health-seekers. In 1876, Dr. J.W. Gleitsmann, a German who according to one writer "was the first recognized authority to write at length on this subject," published and circulated over sixty-four thousand copies of *Western North Carolina As a Health Resort*. Numerous tuberculosis sanitoriums were opened in Asheville as a result, and people came from all over the world to partake of the supposed healing qualities of the climate. [13]

Of all the inducements to come to Asheville, the following is most unique:

Because it is here the birds sing sweeter, the foxes run faster, the eagles soar higher, the sun shines brighter, the moon is lovelier, the flowers smell sweeter, the water is purer, the sky bluer, the air healthier, the stars twinkle earlier and longer, mountains grander, the women prettier and lovelier, and the men uglier than any land under the sun. [14]

Who could resist such a place? When the railroad finally made its way into Asheville, the city sought a national reputation as a watering place—the "Saratoga of the South." [15] Eventually an indefinable split would occur between the people advocating a health resort city and those who favored the promotion of a strictly tourist economy. This rift is not clear-cut, and it can safely be assumed that it was not extremely serious, but by the 1890s some health promoters saw a great danger in allowing too much of a social resort life to invalids. Dr. John H. Williams thought that enjoyment in the open air was proper treatment for his patients, but he warned them about involvement in the increasing pace of the Asheville social scene. He advised the "lunger," as the patient was coming to be called, to "keep away from the clubs and hotel lobbies and abstain from all the frivolities that are found in all well-known resorts." [16] Dr. Charles L. Minor also recommended against the round of parties, theater, and dances. He wrote: "Sexual enjoyments should be entirely or all but entirely forbidden; nothing so exhausts the vitality and prostrates the strength." [17]

By the 1890s, some boarding houses had begun to reject invalids, "catering to well people and pleasure-seekers only." Asheville now desired the wealthy and healthy visitor. Tourists spent more money than tuberculosis patients. Even Dr. Karl Von Ruck, who had established the Winyah Sanitarium in 1888, some four years later became the manager of a strictly tourist hotel in newly developed West Asheville across the French Broad River. [18]

If health resort promotions exaggerated the benefits of the Asheville climate, the tourist pamphlets were no less culpable on the issue of weather. Though the mild winter climate was often mentioned in order to lure Northern visitors, some publications were quite candid. The *Asheville News and Hotel Register*, noted for its witticisms, recorded on a particularly cold day that, "Asheville, everybody must acknowledge, is a famous winter resort, and we have always been glad to have it so. This year, however, it is our earnest wish that the winter resort somewhere else." [19]

The growing cosmopolitan character of the city was seen as a great drawing card by the businessmen who sponsored the promotional literature. Many brochures commented upon the progressive nature of the city and included such institutions as the public school, Y.M.C.A., free kindergartens, hospitals, and orphans' home, among others, all established by 1900. The growing urban character of Asheville, especially after the railroad, might be seen as a paradox between rural resort and thriving city. But the town seems to have come to terms with this rather easily and naturally, though the quest for industry would eventually pose some identity problems. In any case, the real estate brokers were not bothered by any ambiguity. They continued to advertise land available "hard by the rushing tide of human life and travel, or far up in the fastnesses of the mountain forests." [20]

George Vanderbilt's example was often mentioned in Asheville propaganda. Vanderbilt, the grandson of the Commodore, began buying up land in the latter 1880s and caused a sensation in Asheville and among the pamphleteers. Everyone wondered what he would do with all this property which by 1890 amounted to around six thousand acres south of the city. Vanderbilt, who would later construct Biltmore House and then develop the model villages of Biltmore and Victoria, caused a great deal of speculation as to his intentions. Some thought he planned an educational institution—the female counterpart of Vanderbilt University in Nashville. Others opined that the millionaire would build a large factory of some sort. Vanderbilt,

however, only wanted a quiet country home and hunting preserve. There is no doubt that his presence contributed mightily to Asheville's prestige and induced hundreds, if not thousands, to follow his lead. [21]

With all the growth of the resort industry, manufacturing was still sought in keeping with other New South cities. Even the tourist literature pointed out the advantages of water power, the abundance of timber, and the newly discovered mineral wealth. As early as 1870, Dr. Gatchell foresaw a future for western North Carolina "when its valleys shall be musical with the hum of thousands of spindles, as well as with the buzz of innumerable saws; the time when it shall become the great manufacturing region of the South, unsurpassed in the world." [22] Others who followed were no less enthusiastic. The Asheville Citizen recognized that a tourist economy rises and falls,

"But with the many attractions and advantages possessed by Asheville, there are certain interests which must be developed here to give the town that permanent basis of wealth and growth so essential to the building up of a large city. We allude to manufacturing enterprises." [23]

By 1880, Asheville boasted a shoe factory, a tannery, and a growing meat processing business. [24]

Although there was no immediate boom in manufacturing following the railroad up the mountain in 1880, the next decade was a period of unprecedented growth, not only in tourism but in more traditional industries as well. Property values skyrocketed from under one million dollars to well over four million dollars. Mercantile business gained from around one-half million dollars to nearly five million dollars. Tobacco sales were up from 150,000 pounds in 1880 to over four million pounds by 1890. [25]

By 1887 Asheville had acquired that sometimes elusive symbol of the New South—a cotton mill. The Graham Manufacturing Company employed 250 workers and had 260 looms and 6,100 spindles in 1890. In addition, the city had attracted a flour mill, the Asheville Furniture Company, an ice factory, two shoe factories, Demens Manufacturing Company (which dealt in finished lumber and wood products), the French Broad Lumber Company, and a bottler of soft drinks. In the single year of 1889, 184 new buildings were built at a cost of nearly \$529,000. Opportunity was growing in Asheville in construction and light industry, and this pace would continue until the Panic of 1893. [26]

Perhaps the best example of civic pride and commercial energy, both tenets of the New South, is the development of the Asheville Street Railway. Chartered in 1881 but not completed until early 1889, this, the second operating electric street railway in the entire United States, became a symbol of the business spirit of the city. Although the original state charter granted the right to operate cars "propelled by steam, animal or other power," the city charter prohibited steam locomotives. However, the city fathers pointed directly to the relatively untested use of electric power. So while other cities were constructing elevated steam railroads to pollute and disrupt their environment, Asheville was determined to spare the resort this misery. [27]

The reaction to the opening of the street railway on February 1, 1889, was varied. Trial runs were made from the Public Square to the train depot, and visiting dignitaries spoke to the large crowd. A lasting impression was made on all present when the electric motor out-pulled a car drawn by a six-horse team up the steep grade of South Main Street. Upon witnessing the first run, the Rev. T.M. Myers, a local preacher, said "Well, it's gone, but I don't believe it!" The Asheville *Weekly Citizen* more nearly understood the significance of the event and the feeling of Asheville residents when it stated, "No happier community than ours is to be

found in America." [28]

It was generally accepted, however, that the greatest need in order to perpetually generate industrial growth was the arrival of at least one very large mill. To the South and to Asheville, this meant a textile factory. In 1893, a group of Asheville businessmen and real estate brokers met to develop a promotional package aimed at "eastern and northeastern capitalists" which would highlight the city's "advantages...for manufacturing as well as a resort." The Asheville *Citizen* reported that one remarked that "he would rather see a thousand happy homes of laborers dotting the city than to see dozens of rich men's palaces perched about on the heights around Asheville." [29]

The agreement to vigorously promote manufacturing opportunities bore fruit quickly. In August came a proposal from the United Industrial Company of New York to locate a knitting mill on the Swannanoa River at a point some two and one-half miles upstream from the city water works. Assurances were made by the company that no dyes would be allowed to escape into the river and that the necessary sewers for the plant would open into the stream below the water supply. [30] This proposal became more seriously considered in October, when it was learned that over one million dollars would be invested and that the mill would employ around five thousand workers. The gross population would thus increase by about fifteen thousand. The prospects seemed even brighter when the company stated that no company store would be established, and that the firm planned a street railway connection with the city proper. [31]

But not all was so rosy in the company's plans. Asheville's water power was not enormous, freight rates were high, and the cotton belt was far away. The firm's representatives did find the climate good and the local people industrious. The latter was deemed essential, and Asheville was chosen as the site for the new mill. But two large difficulties stood in the immediate path of prosperity: the possibility of polluting the city water supply and the cost of erecting a large dam to increase hydroelectric power for the mill. Other Southern cities, the company said, had offered such inducements as ten thousand dollars cash to fifty thousand dollars worth of already developed water power. All the industry asked of the city fathers was to continue Asheville's water mains to the proposed site of the dam, install the existing pumps in a new plant, and turn the operation of the city water supply over to the company! [32]

The issue was hotly debated. The business community agreed on the need for industrial development but could not come to any consensus on the water works question. Proud of the city's water supply and ever-mindful of Asheville's reputation as a health-giving place, many civic leaders refused to consider the deal. A meeting was held at the Asheville Club and the general feeling was that, although the mill would be good for the city, the water works should be retained. Some suggested the compromise of obtaining an iron-clad contract from the company which would ensure the availability and low cost of water. It was already known that the Board of Aldermen opposed giving up the present water plant, and a committee was formed to mediate between the company and the city fathers. [33]

The mediation effort was to no avail. Though some businessmen voiced their disapproval of the city's stance in the *Weekly Citizen* of October 26, saying that "we will be worse than a set of idiots not to give [the offer] a cordial reception" and "to let it go would be municipal suicide," the aldermen had made up their minds not to surrender a most prized resource. [34] Some questions remain. Did the tourist and health interests kill the movement? If so, there is no concrete evidence to support it. It is, however, significant that George Vanderbilt did not get involved in actively seeking industry for Asheville. He was apparently content to retain his unpolluted country estate. It remains to be determined just how much influence Vanderbilt had over day-to-day local and municipal affairs. Still, it seems reasonable to

conclude that the millionaire did not lament the relatively quiet death of the mill proposal.

After the failure of the knitting mill scheme, the city appeared to redefine its purpose and return to the old tourist resort image which it could safely hope to retain. New energy was devoted toward making the area more attractive to visitors and permanent settlers. An excellent indication of this change in direction can be found in the pages of the *Asheville News and Hotel Reporter* in 1895:

Asheville is not a manufacturing city and can never hope to be. Here is an ideal spot for the seeker of pleasure and of health and it should be the aim of all of our citizens to make it more so. So far we have had but little competition as a health resort in this section of the country. Who knows how soon a rival of Asheville will spring up. As Northern capital, energy and push come into the South, this is sure to happen. What then is to be done? We cannot prevent a rival from opening her gates to the tourists and invalids, but we can do more; we can make Asheville a garden spot. We can make our city so beautiful that few will care to go anywhere else. [35]

The creed of the New South, with its themes of reconciliation with the conquering North, its promotion of industrial development, and its focus on urbanization and modern improvements, can clearly be seen in the burgeoning growth of Asheville. This growth, albeit primarily based upon a tourist and health resort economy, had far-reaching implications on the character of the city and the surrounding area. Asheville would continue to grow to over fifty thousand inhabitants by 1930. The city would experience a tremendous building boom (and bust) in the 1920s, from which derives most of today's historic landscape, not to mention a body of classic American literature from the pen of one Thomas Wolfe. But the character of this expansion is more closely linked with resorts than with industry. The fateful decision by the Board of Aldermen in 1893 to decline the offer of that major symbol of the New South, a textile mill employing over five thousand workers, would set the course for Asheville and, in many ways, western North Carolina to the present day. It signalled a fledgling preservation and conservation ethic, devoted at first to natural resources. Asheville would become a mecca for those interested in parks and forests. Beginning with the early promoters of tourism and health resorts, continuing with George Vanderbilt's interest in conservation on his estate, and given further impetus by the city fathers' willingness to deny industrial development for the sake of conservation, this ethic would culminate in the establishment of National Forests in the region, and in the creation of two of the most visited areas in our country's National Park System, the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the Blue Ridge Parkway. [36]

But for those of us engaged in the preservation of Appalachian Cultural Resources, and particularly those in agencies such as the National Park Service who have the dual mission of not only preserving for future generations but also "providing for the public enjoyment" of these treasures, the lessons of turn-of-the-century Asheville have relevance. We grapple daily with pivotal decisions concerning development versus preservation. While the tourist economy has helped to preserve some portions of our culture and has added significantly to the historic scene through the preservation of structures and artifacts, we should be ever vigilant not to allow tourism to distort the cultural heritage of the Southern Mountains.

Upper East Tennessee has been referred to as the "Mountain Empire." This appellation has often troubled me, for "empire" conjures up images of colonialism, of deference to coal and timber interests from outside the region. Indeed, much of the industrial development of the mountain South was engendered from "furriners," as has been so eloquently documented by Ron Eller in his *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers*. [37] Tourism was no exception. But in the case of tourist economic development, outside influence has not been necessarily detrimental to preservation. For all the gee-haw whimmy diddles in trinket shops of

Gatlinburg and Pigeon Forge, for all the rubber tomahawks and plains Indian head-dresses in Cherokee, for all the ski resorts and condominiums in and around Boone, tourist development has fostered a commendable sense of awareness in Southern Appalachian history and culture. Sometimes, however, it seems we preserve even the best of our culture, not always for ourselves, but for the visiting public—fostered by commercial gain. The danger lies in giving the public what it expects and not what it deserves. Our preservation and interpretation of the material culture of the mountains must always strive to be accurate and fair to our heritage. Moreover, it should be complete. Not everyone in the region lived in log cabins. Our preservation policies and our interpretation of the resources should reflect the culture of the sawmill town, the crossroads post office/general store, the small county seats, such as Waynesville, North Carolina, Greeneville, Tennessee, Ellijay, Georgia, and Independence, Virginia. Yes, even the cities of the region, such as Asheville, Roanoke, Knoxville, and Bristol should be interpreted as part of the Appalachian Culture. These areas helped to define that culture as much as did the log cabin of the pioneer. Only in this way can we present the whole story. Anything less is unfair to the visitor and only continues the myth of "our contemporary ancestors."

ENDNOTES

¹ Charles Dudley Warner, *On Horseback: A Tour in Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1888), 110.

² The study of southern urbanization has often neglected any consideration of resort areas. The term "New South" usually suggests industrialization of the type found in Atlanta or Birmingham. Resorts in the south are mentioned only in passing in Rupert B. Vance and Nicholas J. Demerath, eds., *The Urban South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954). Blaine Brownell, *The Urban Ethos in the South, 1920-1930* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), treats only the largest and most industrialized southern cities. For a more complete discussion of New South ideology, see Paul M. Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970). Southern Appalachian resorts have been discussed in Ina W. and John J. Van Noppen, *Western North Carolina Since the Civil War* (Boone: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1973), and, most thoroughly in relation to New South ideology, in Ronald D. Eller, *Miners, Millhands and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982).

³ *United State Census, Population, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1890.

⁵ *Health Resorts of the South* (Boston: George H. Chapin, 1892), 250.

⁶ H. P. Gatchell, *Western North Carolina, Its Agricultural Resources, Mineral Wealth, Climate, Salubrity and Scenery* (Asheville: E.J. Aston, 1870), 14.

⁷ *Asheville News and Hotel Reporter*, 12 October 1895.

⁸ Warner, *On Horseback*, 113.

⁹ Gatchell, *Western North Carolina*, 14, 23.

¹⁰ Hinton A. Helper (Guy Cyril, pseud.), *Asheville, Western North Carolina, Nature's*

Trundlebed of Recuperation (New York: South Publishing Co., 1886), 49-51.

¹¹ For examples of this contrast, see Wilbur Gleason Ziegler and Ben S. Grooscup, *The Heart of the Alleghanies: or Western North Carolina, Comprising its Topography* (Raleigh: Alfred Williams and Co., 1883), 343; and Rogers' Asheville. *Photo-gravures* (Brooklyn, c. 1899), unpagued.

¹² Stanford E. Chaille, *The Climatotherapy of and American Mountain Sanitarium for Consumption*, Reprinted from the *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal* (New Orleans Medical and Surgical, np, April, 1878), 13.

¹³ Gaillard S. Tennent, *Medicine in Buncombe County Down to 1885: Historical and Biographical Sketches*, Reprinted from the *Charlotte Medical Journal* (n.p., 1906), 27-28; Van Noppen, *Western North Carolina Since the Civil War*, 379; W. Gleitsmann, *Western North Carolina As a Health Resort* (Baltimore: Sherwood and Co., 1876), unpagued.

¹⁴ Asheville, *Nature's Sanitarium* (Asheville: Citizen's Press, c. 1899), unpagued.

¹⁵ Frank Presbrey, *The Land of the Sky: Western North Carolina, Asheville Plateau* [no imprint]; "Compliments of the Passenger Department, Southern Railway," unpagued.

¹⁶ John Hey Williams, *Eighteen Years of Personal Observation of Tuberculosis in Asheville, N. C.* (Chicago: American Medical Assoc. Press, 1897), 10-11.

¹⁷ Charles L. Minor, *Hygiene Versus Drugs in the Treatment of Pulmonary Tuberculosis*, Reprinted from the *New York Medical Journal*, 14 and 21 January 1899 (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1899), 13-15.

¹⁸ Karl von Ruck, *Asheville, N. C.* (Asheville: French Broad Press, 1900), 8-9; Asheville *Weekly Citizen*, 28 April 1892.

¹⁹ Asheville *News and Hotel Reporter*, 16 February 1895.

²⁰ T. M. Barker, Jr., *The Nutshell Guide to Asheville: February 1899* [no imprint], 13; Harriet Adams Sawyer, *Souvenir of Asheville or the Skyland* (St. Louis: np, 1892), 17; Helper, *Nature's Trundlebed*, 64.

²¹ Thomas H. Lindsey, *Lindsey's Guide Book to Western North Carolina* (Asheville: Randolph-Kerr Printing Co., 1890), unpagued; Helper, *Nature's Trundlebed*, 43; Asheville *Weekly Citizen*, 31 October 1889 and 10 July 1890.

²² Asheville, *Nature's Sanitarium*, (Asheville: Citizen's Press, c. 1899), unpagued.

²³ Asheville *North Carolina Citizen*, 11 September 1879.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ George S. Powell, "Asheville, 1880-1890: The Wonderful Record of a Decade," in *Lindsey's Guide Book*, unpagued.

²⁶ *Western North Carolina: Historical and Biographical* (Charlotte: n.p., 1890), 160.

²⁷ *Laws of North Carolina* (1881), "Street Franchises Granted by the City of Asheville to L. A. Farinholt and his Associates, and by Them Assigned to Asheville Street Railway Co., 1887," 786.

²⁸ *Asheville Weekly Citizen*, 7 February 1889; Foster A. Sondley, *History of Buncombe County* (Asheville: Advocate Print, 1930), 634.

²⁹ *Asheville Weekly Citizen*, 30 March 1893.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 17 August 1893.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 5 October 1893.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 26 October 1893.

³⁵ *Asheville News and Hotel Reporter*, 27 April 1895.

³⁶ See Van Noppen, *Western North Carolina Since the Civil War*, Eller, *Miners, Millhands and Mountaineers*; and Michael Frome, *Strangers in High Places: The Story of the Great Smoky Mountains* (Knoxville, 1980) for a more complete discussion of the park and forest movements in the southern mountains. Also see Charles Dennis Smith, "The Appalachian Park Movement, 1885-1901," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXVII, 58-65.

³⁷ Ron Eller, *Miners, Millhands and Mountaineers*, 39-85, 202.

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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Appalachian Cultural Resources Workshop Papers



CUMBERLAND HOMESTEADS, A RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITY OF THE DEPRESSION

LIZ STRAW

TENNESSEE HISTORICAL COMMISSION

Cumberland Homesteads Historic District which was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on September 30, 1988, is located in Cumberland County, Tennessee on approximately 10,250 acres near the county seat of Crossville, Tennessee. Built on a plateau of the Cumberland Mountains, the area is primarily rolling hills interspersed by hollows and deep ravines with several small creeks meandering through the colony. Cumberland Homesteads is an unincorporated area but retains a distinct community identity from its plan and the architectural style of the houses and outbuildings.

Cumberland Homesteads was established as a Subsistence Farm Community in 1934 by the Division of Subsistence Homesteads. To better understand the significance of Cumberland Homestead, background on the Subsistence Homestead Program is needed. In May 1933, the National Industrial Recovery Act established the Division of Subsistence Homesteads. The program was aimed at providing housing opportunities for either the under- or unemployed who were willing to work hard to form new communities based on a cooperative form of government and a back-to-the-land philosophy.

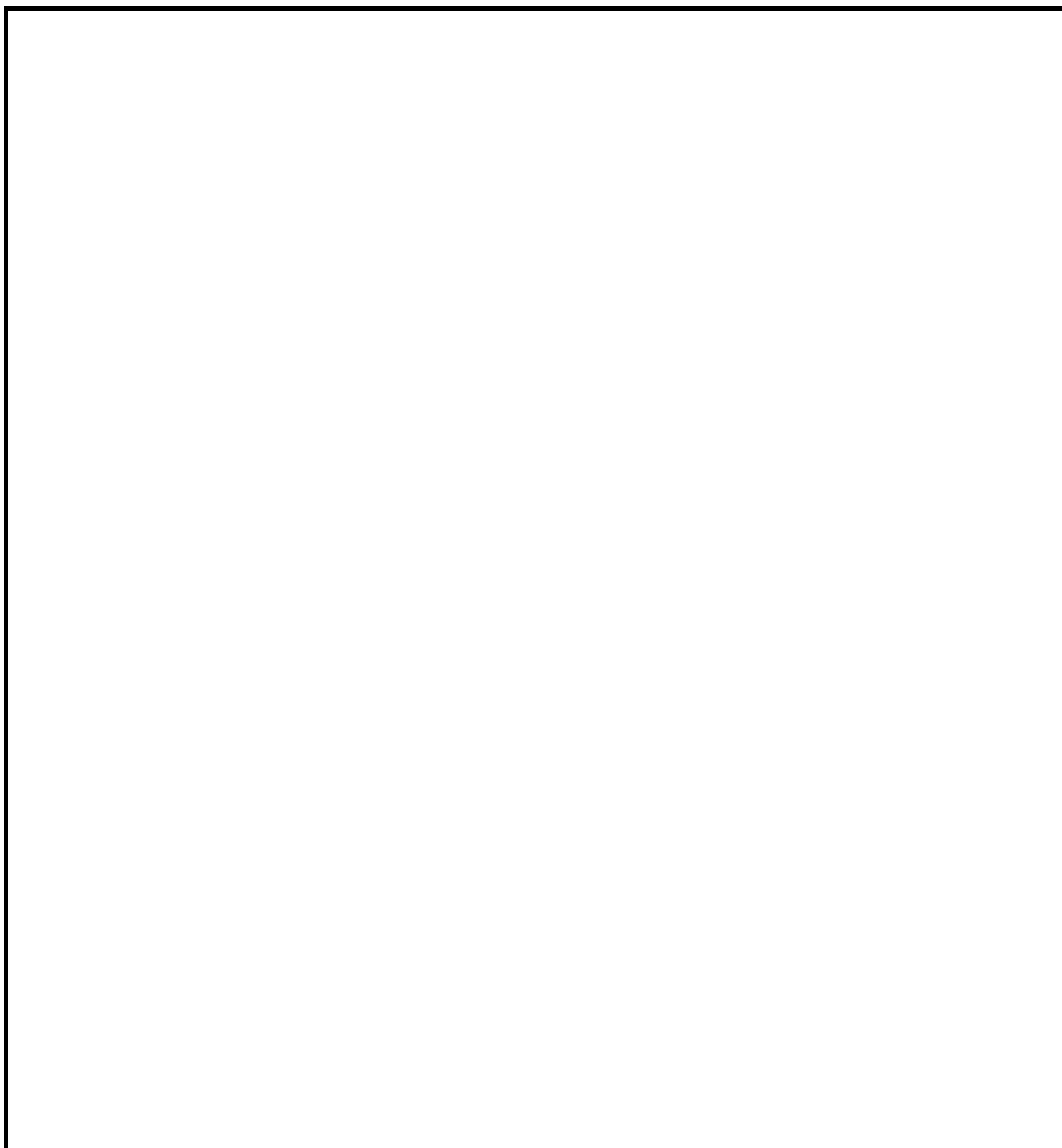
On October 14, 1933, the division announced they would concentrate on three types of homestead communities. These included communities for part-time farmers located near industrial employment, communities of resettled farmers from submarginal land, and communities for stranded miners.

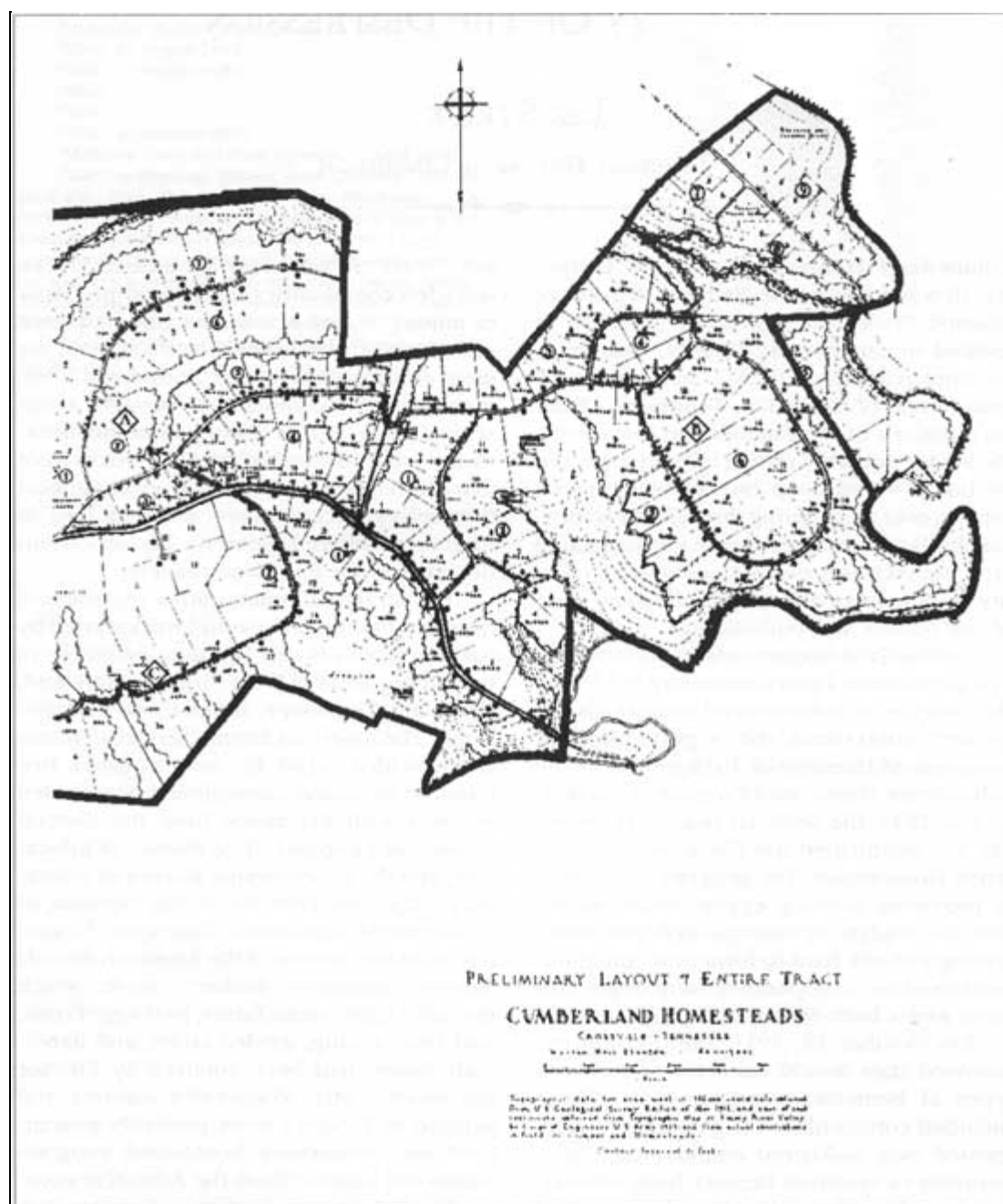
The Division of Subsistence Homesteads established thirty-four homestead communities in 1933. Four of the communities, including Cumberland Homesteads, Tennessee, were stranded communities. The stranded communities, composed primarily of miners or timber workers who had been in and out of work since the 1920s, were the most controversial of the homestead communities. The communities brought about several protests from opponents of the "back-to-the-land" movement who did not believe that the communities would ever support themselves because they were located in rural areas where little or no job opportunities existed for the homesteaders.

The stranded communities represented the continuation of the relief work started by the American Friends Service Committee in the mining areas of West Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, and Pennsylvania. The American Friend's Service Committee provided relief for an estimated five hundred thousand unemployed or stranded workers with assistance from the Federal Council of Churches, U.S. Bureau of Education, and the Pennsylvania Bureau of Education. Assistant Director of the Division of Subsistence Homesteads, Clarence E. Pickett, had been the director of the American Friends Service Committee. Pickett's work, which included subsistence farms, part-time farms, part-time mining, garden clubs, and handicraft shops, had been admired by Eleanor Roosevelt. Mrs. Roosevelt's interest and support of Pickett's work probably guaranteed the subsistence

homestead program additional support from the Administration.

The Subsistence Homesteading Program was based heavily on agrarian reverence for the land, the "back-to-the-land" philosophy and on the premise that rural living was healthier than city living for the country's poor, a premise that Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt both strongly endorsed. The Subsistence Homestead Program was meant to serve as a temporary relief measure and represent a return to the "simpler and healthier" agrarian past the country once knew. The premise behind the homestead villages was to provide families with the means to raise their own vegetables, chickens, cows, or hogs to supplement their income while working at other jobs. In addition to the subsistence farming, emphasis was placed on community cooperation and socialization, based on earlier communal living movements by the Shakers and the Amana Inspirationists. Homesteaders were expected to work for the good of the community as well as for their own families. The government supported and encouraged adult education and women's clubs. The goal was to educate the stranded families to a better and healthier way of life. In addition to developing homemaking skills, the women were strongly encouraged to work with crafts, especially weaving, as a method of providing additional support for their families. The majority of homesteads were intended, from the beginning, to be only part-time farms with outside employment as an essential part of the program.





Detail from William Stantion's Cumberland Homesteads map.

The Division of Subsistence Homesteads was one of Roosevelt's numerous "alphabet agencies" that were challenged in the courts. As a result of its temporary status as part of the National Industrial Recovery Act, it was ruled that the Division of Subsistence Homesteads would expire on June 15, 1935. However, before its expiration, executive Order 7041, issued on May 15, 1935, transferred the homesteads program to the Resettlement Administration. In turn, in 1937 the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, placed the Resettlement Administration (and the Homestead Communities) under the Farm Security Administration.

Cumberland Homesteads as a planned community is a nationally significant representative of this important, although relatively small, relief program under the New Deal. Of the twenty-five million dollars allotted for the Subsistence Homestead Program, \$825,000 was earmarked for Cumberland Homesteads. In 1934 the Division of Subsistence Homesteads purchased 11,600 acres in Cumberland County from the Missouri Coal and Land Company. Of the

11,600 acres, 4,200 acres were to be left in forest to provide timber and firewood to the homesteaders. The original plan for the homesteads called for 350 farms to be built on tracts from four to thirty-five acres. Over twenty-five hundred applications were received for the planned 350 homesteads. Applicants from Cumberland County and the surrounding counties of Fentress, Putnam, and Morgan were carefully screened by government workers for abilities, desire to work, age, etc. The average homesteaders was thirty-four years old and married with three children.

Relief workers from the Civil Works Administration (CWA) did much of the initial clearing of the tract and some of the early construction on the homestead project. Some of the early CWA workers were later accepted as homesteaders. Most of the houses built in the Cumberland Homesteads were completed under a "self-help" program with the homesteaders being paid to build their own houses and outbuildings.

In 1934 twenty barns were completed and occupied by homesteaders, including ten families. Homesteaders first moved into "communal barns" until a "family barn" was completed. Upon completion of the "family barn" the homesteader's family moved into the barn while construction on their house progressed. By June 1934, two of the houses were completed and eight were under construction. In addition a planing mill was in operation, a dry kiln was being constructed, and 115 homesteaders were at work on the homestead project.

Both the plan and the buildings of Cumberland Homesteads were designed by architect, William Macy Stanton, who came to Cumberland Homesteads from Norris, Tennessee, a TVA-planned community where he had designed the houses. Stanton was responsible for the initial design involving street layout, location of the community center, and the design of all residences and outbuildings in Cumberland Homesteads.



View of a sandstone faced house at Pigeon Ridge, architect William M. Stanton



View of homestead landscape, Cumberland Homesteads Historic District

Homesteads were built on lots averaging from ten to 160 acres with the average homestead consisting of sixteen acres. Areas that were determined unsuitable for farming were left as timberland. Originally 8,903 acres were farm tracts, 1,245 acres were common land (grazing, woodland, cooperative enterprises), 11,200 acres were held for further development, and 5,055 were owned by the cooperative association. In 1938 land held by the government and by the cooperative association for Cumberland Homesteads totaled 27,802 acres.

There are approximately fifteen different house designs in Cumberland Homesteads, eleven of which are repeated. The other four houses were one-of-a-kind houses. All houses have indigenous Crab Orchard sandstone exteriors with wood paneled interiors. The materials for the construction of the houses came from the immediate area. The sandstone was quarried within the boundaries of the homestead community, and all lumber was cut and processed on the grounds. All houses were built with plumbing and wiring. Electricity was supplied to the homesteads by TVA in December 1937.

Houses were generally one to one and a half stories with sandstone walls and gable roofs. The Crab Orchard sandstone walls were constructed with either quarried stone or field stone. All houses originally had open shed roof entrance porches, some of which have been enclosed. Homeowners were allowed to make minor changes to the stock plans and several houses were built with reversed plans, different orientation to the road and variations to interior room design. Generally the houses were four to seven rooms, contain one or two fireplaces, and had paneled walls, built-in bookcases, and batten doors with "Z" braces and hardware made by the community blacksmith shop. The wood used in the construction of the houses was harvested from land immediately surrounding the homestead. The majority of the interior walls and woodwork in the houses were of white or yellow pine, with some poplar and oak.

A variety of outbuildings were constructed for each Farm Homestead. Outbuildings include barns, shed, chicken houses, smokehouses, root cellars and privies. Generally these outbuildings were placed in a standard pattern behind the houses. Also constructed were some larger commercial size poultry houses for the cooperative enterprise.

In addition to the Farm Homesteads, a number of community buildings were constructed as part of the original Cumberland Homesteads. At the intersection of Valley Road (or U.S. Highway 127) and Grassy Cove Road (or State Route 68) near the center of the project on a parcel of land set aside for the community center, is the Cumberland Homesteads Tower, an eight-story tall structure built to house the water tank with a cruciform base containing offices and meeting rooms. Built directly behind the Tower are the original Homestead Schools, both elementary and high school buildings. Built in a unique pod style, the schools have individual classrooms that are freestanding, but are connected by covered walkways. The high school also has two separate structures, a home economic lab and a craft building.

Also located near the center of the project is Cumberland Mountain State Park, a CCC project built in conjunction with the Homesteads. The park is approximately 1,300 acres, consists primarily of timberland and Byrd Lake, a man-made lake. Along with the large masonry arch dam to contain the waters of Byrd Creek, the CCC constructed cabins, a beach, bathhouse, boathouse, and two hiking trails.

Several cooperative buildings were also constructed in the community. Cooperative buildings included two factories (a canning factory and a hosiery mill), a cooperative store, a government garage, and a loom house. The loom house now serves as a back room to a church. Along with the loom house, the hosiery mill, garage, and the water towers for the cannery and hosiery mill are extant. However, all extant cooperative buildings, except for the water towers, have undergone major alterations and no longer contribute to the district.

A celebration was held on July 28, 1939, to mark the completion of Cumberland Homesteads although only 251 of the originally planned 350 houses were built. In 1939 the government began the transfer ownership of homes to the homesteaders who had been renting. The federal government left the community in 1947 with the house transfers completed and the donation of the twenty-seven acres of land that contained the administration building, waterworks, and schools to the county.

The landscape features of the community have remained relatively unchanged. Originally timberland cleared by homesteaders and CWA workers, the majority of the community still remains as open farm land with only minor changes to the road patterns, the farm fields, and timberland. The large homestead tract was designed around some of the existing roads and highways with new roads and bridges added in 1934 to facilitate travel through the area. Groups of farms and their fields were separated by wire fences. Many of these back fence lines and fences are still extant.

Landscaping of individual yards appears to have been a part of the overall planned design. Daily reports submitted to the Division Office in Richmond report that during the first year the hilly portions of the yards were seeded with grass, in some instances blue grass and clover. The daily reports also mentioned that two thousand raspberry plants were set out at Grassy Cove. Remnants of a fruit orchard are still visible from Highland Road. The daily reports from 1934 indicate that some form of plan was used for landscaping the individual farmsteads, but no specific plans have been located.

Other landscape features include the original Crab Orchard sandstone and sand quarry sites as well as the original cemetery. The cemetery, not included in the original plan was hastily laid out upon the death of an original homesteader's young daughter. The cemetery appears to have been used for only a short period of time and is now overgrown and inaccessible.

Modern subdivisions have been constructed within the boundaries of the community, which has included the addition of new roads. Areas of new development within the boundaries are highlighted in yellow. Most changes have occurred in areas that were originally undeveloped,

or on the main roads in the community and at the outer boundaries of the area. At this time the amount of development does not detract from the original plan of the Cumberland Homesteads Historic District. Many of the new houses built in the homestead community are interspersed between farmsteads.

However, while this development currently does not detract from the original plan of the district, the threat of additional development may have a major impact on the historic district. In 1989 Cumberland County was the fastest growing rural county in the state. In 1989 there was a 16.6 percent increase in population, or approximately an additional five thousand people from 1980. Preliminary figures from the 1990 census show the county population has continued to grow although at a slower rate than earlier figures indicated. One of the reasons for the county's rapid growth has to do with the fact that Crossville and Cumberland County have been named number four in the United States for retirement living by Rand McNally magazine. As a result, there are six growing retirement resort areas, one of which threatens the district, along with development of additional subdivisions on the southwest side. In fact, a recent call to a staff member in our office has indicated that additional subdivisions are planned for some of the open land located within the district.

While much of Cumberland Homesteads still retains its community identity through its open rural landscape and has had an interested historical group, there are no plans for any form of historical zoning to protect the community. As such, it provides an example of the problems faced by many of the rural districts and planned communities in Tennessee.

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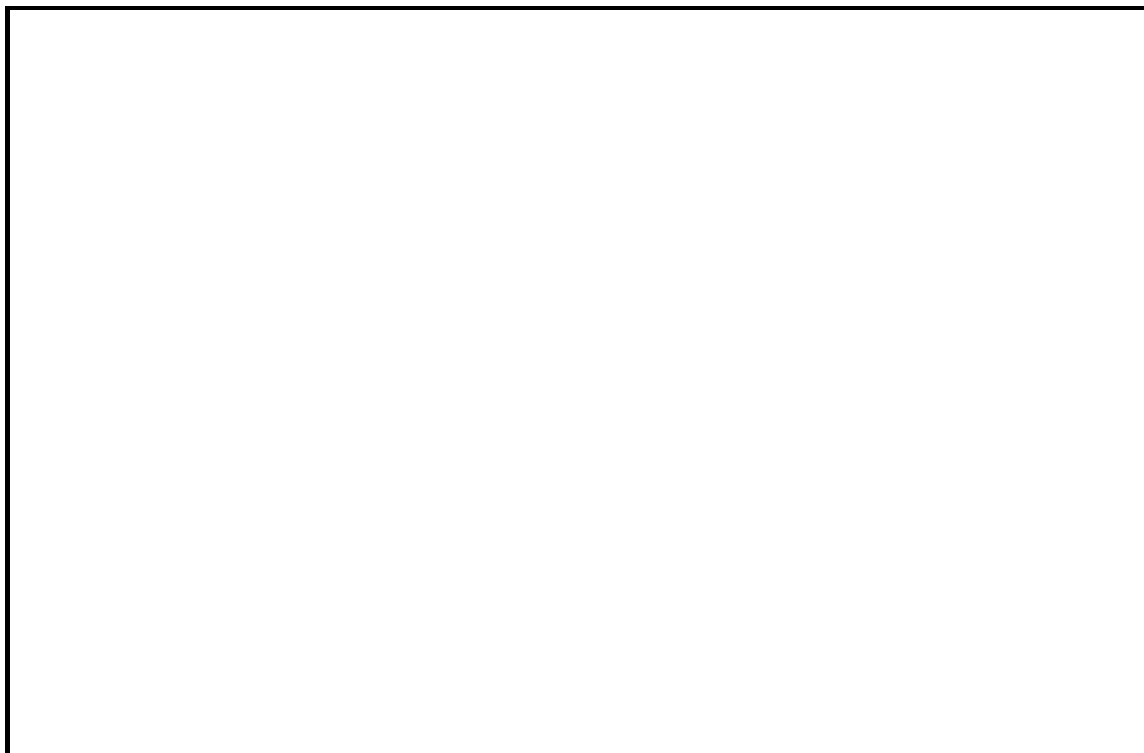
COAL MINING IN THE CUMBERLAND PLATEAU, 1880-1930 [1]

JAMES B. JONES, JR.

TENNESSEE HISTORICAL COMMISSION

Along with the change to factory production, there was a basic shift in the source of energy, from human to steam. The Industrial Revolution was ultimately driven by steam-engines fueled by coal. As it progressed so did the demand for a plentiful and *cheap* source of coal energy. In America that source was bituminous coal, found in the Appalachian Mountains which run from Pennsylvania to northern Alabama. In Tennessee the portion of that mountain chain where coal is found is the Cumberland Plateau. It extends in a northeast and southwest direction across the state, forming the dividing line between middle and east Tennessee. The Cumberland Plateau is divided into the northern and southern coal fields consisting of twenty-one counties. By comparison with Kentucky and West Virginia, the Cumberland Plateau is relatively poor in coal resources. Nevertheless, it was sufficiently rich enough to catch the attention of investors eager to cash in on fueling industrial growth.

Very little is known about coal mining in Tennessee before the 1850s. The successful exploitation of coal in Tennessee's Cumberland plateau depended largely upon improved transportation. As transportation was made more efficient by railroads and as capitalist organization evolved to a higher degree of efficiency, the pace of coal mining in the Cumberland Plateau increased. One nineteenth-century mining engineer in the Volunteer State noted: "the building of the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad [in 1854] marked an epoch in the history of Tennessee's coal mining." [2] By 1855 coal mines near Whiteside, on Raccoon Mountain in Marion County, were opened thirteen miles west of Chattanooga.





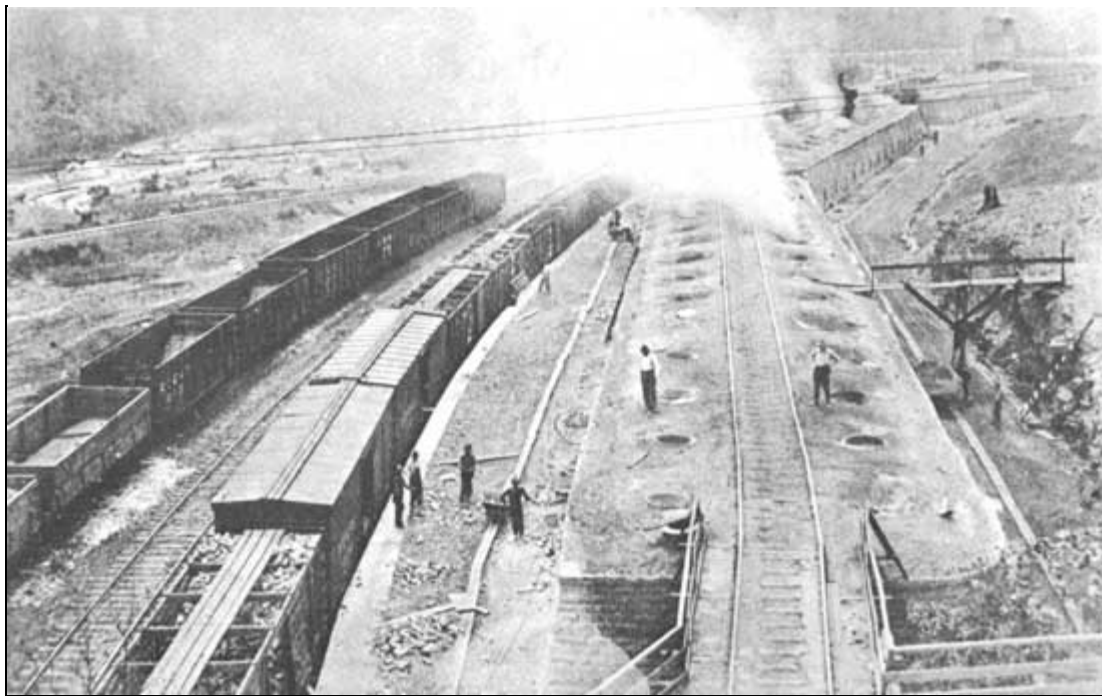
Historic view of the Warshy Power Plant and Tipple in Morgan County. Source: Tennessee Division of Mines Annual Report 1905.

Most likely the first successful commercially organized and capitalist-backed effort at coal mining on the Cumberland Plateau was also bound to the completion of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad (N&C) and occurred in Grundy County at Sewanee. About 1850 the Sewanee Mining Company was organized with the New York financier Samuel F. Tracy as president. The coal lay near Sewanee, and in 1853, a branch railroad was built from the main line of the still unfinished N & C to Sewanee. The presence of a large field coal further east prompted the extension of the railroad from Sewanee to the new town of Tracy City. It is significant here to note that Tracy City is the earliest example of a pattern of outside, organized, capitalistic exploitation of Tennessee's coal reserves. Today that settlement exists under its original name, Tracy City.

Coke, a residue of coal, was used as a fuel for iron production and became also a product of coal mining in Tennessee. Beehive coke ovens so called because of their internal shape, were constructed around 1859 at the Tracy City location in Grundy County and at the Etna operation in Marion County. The remains of some are found in the state park at Tracy City, while others may be found in Dunlap [NR] and in Whiteside, Glen Mary, and Waldensia.

The first iron made solely with Tennessee coke was produced at Tracy City about 1872. Increased iron production was credited with producing increased coal output and thus, it was said, to a lowering of the price of coal.





Historic photograph of the Sewanee Fuel and Iron Company's coke ovens and yard in Grundy County.
Source: Tennessee Division of Mines Annual Report 1928, courtesy of the Tennessee State Library Archives.

The lowering of the cost of coal can be attributed more directly, however, to the infamous convict lease system. In brief, from the late 1860s to the 1890s, convicts held by the state were leased to mining companies to do the work of miners. The revenue aided the state in attempting to lower its staggering debt, the result of overly enthusiastic financial support by the state for railroad expansion in the 1850s. Tennessee Coal and Iron (TCI) was foremost in leasing convicts for mining because it kept labor costs down. Indeed, Tennessee's so-called "Zebra Law" gave the mining companies a steady supply of workers by putting prison stripes on a man for as petty a crime as the theft of an eight-cent fence rail. In this early example of state subsidies for industry, the state government abandoned *laissez-faire* principles and underwrote coal mining and aided coal companies by minimizing costs, Competition and risk. The majority of leased convicts were African Americans. The use of these black convicts was, moreover, a *calculated* move on the part of TCI.

Local free-white miners on the Cumberland Plateau did not acquiesce. For example, in January, 1871, in Tracy City, white miners, realizing the unfair impact of leased convicts upon their wages, struck for higher earnings and the withdrawal of leased convict miners. The miners even made a audacious, nocturnal armed assault on the prison compound with the intent of setting the convicts free. This early example of class-consciousness and industrial labor violence in Tennessee history ended as most strikes did in the nineteenth century, as a victory for management. As A.S. Colvar, vice-president of TCI candidly divulged about the use of convicts many years later:

One of the chief reasons which induced the company to take up the system was the great chance it had for overcoming strikes....I don't mind saying that for many years the company found this an effective club to hold over the heads of free laborers. [3]

Miners continued to object to the use of convict labor, and especially obnoxious to them was the use of felons as strikebreakers but they could point to other injustices also. Some were paid in scrip, which required them to spend their wages at the company store, a practice that

would continue into the twentieth century. [Tennessee Ernie Ford's "Sixteen Tons."] Many were forced to sign "iron-clad" contracts forbidding strikes.

By July 1891, violence erupted in Briceville, Anderson County. Three hundred armed miners freed convicts, compelled the officers and guards to march to Coal Creek (now Lake City) to entrain for Knoxville. A few days later the governor, wisely accompanied by a battalion of state militia, proceeded to Briceville. He successfully pleaded with them to observe the convict-lease law then returned to Nashville, leaving the convicts and the militia at the mines. A few days later, another force of miners, numbering in excess of two thousand, coerced the soldiers and the convicts to return to Knoxville. The governor again travelled to Briceville and ordered fourteen companies of militia to mobilize at Knoxville. After several days of negotiations, it was agreed that the soldiers would be withdrawn and that the convicts and guards would return to the mines, while the miners would invest their "confidence in the governor and general assembly" to rectify the situation.

After more unkept promises and further violence, the convict lease system was abolished in the fall of 1892, in the midst of the gubernatorial election campaign. But a substitute system was found in the form of a new penitentiary in which the convicts would mine coal for the state in Morgan County, at Brushy Mountain, in 1893. Forced convict labor thus is one key to understanding the early success of coal mining in the Cumberland Plateau.

Another clue to understanding the successful large-scale extraction of coal in the Cumberland Plateau was the expansion of the railroads from 1850 to 1930. This can be demonstrated in the case of the Etna mining operation in Marion County in the late 1850s. Coal production at the Etna mines was put at some eight thousand tons in 1854, the year the N&C was completed. In 1855, one year after the railroad was finished, 1855, coal production at Whiteside jumped to twenty-one thousand tons, a 435 percent increase. "Without railroads" said one Tennessee business journal in 1891 "iron and coal would have remained hidden...there would have been no way to develop or transport them....The first essential...was the construction of the railroads." [4] The two were bound in the dynamic of cause and effect.

What followed in the wake of the railroads was, according to one optimistic, nineteenth century industrial source, "in general a period of advancement." [5] Said another late nineteenth-century source: "The influence of these railroads is seen in the progress made beginning with 1880." [6] If defined in terms of coal production, a case can be made demonstrating "progress," or at least a progression, as coal production rose consistently from 1870 to 1910. Figures for every decade from 1870 to 1910 illustrate the claim: 1870, 133,000 tons; 1880, 641,000 tons; 1890, 2,170,000 tons; 1900, 3,400,000 tons; 1910, 7,000,000 tons. However, if we focus upon the irretrievable extraction of coal resources, the devastation of the landscape, and displacement of an entire subculture, it is harder to make a case for progressive betterment.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, coal fired the boilers of factories, ships, locomotives as well as domestic hearths and furnaces and even the new electrical power generating plants in the growing cities. It was the fuel of choice. Without it, the drive for industrial maturity in the United States would have been considerably slowed. Industrial America was a coal/coke-junkie. Inasmuch as it was so critical for domestic and industrial uses, the bituminous coal fields of the southern Appalachians would inevitably be tapped. While the pace of coal mining in Tennessee quickened as railroads entered the Cumberland Plateau in the 1880s and 1890s, its real heyday occurred 1900-1920.

Southern coal was better than northern coal, and it was delivered to American consumers at a lower cost. Lower cost was due to the geologic location of mountain coal which made mining

it easier. Additionally, railroads then usually charged less for long hauls than for short ones, and coal operators in the South paid lower wages and leased convicts, which reduced the production cost considerably.

After 1900 the demand for Appalachian coal was stimulated by a number of factors. The number of coal mines grew in proportion to the rise in market demand, and it didn't cost much to open a mine. In the ten years prior to 1919, the total number of coal mines in America increased by more than 33 percent, and the greatest percentage of that increase came in the South. Increases in steel production and manufacturing of war materials caused by the conflict in Europe also helped.

There were still other factors in the equation besides convict labor, geography, railroads, and profits, more at stake even than coal. Few areas within the continental United States had evaded the influences of the industrial transformation that had swept America in the late nineteenth century. One that had escaped was the Cumberland Plateau, indeed, the entire southern Appalachian region. Here the people remained isolated, passed over by the forces of industrial progress. Just as the Plateau's terrain limitations, its restrictive transportation network, and the relative absence of slavery limited the growth of commercial agriculture, so these conditions also fostered the survival of traditional cultural patterns and a family-based social system and economy. These Appalachian cultural patterns would be disturbed as a result of coal mining, an activity that was promoted by the New South Movement.

The New South Movement can be traced to the early 1870s. At about that time Southern journalists, businessmen, and politicians (but not, significantly, mountain folk) began promoting the potential of the southern mountains throughout America and in Europe. The vast untapped resources of the South were exalted not just as a means of making great wealth but more as a source for the boosters' magnanimous objective of revitalizing Southern society. Lying in the very heartland of the South, the mountains harbored the materials necessary for building a 'new civilization'—a New South patterned in a more modern industrial mold. The New South Creed included the mining of coal. According to Tennessee's most pronounced New South promoter, Joseph P. Killebrew, in 1874:

...the sum total of mineral fuel preserved for the use of the inhabitants of the south is practically infinite. Every valley and ravine that issues from the [Cumberland] plateau lengthens the outcrops and facilitates access to the beds. In...time...a thousand villages, towns and cities will grow up in the broad limestone plain before it; a thousand factories and mills will make these towns hum with life, and all this life will base itself on the mountain coal....
[7]

There was, however, a problem with ushering in this "mountain coal millennium" a cultural conundrum posed by the mountain people in the Cumberland Plateau. First of all, they were already the life there! However, Northern capitalists and mining engineers from the "civilized" world saw mountain people as "backward." Partly as a result of the local color school of literature, the mountaineers became "poor whites," or "hillbillies." Visitors from the North identified the mountain people with other "backward people" whom the leading industrial nations at the time were seeking to develop and to whom the term "natives" was commonly applied.

Along with the exploitation of coal resources was the transformation of the mountain people, who became the objects of a massive domestic Protestant missionary movement. Missionaries sought to bring these folk into the mainstream and promise of American life. This was in keeping with a larger context. Just as nineteenth-century American and European imperialists sought to develop overseas colonial empires and "uplift and Christianize" brown-skinned natives abroad, so they also worked to develop the natural and uplift the human resources of

the Cumberland Plateau to usher in the blessings of the Industrial Age. Religionist-intellectuals justified exploiting the land by arguing that if industrial development "Americanized" the mountaineers—who, it should be pointed out, were already Americans—it would "uplift them." As C. Vann Woodward succinctly and sardonically noted: "Profit motive and missionary motive have often gone hand-in-hand in the development of 'backward people.'" [8]

What can be said about the "discovery" of the mountain people in the late decades of the nineteenth century? By the 1880s, Northern liberal intellectuals had abandoned the African-American as their *cause celebre* and amazingly discovered that in their living conditions, needs, and lives, white mountaineers resembled blacks. Unlike African-Americans however, they were less numerous, geographically self-contained, and nicely defined. Also, then so-called 'scientific' thought moved toward the theory of inferior races, and as white historians began to popularize a proslavery view of the South, Appalachian Anglo-Saxons began to replace African-Americans in the national awareness. In this manner, the white man's imperial burden applied also to white Americans including the benighted natives of the Cumberland Plateau. Thus nineteenth century American imperialism had its internal aspects too and embodies part of the common regional heritage of the Appalachian experience.

Belief in the ideas of progress and the moral prerogative of uplift served to excuse exploitation and made mining coal almost a divine mission. What this really meant was that Appalachia and the Cumberland Plateau were in the way: they blocked more than progress; they blocked the forward march of civilization itself.

After 1890, the American Protestant Home Missionary societies found the unique nature of Appalachia undesirable. They needed an explanation to guide them in consolidating the region into the nation. After 1890, these missionary societies and the new social science practitioners turned increasingly to Appalachia to test their own propositions about the relationship of culture, environment, and population in American history.

Samuel Tyndale Wilson, Presbyterian clergyman, scholar, and president of Maryville College in Blount County, Tennessee, was fairly typical. He believed (as late as 1915) that the mountain folks' plight could be annulled in just one generation by three means: 1) the economic or material development of the mountains; 2) the perfecting of the public school system; and 3) an increase in the number of uplift agencies. It was the duty of Christian uplift organizations to prepare the mountain people so they could take advantage of the abundant opportunities said to be presented by industrialization. This meant that the mountaineers, whom many considered shiftless, slothful, and capricious, had to be taught that their traditional ways were improper. They had, as an entire cultural group, to learn to respect the time clock and adjust to the routines of industrial production, whether they wanted to or not.

One interesting example of this teaching process was found in the "Merry-Makers Club," at the Glen Mary Coal and Coke Company, in Scott County, in 1895. Organized for minor-miners, it had as its

main object to secure healthful and innocent amusements for hard-working boys, to teach them that they could have real down-right fun and that there is nothing wrong in it....their motto is 'work while you work, play while you play.' They meet every week at the house of the directress, who reads aloud for an hour....and then all play games for an other hour. During the summer months,...a comfortable room has been built for...the 'Merry-Makers.' The boys are living up to their motto, and are working better than they ever did before [9]

Thus their traditional values were in a sense being altered, and playing polite parlor games apparently made for better workers.

It is important to reiterate that economic modernization was thought to be the leading means by which the mountain people could be integrated into modern society. (No one seems to have asked them if they wished to be integrated.) Railroads were the initial recourse to such ends. As one New South booster claimed: "Help has come to these marooned people. The Chesapeake and Ohio railroads...and the Louisville and Nashville system...have worked wonders along their routes, as is evidenced by thrifty towns, with churches, institutions of higher learning, mills, furnaces, and mines, which now may be seen where formerly all was stagnant." The arrival of the railroads were part of a larger national phenomenon. Island communities were being replaced by everywhere communities, as the process of erasing differences was transforming American culture into a more unadulterated form.

Foreign mining corporations created changes in land ownership in Appalachia and the Cumberland Plateau. Take for example the American Association, Ltd., of London, England a major developer in Campbell and Claiborne counties. Its tactics were to buy the rights of a single heir to a piece of property left to several family members. When the other heirs would refuse to sell, the company would go to court and ask for a judgment. Invariably the court would decree that it could not be split, and that it should be sold at public auction to the highest bidder—also invariably the American Association. At one time, as Ronald D. Eller points out, in 1889, two thousand acres of land granted to its original settlers in 1839 were bought at auction for two hundred dollars. This British company through such tactics would end up owning eighty percent of all the land in Campbell and Claiborne counties. Perfidious Albion, indeed.

This change in traditional land ownership patterns translated not only into coal production but also into the displacement of the native populations in these two Tennessee counties. It was the result of a concerted and conscious strategy exercised by a powerful imperialist English corporation. (One wonders if the contemporary establishment of the English colony of Rugby in Morgan County in the 1880s, which is today quaintly advertised as a little bit of jolly old eccentric and picturesque English gentility in Tennessee, was a cultural outpost of the larger British empire in Claiborne and Campbell counties.) Such actions led to transitions from the alleged dormant era of individual land ownership in the Plateau to the presumed millennium of progressive absentee land ownership complete with a property-less miner class. These results were typical of capitalistic development in the Appalachian Mountains, if not in the world.

Before industrialization, mountaineers made a living on small mountain farms and organized their lives around family life, work, hunting, and the change of the seasons. The independent yeoman farmer would be transformed into a incidental industrial worker in just fifty short years. After the coming of coal mining and modernization, the mountaineers were landless and their families lived in company towns with a blend of ethnic and racial groups.

Many eastern and southern European immigrants were recruited to work in the coal mines of the Appalachian Mountains. Most often they were brought to coal fields to break strikes by native miners. Natives generally distrusted foreigners, if the following from the 1895 *Annual Report of the Tennessee Bureau of Labor, Statistics, and Mines* is any indication:

in Tennessee we do not experience and feel the full effect of the Pole, the Hungarian, the Russian, and the Italian as some of our sister States do, but we have a small nest of them in our mining districts; they do not understand our language, nor can they adapt themselves to our customs and laws; they work for themselves, live for themselves, and are...the tools of their employers, to do their wishes...[Whenever you see one of them on the road...he has a double barrel shot gun or Winchester rifle on his shoulder. [10]

How did people from Hungary, Russia, and Italy get to the Cumberland Plateau anyway?

Coal companies often sent agents to eastern seaports to attract unsuspecting immigrants who were rushed on trains to the coal fields. Upon arrival they lived under the constant presence of armed guards until they had "worked out" the cost of their transportation. Southern blacks were likewise recruited to work in the coal mines and they, like immigrants, were kept sequestered by the company in separate settlements.

Just as the ethnic mixture of the mountains changed as a result of coal mining, so did the material culture of the region transmute, especially when we consider coal mining towns. While the mining town's population might reflect a wide ethnic variety, its material culture was more representative of the new industrial order. Mining towns are significant because they mirrored the basic changes in land ownership patterns and in social relationships in the Cumberland Plateau. And above all, according to a 1920 U.S. Bureau of Labor study, the chief reason for providing housing for miners in the Southern bituminous coal fields was to endow mining companies with a disciplined and stable labor supply.

Certainly there were company towns in all sections of the United States, in many other industrial habitats—the southern textile mill village, for example—but the effects of the coal company towns in the Appalachian Mountains were more long lasting. This was because the coal town straight away determined the nature of community life in a large part of the region. Put another way, it was a potent means to establish the discipline of the urban industrial system upon the rural mountain folk.

Coal towns were prominent in the Southern Appalachians because in the Southern coal fields, the towns were usually established along with the discovery of coal. Pioneer coal operators had to develop communities to house their labor supply. It is doubtful that they knew they were carrying out experiments in social control. The coal town provided efficient, expedient, and inexpensive housing for a large labor force, and it contained the added prospect of company control over the activities for the miners themselves. Housing played a critical role in this exercise in social control. Since a landless miner and his family became homeless after he left his job, he would be disinclined to provoke his employer and therefore remain docile and yielding to the company's dictates. One forbidden activity in any coal town was the formation of a union. What with the threat of losing house and home, the coal miner was limited in his social and economic freedom, and effectively controlled. Thus the miner's company-owned house should be interpreted as a social control device.

Before the development of coal towns most mountaineer families lived in log structures. One description written in 1876 had it that the large log houses with gable end chimneys found on the Cumberland Plateau were rarely

more than one story high... They are all covered with long split oak shingles, the people there call them boards, rifted from the trunks of selected trees. There is no sheathing on the roof beneath these shingles... Looking up through the many openings in the roof one would think this would be but poor protection against rain, but they rarely leak. [11]

Mary Noailles Murfree (Charles Egbert Craddock) was given to a more romantic view. In the local color school of literature, she described a typical Tennessee mountain home as a log cabin

...ambushed behind the beech-trees, hard by in the gorge... all its belongings seemed huddled about it for safe keeping. The beehives stood almost under the eaves; the ash-hopper was... close in the rear; the rain-barrel affiliated with the damp wall; the chickens were going to roost in an althea bush beside the porch; the boughs of the cherry plum and crab-apple trees were thickly interlaced above the path that led from the rickety railfence, and among their roots flag-lilies, lark-spur, and devil-in-the-bush mingled in a floral mosaic. [12]

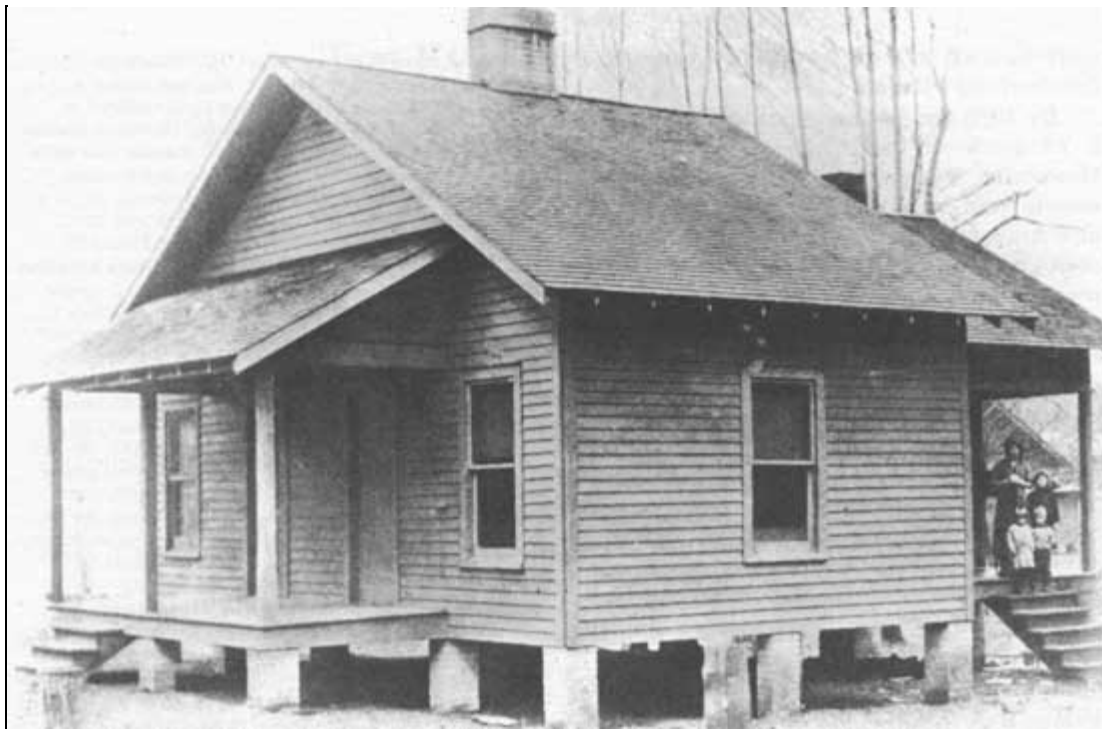
Most of these kinds of dwellings were irretrievably eradicated as a result of mining of coal in the Cumberland Plateau and the entire Appalachian region. Frame construction, while not unknown, was not typically found outside of the valley towns until the establishment of coal-towns.

Most coal seams in the Cumberland Plateau were located in the wilderness, either up steep hillsides or in creek valleys and nearly inaccessible ravines. To get to the coal, one had first to construct a branch tramway to transport men and supplies. Next, work gangs hauled a steam engine and a saw mill over the narrow tramway and began cutting timber for colliery buildings and mine props. Priority was given to constructing structures that would be used to process coal. Often, the mining company offices, power plant, coke ovens, coal tipple, and branch railroad tracks [which arrived soon afterwards] consumed all available land in the restricted valley area, and houses had to be strung out along the creek's bank or placed on stilts along the mountainside or immediately adjacent to the railroad tracks. Company officials often built palatial structures high on the hillside overlooking the town—clearly designating theirs' and the miners' social rank. This pattern of community development was so often repeated that by 1920 company mining settlements dotted the Cumberland Plateau landscape, having transformed it from an area of small scattered farms into a region of discrete and isolated self-contained social units. Coal-towns were located as close to the work as possible, this to increase the workers dependence upon the company and so create a stable, disciplined work force.

Houses in coal towns, or at least those of the miners, were usually board and batten frame structures much like railroad section houses. It may well be that miners' houses owed their origins, like their new way of life, to the expansion of railroads. Inasmuch as railroading and coal mining were so closely tied, it requires no cosmic leap of the imagination to understand that coal miners' housing, within the context of the company town, was not traditional, but industrial. Housing quality was an indication of social rank and further reinforced an inclination toward industrial feudalism in a moribund agrarian and egalitarian America. As a 1919 Southern Pine Association promotional brochure put it while discussing the quality of houses for workers: "When considering this question, it is... necessary to distinguish between homes for executives, clerical help, skilled workmen or unskilled labor. Even in these days of democracy, there still exists...class feeling...." [13]

Life in coal towns was not idyllic. Tom Lowry, a retired miner and former resident of the now abandoned Cumberland Plateau coal town of Wilder-Davidson, succinctly put it: "The company just about owned you." Mrs. Della Mullins, a coal miners wife, concurred by saying: "Mining companies were king of the hill. You stooped and you bowed." [14] Indeed, the mining company controlled nearly every essential aspect of community life, from work, shopping, education, retail merchandising, and medical care. The company store became the hub of coal mining community life, while non-denominational and generic wooden frame churches were the general rule for religious expression. The company provided schools and medical facilities as well. Social conditions were feudal, and the coal operator was the law-giver.





View of workers housing from United State Department of Labor, Housing by Employers In the United States, Bulletin No. 263, 1920.

In the Southern mountains, company towns functioned to limit the growth of social freedom and self-determination and to heighten social anxieties and insecurities. They shaped the new, but not necessarily better, social environment of the Cumberland Plateau. The coal towns of Appalachia were new communities imposed on the indigenous population as an expedient means to bring about the degree of worker-control and urbanization necessary for industrial development, but they created a system of closed, artificial communities.

So, what happened as a result of coal mining? Well, a few people became fabulously wealthy; a larger number did not. The culture and environmental balance of an entire area was transformed by so-called progress which forced an exchange of the independence and tenacious self-sufficiency of a family farm for dependence and subordination to the wage system and the coal town. It is not at all surprising that once the coal played out, the transient coal towns were abandoned. After all, without the need for miners there was neither need for their housing nor the artificial communities. Until a comprehensive survey is conducted, it cannot be known just how many of these coal towns are yet extant along the Cumberland Plateau.

By 1930 the industrial system had made its mark in the Southern Appalachian Mountains. Former mountaineers were now miners and socially integrated within the new industrial era and economically dependent upon it as well. While this dependence was not unique to the Cumberland Plateau the degree of dependence was. The same energies that forged the rest of the United States and the western world transformed the culture of the Tennessee Cumberland Plateau. The period of rapid growth accompanying the rise of industrial capitalism brought to the Cumberland Plateau a period of rapid economic growth and speedy social change. The persistent poverty of Appalachia has come not from any inherited laziness but rather from the particular kind of modernization that accompanied the coal mining that occurred in the years 1880 to 1930. That era and process of modernization are the primary reasons cultural resources associated with coal mining in the Cumberland Plateau, and no doubt the entire Appalachian region, are important to preservationists and cultural resource

management planners. Jesse C. Mills, the late director of the TVA Technical Library, explained the significance of coal mining to the population of the mountains this way:

The mining and removal of coal became the one purpose to which all others were subordinated. The consequence of such one-purpose control was the loss by these mining communities of the mastery of their own destinies, the absence of development of any normal mechanism for self-control, and the forced exclusion of such mining communities from the mainstream of American democratic, social, civic, and economic development.

ENDNOTES

¹ The view expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of his employer.

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⁹ "State of Tennessee, Bureau of Labor, Statistics, and Mines, *Fifth Annual Report 1896* (Nashville: Franc M Paul, 1896), 111. Visions of the Seven Dwarves whistling as they worked in the diamond mines seem somehow inescapable.

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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Appalachian Cultural Resources Workshop Papers



THE EVALUATION PROCESS TENNESSEE'S HISTORIC IRON INDUSTRY [1]

CLAUDETTE STAGER

TENNESSEE HISTORICAL COMMISSION

From the 1790s until the 1930s, the iron industry was often the only reason for the establishment and continued growth of communities on the Western Highland Rim of Tennessee. As the primary economic force in the region, when the industry ceased production, the development of nearby communities generally slowed or ceased altogether. The history of the industry presented an area with a known geographic limit (the Western Highland Rim, a physiographic region of Tennessee), with the theme of iron manufacturing, and with a definable time span (the 1790s until the 1930s). Using these limits, the Division of Archaeology conducted a survey and prepared a survey report that included both historic archaeological sites and standing buildings and structures associated with the iron industry. The Tennessee Historical Commission prepared a multiple property nomination on the iron industry. Determining manageable property types, assessing registration requirements, and establishing boundaries were some of the principal evaluation questions that occurred during the project survey.

In 1976 and 1980, surveys of iron resources in the Central Basin and upper East Tennessee were undertaken. These surveys provided background information on the industry and pointed to the sixteen counties of the Western Highland Rim as being the region most likely to have extant iron resources. The decision to do an intensive survey on the Western Highland Rim was based on the results of the previous surveys and guidelines for survey and study units prepared by the National Register Program, National Park Service.

In 1984 a grant for thirty thousand dollars was awarded to the Division of Archaeology. The survey would look primarily at sites, but it also would include built resources. This was a different approach—usually archaeological sites and standing buildings were surveyed separately. The survey report (published in 1988) contains information on the history and technology of the industry, geographic and geologic information, brief histories of the resources, recommendations for the National Register, and appendices such as a company log and surveyed cemeteries in the region. The report was used as the basis of the nomination.

Buildings were the primary unknown at the start of the survey and the nomination. The thirty-seven buildings initially surveyed were located by their proximity to industrial sites, information from area residents, library research, and records of previously surveyed or listed buildings. For the industrial sites, the focus was on furnace and forge sites, although ore mines were also examined. Seventy-five sites were recorded and sixteen more were thought to exist, although no physical evidence of them was found. Two hundred seventy-nine abandoned ore mines were located on maps, but since they were difficult to reach, only ten were surveyed. There was more information on the sites than had been expected. Geologic maps and publications, censuses, manufacturing lists and censuses were invaluable sources.

In 1987 the Tennessee Historical Commission and the Division of Archaeology began re-

surveying some of the sites and buildings for a proposed National Register nomination. All of the potentially eligible industrial sites and those whose eligibility was questionable or had been inaccessible during the initial survey were looked at for site integrity and potential National Register boundaries. All of the buildings were re-surveyed. The original survey concentrated on buildings that were company-built or representative examples of iron-industry housing. For the re-survey, it was determined that all buildings in the survey area that were constructed during the period of significance should be re-surveyed. As a result of this, approximately fifteen to twenty additional buildings were surveyed in Cumberland Furnace and the Clarksville Foundry complex was surveyed. The re-survey also discovered that two residences in the community of Rockdale had been torn down since 1984. The home of A.H. Patch, who patented a corn sheller and built a foundry to manufacture it, was demolished during the re-survey. The re-survey involved three people going on thirteen field trips, or about three hundred hours of work.

DETERMINING MANAGEABLE PROPERTY TYPES

Using the data from the survey report, three categories of property types were chosen to be broad enough to cover all of the expected resources. These were processing, community, and extractive resources. If the property types are more specific, such as a separate type for furnaces, forges, worker housing, commercial buildings, etc., it becomes too time consuming to do the nomination. Once we begin to evaluate properties, there is too much repetition of information for registration requirements and statements of significance because the processes are so closely related.

For all three property types, the common associative characteristics were more important than having similar physical features. This was especially true for the extant buildings. The link or common associative feature for the processing resources was that they had to have been part of the process of ore production or refining. This group included furnaces, forges, and foundries. Physical features included standing buildings, the remains of furnace stacks and charging pylons, dam remains, or cribbing.

Community resources were comprised of properties as diverse as worker housing from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, manager housing, ironmasters' homes, commercial buildings, a depot, churches, and cemeteries. The link was that all were built during the time the iron industry was active.

Extractive resources should all have been used in the iron manufacturing process and they needed to be situated near the processing sites. This group contained ore mines, quarries, and ore beds.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS AND SIGNIFICANCE

Registration requirements set the parameters for what was considered eligible. For example, although the survey went through the 1930s, in the 1920s there was a change in technology when iron production became secondary to the manufacture of wood by products. Sites that were built during this time and for this reason were not considered for this nomination. The Warner-Wrigley site fell into this category and therefore was not nominated. It represents a different era of the industry and might be eligible under a different theme or context.

For the processing sites, one of the primary site features required was the remains of furnace stacks or building foundations. This tells us where the primary activity occurred. Another prominent feature was slag or dross, by-products of furnaces and forges. Slag type and color tells us various things about the furnace operation, such as the temperature of blast, minerals in ores, or whether it was coke or coal fueled. No site testing was done since it was believed

that historic documentation and extant surface remains were sufficient to determine site integrity and potential for information.

Physical features water source, hillside near stack, or simply undisturbed land where the potential for sub-surface remains appeared good were also important. These features added to site integrity, yet it is important to remember these rural and isolated sites were once industrial complexes.

Processing resources were primarily eligible as historic archaeological sites for their research potential. A great deal of information was known about the development of the iron industry, so research questions dealt with its demise. These sites can also be eligible for their historic significance in industry or for their engineering or artistic value when much of stack is extant. One furnace, Bear Spring, is important for all of these reasons since it retains much of its stack and charging pylon. It also has carved designs depicting a bear, powder horn, rifle, and the names of the owners and architect.

Extant buildings were generally significant because of their historic association with the iron industry or their design. Buildings were relatively rare, so numerous changes were considered acceptable as long as most materials, location, and association were strong. For example, when looking at ironmasters' roles in the industry, we knew that operations were family owned or owned by small groups of investors.

For a building to be eligible because of its association with an important person, that individual had to be actively involved in the industry and not be just an investor. Due to the rarity of built resources, this association can be brief as long as the ironmaster lived in the house when he was active in the industry and when there was a strong association. An example is the home of Samuel Stacker. Constructed in 1856, Stacker lived here only until his death in 1859. Because it is the only extant building associated with an important ironmaster, and because Stacker was known to be actively involved in the industry, the house was nominated and listed in the National Register.

Built resources were considered eligible for their pattern of settlement or development, the individual who lived there, or their design. However, they can be eligible as historic archaeological sites if they reveal information about the site patterning of towns, construction methods over different phases, or social relationships. An example is the New Aetna site. A historic map showed the presence of buildings, extractive sites, the furnace, and railroads and roads. Today the site contains slag, the remains of the stack, and one company built house. Since the area shown on the historic map is relatively undisturbed and the potential for subsurface remains appears good, the site has the potential to answer the research questions about community resources noted above.

As previously stated, the focus of survey and the nomination was on processing and, secondarily, community resources. It was felt that extractive resources would be eligible only if they could be linked directly to a processing site. Then they might yield important information on the technology of mining. More information on mining could change this.

Forty-four sites were nominated and listed; three had been previously listed but had their boundaries expanded. Many sites contained all three property types. In addition to the sites, four individual buildings were nominated and listed. Three of the buildings were ironmasters' houses, and one was the foundry complex.

BOUNDARIES - CHAMBERLAND FURNACE AS AN EXAMPLE

The survey discussed how many of the sites were once iron plantations, yet we don't always

know where the plantation boundaries were or how large they were. Many of these sites operated first as plantations and later as "company towns"; both involved large land holdings with numerous interrelated components such as houses, industrial sites, farming and timber acreage, and commercial areas. Therefore, there is a potential for large areas to be included within the boundaries. On some sites it was easy to determine boundaries, but numerous sites were more difficult, such as Chamberland Furnace.

The district is unique to Tennessee in that it participated in all phases of the iron industry. It contains the earliest known site, ca. 1795, and continued furnace operations into the twentieth century. Chamberland Furnace contains all three resource types. Ore mining, limestone quarrying, furnaces, iron plantation resources, and later company-built resources are all here. The industry was the reason for the settlement, growth, and development of the town.

Boundaries, for all sites, were determined to include only those areas where the visible remains of historic resources existed or where historic documentation showed the evidence of potential remains. Because of the amount of land and the manner in which the sites operated, it was important to look at the relationship of the resource types: processing, extractive, and community resources are connected by rail lines, tram lines, roads, and streams. Usually, the buildings were arranged in a linear pattern along roads or railroads. The historic map of Cumberland Furnace depicts the location of the furnaces, ore beds, quarry, and buildings, most of which are connected by roads or railroad lines.

National Register boundaries were determined by using historic maps, site topography and integrity, the presence of surface materials, but they also had to deal with current legal boundaries. Although the historic map is simple, today's map is more complex and shows the land subdivided over years and new buildings on it. The maps also reveal the different ways in which properties can be viewed in Chamberland Furnace. In the early 1970s, only three properties were considered eligible for the National Register—the ironmaster's house and the church and school erected by the ironmaster's family. If one looks only at the extant buildings, a small district centered along the major road appears eligible. When the buildings, quarry and ore beds, and furnace sites are all included in a district, there are 625 acres that represent the history of the community and the industrial operations.

Chamberland Furnace may have been a typical iron community, so a brief discussion of the types of resources found here is appropriate. Ironmaster James Drouillard's 1879 house overlooks town. The ironmaster's house overlooking his property is a characteristic pattern, as was due to the fact that Drouillard inherited the house and industry. Today one can see the ore banks area from the house, historically one would have seen industry and about two hundred workers during Drouillard's ownership. The house and school are found below the owner's house. Worker's log houses, some of which were slave houses that have been enlarged or modernized, a manager's house, the summer home of a later furnace owner, and early twentieth century houses are all situated near the road. At the center of the community are privately built commercial buildings and company offices. A depot, post office, and the company commissary are also located near the road. Collectively, the buildings are good examples of worker housing or vernacular architecture in the region.

District boundaries include all known sites and buildings associated with the iron industry of Chamberland Furnace, since towns existence depended on iron. To the east of the center of the town is undisturbed land leading to the quarry site, the only one in the Western Highland Rim, and to the west is the second furnace site. The third furnace site has a concentration of slag and the remains of concrete pylons; historic photographs let us know what it actually looked like. Slag scatter is seen throughout the district, however, it is concentrated at two of the furnace sites. On one of the hillsides is the cemetery of another ironmaster's family. Cemeteries were interesting not only for their historic associations but because the fences

surrounding them reflected one way the iron was utilized. Unlike many of the sites, there is little information on the earliest furnace here (1790s). Therefore, this site can answer research questions about early operations and later iron site changes. We can learn about mining technology, internal site patterning, the relationship of resource types, building technology, and the industrial landscape.

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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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CREATING SUCCESSFUL COMMUNITIES: INTEGRATING LOCAL STRATEGIES FOR CONSERVATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

LUTHER PROBST

SONORAN INSTITUTE [1]

INTRODUCTION

The 1980s brought unprecedented growth and change to many southern communities. Consequently, in many places an entirely new set of public policy challenges relating to the quality of southern communities, lives, and landscapes became increasingly important. Victoria Tschienkel, former secretary of Florida's Department of Environmental Regulation has aptly described the state's endemic problem with poorly managed growth:

"I think that we can probably take care of pollution-related problems in the state but it's going to be tough... Even if we do that I'm not sure that this is going to be a very nice place to live, because of the densities of the population and lack of sense of community. Florida could end up as just one convenience store after another. If we can't come up with an image of what this state should be, we can protect the environment, but will we still be glad to live here?" [2]

Growth management offers promising solutions both to environmental threats and to the concerns raised by Tschienkel, but can communities today really afford to protect historic buildings, open space, and other amenities, while simultaneously taking other measures to ensure that new growth protects local distinctiveness?

Given the economic outlook, there is mounting evidence that communities can not afford not to. More communities now realize that viable economic development strategies—such as retaining existing "footloose" industry, attracting high-growth industries and professional services, and attracting tourists or retirees—require developing a superior local environment and quality of life.

Research into business setting decisions shows that a community's livability, attractiveness, and quality of life are important factors in retaining existing businesses and attracting new ones. This is particularly true of the most dynamic sectors of the economy—such as health care, electronics, and professional services—and of small entrepreneurial firms responsible for much recent job creation. Factors vary widely from industry to industry, but a 1981 study concludes that the third most important factor (after labor, climate, and proximity to markets) in setting decisions is an area's attractiveness to managers and engineers. For 35 percent of the firms surveyed, a community's livability—including such factors as a good educational system and recreation and cultural facilities—was a critical factor. It was most important to firms employing high percentages of white-collar workers. [3]

David Birch's 1987 publication *Job Creation in America* analyzes over 5.5 million firms and concludes that high cost and high tax areas exhibit the greatest growth. He concludes that what he calls high-innovation firms are creating most of the growth in the American

economy, so it makes sense for communities to concentrate upon their development. Innovation depends primarily on "brains," not cheap land or labor. The key to attracting highly skilled professionals is to offer high quality, not low cost. Innovation-based companies will, in general, settle or remain in an environment that bright, creative people find attractive. Birch concludes that cost is not an absolute measure; it is relative to the quality of the people and environment that it provides. A high-cost area that attracts the best and the brightest through desirable amenities will, in general, do much better than a low-cost place that offers much less. [4]

Birch lists local quality of life as one of five critical factors for small innovative firms which he calls the key to job creation. The others are education, quality of labor, quality of government, and telecommunications.

Quality of life factors that can be influenced by local land use policy decisions include a clean environment, vibrant down-towns, low levels of traffic congestion, opportunities for outdoor recreation, scenic drives, and attractive community design. Additional factors that are not directly related to land use policy include quality schools, spectator sports, and recreational and cultural facilities.

Boulder, Colorado offers an interesting example of the long-term economic and environmental benefits of good local land use planning and conservation. Says Jim Crain, director of the Office of Real Estate and Open Space for Boulder, "When US West was looking for a new location, other communities being considered offered them every incentive imaginable, but when the ribbon on their new facility was cut, they said it was the amenities that Boulder had to offer that drew them here." [5] Boulder's long leadership in open space protection—the city has acquired some 22,000 acres in the past and quality 20 years to create a greenbelt park surrounding the city—paid off in helping the city to attract a premier factors research and development investment.

More communities are realizing the businesses advantages of protecting the local environment and quality of life while promoting beneficial development, but most still need to know what it takes to make such development happen. Seeking to provide those answers. The Conservation Foundation nonprofit organization founded in 1948 that has long been involved in state and local land use issues—has investigated a diverse set of communities whose efforts to protect and enhance livability have been successful. The most noteworthy lesson is that intangible factors, rather than reliance upon any specific land use mechanisms or techniques, are the hallmark of successful communities.

SUCCESS FACTORS

The Conservation Foundation identified seven factors, which, in various combinations, tend to distinguish communities where people are taking imaginative steps to create a superior local quality of life, while protecting distinctive natural and cultural assets.

1. Build Land Use Policies Around Distinctive Local Assets.

These assets may be unlikely or hard to find. Identifying distinctive assets—historic buildings, waterfronts, public waterways, scenic views, distinctive vegetation, pastoral landscapes—and designing local land use policies around them is the basis for many successful and far-reaching local efforts.

In Sanibel Island, Florida, off the coast of Fort Myers, the community emphasizes protecting the island's natural vegetation and wildlife habitat. Today, the city reviews each site plan and advises developers on how to avoid destroying natural vegetation. If indigenous species and

natural vegetation are destroyed in the development process, they must be replaced or compensated for elsewhere on the site. A local private non-profit organization, The Sanibel-Captiva Conservation Foundation, runs a native plant nursery which supplies plants to developers and home-owners for landscaping or revegetating damaged sites. As a result, Sanibel is one of the most biologically intact, attractive and economically healthy communities on the Florida coast.

Obviously, not every community has spectacular natural assets. Nearly all, however, have some asset often unnoticed—that can make the community distinctive.

In Butte, Montana the community has focused on an unlikely asset—the relic copper mining and smelting industry. This industry declined, and left Butte economically spent and environmentally degraded. In 1982, the Butte Historical Society conceived the idea of revitalizing the area's economy by preserving and building on the local mining heritage. Today this mining heritage is the foundation of the community's innovative revitalization efforts. This locally driven program has created an integrated system of historical and natural parks, conversion of spent sites into community facilities, reclamation of degraded landscapes, and a program to educate visitors about the community's rich historic and natural resources. This would never have happened without the focus on the area's unexpectedly marketable asset.

Beaumont, Texas and Birmingham, Alabama have used similar strategies to build upon their historic roles in the oil and steel industries.

2. Build Land Use Policies Around a Positive, Shared Vision.

By focusing on a vision with popular appeal, communities have converted public frustration and polarization into enthusiasm for protecting and capitalizing on local assets. The principal shortcoming in many communities is that local land use policy simply reacts to external events and proposals, rather than furthering any defined vision or plan. People will often get excited—and stay excited—about an appealing vision of the future of the community. If that vision—the goal—stays out front, the necessary regulations and spending decisions will more likely fall into place.

Developer Jim Rouse has captured the benefit of a clear vision: "The most important thing we have yet to learn is that there is so much more we can do about creating successful communities and successful lives for the people of our country than we attempt to do. We continually fall short of the possible that is out there in front of us because we envisage so little as possible. We are always undershooting in what we believe it is possible to do. We continually lose power, energy, and achievement by setting our goals too low, by planning in too little quantities." [6]

San Antonio, Texas, has enhanced its urban environment and contributed substantially to downtown revitalization by creating and implementing a vision around a small river that at one time was to be paved over. When the San Antonio River flooded downtown San Antonio in the mid-1920s, proposals were made to control the river by burying it under concrete. However, a young architect had a vision of the river as a beautiful canal lined by trees, a walkway, shops, and art galleries. He persuaded local officials and the business community that the river could be a great asset to the city. It took over 30 years, but today the Riverwalk is something of an organic Tex-Mex Festival market—a cool green oasis in the middle of downtown. It is now the focal point of the city's substantial convention and tourism trade and the leading tourist destination in Texas. It encourages activity and investment downtown, and is a focal point for historic preservation and downtown revitalization efforts.

Near Boston, the Massachusetts town of Lowell used a vision of a revitalized downtown

based upon an unlikely asset—abandoned textile factories—to spur a downtown renaissance and to provide a focus for local conservation efforts. In the late 1800s Lowell was the cradle of the Industrial Revolution in the United States. But in this century, Lowell declined as industry moved south. Buildings were abandoned; unemployment skyrocketed in the 1960s and 1970s.

While Lowell's prospects seemed grim, the community identified its assets, defined what was unique about them, and created a vision of Lowell as proud of its industrial heritage. The local government restricted the demolition of old buildings and set guidelines for renovation. Today, the downtown contains buildings converted into museums, senior citizen housing, and new hotels. What is interesting about Lowell is that this economic rebirth occurred downtown, where people could afford to live, where buildings were already built and infrastructure already in place, and where people could walk.

3. Attend to Environmental, Quality of Life, and Aesthetic Concerns.

For decades, communities have sought to create success through economic development and environmental planning measures. Local governments have zoned to separate incompatible uses and protect property values. They have provided tax incentives and subsidies to attract new businesses. They have worked to ensure that sewage facilities are adequate and that new construction avoids flood plains and other hazardous or unsuitable areas. But communities are now coming to realize that these activities are not enough. They are paying closer attention to quality of life factor-building design, protecting trees and other vegetation as development occurs, and improving billboards and signs. Protecting natural vegetation has received particular attention.

Business interests increasingly recognize the connection between an attractive community and a healthy business climate. In Columbia, South Carolina, the Chamber of Commerce has proposed and promoted a model local ordinance to reduce roadside clutter and better control the appearance of on-premise advertising signs. In Houston, Texas, the Chamber of Commerce spear-headed recent efforts to control the proliferation of billboards. In Tallahassee, Florida, private and governmental land use initiatives revolve around protecting the city's distinctive canopy roads—roads lined by mature trees—as the city's "natural signature."

Leaders in other states and localities have realized that nothing is gained by ignoring environmental and quality of life factors. Baton Rouge, Louisiana offers a telling example. Two major petrochemical companies recently rejected potential sites for substantial new investments in Baton Rouge due to unacceptable local environmental conditions. In response, the mayor moved to create a municipal environmental monitoring agency. As Paul Templet, the secretary of Louisiana's Department of Environmental Quality lamented shortly after the decision: "The mistakes of the past are coming back to haunt us, and the environmental costs will be paid. You pay them on the front end by good environmental management, or you pay them on the back end." [7]

4. Go Beyond Regulations to Secure Quality Development and Protect Local Resources.

Regulations are but one tool in the toolbox. They are often too blunt an instrument with which to fashion a liveable community. While regulations are essential in establishing a minimum code of conduct, they are better suited at preventing the worst than creating the best in new development. They are least effective in mature or soft markets. Regulations must be supplemented, not only by traditional spending and economic development tools, but also by more innovative approaches.

Projects to enhance public property—such as landscaping governmental lands, planting trees, and restoring governmental building—are important activities that set an example for private landowners and developers.

Also, private nonprofit land trusts are increasingly critical, and are becoming more common throughout the South. There are now over 800 not-for-profit local land trusts nationwide acquiring land—from wildlife habitat to facade easements on historic buildings to development rights on farm or forest land—in order to protect especially vulnerable resources and to complement other local land use policies.

All over the country, voters in local and state-wide bond referenda have approved, by convincing majorities, new funding to acquire open space and protect natural resources. Voters increasingly recognize that local resource protection is an important element of a comprehensive community development strategy.

In addition, many local governments are working with private organizations to protect significant natural areas. For example, the Huntsville (Alabama) Land Trust has recently acquired some 550 acres on a highly visible mountain to prevent development on slopes above the city. The land trust developed public support for creating a nature center and raised \$1.8 million from private sources. The City of Huntsville added \$3.3 million.

A number of local governments have established governmental or quasi-governmental land trusts to supplement private efforts. In places such as Boulder, Colorado; Block Island, Rhode Island; and Davis, California, local voters have created semi-independent public agencies funded by local property transfer taxes, sales taxes, and voluntary payments added to utility bills to acquire and protect natural areas. These agencies use a steady and predictable stream of public funds to finance ongoing public land acquisition efforts.

5. Encourage "Hometown Heroes"

Whether they are local elected officials, neighborhood activists, or rural residents, leaders with tenacity are critical to successful communities. Although poorly managed growth is regarded by most citizens as an intractable problem, individual citizens have in fact made a tremendous difference in community after community. The challenge for local officials is to channel these energies into constructive efforts that benefit the entire community.

Among the many such individuals identified by The Conservation Foundation is the Chicago area's Gerry Adelman, who has continually prodded officials and citizens to accomplish his vision of a linear park running from Chicago down the Illinois and Michigan Canal to the Mississippi River. Today the precedent-setting Illinois and Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor runs 120 miles and protects historical resources of 41 canal towns while providing recreational assets and a boost to economically depressed communities. It links 39 natural areas and 200 historic sites. In Joliet, old steel mills are being converted to an office complex marketed by emphasizing the attractiveness of access to the historic locks and canals.

6. Encourage Effective and Inclusive "Quality-of-Life Lobbies"

Alongside "hometown heroes," effective, broad-based, quality-of-life "lobbies" (these groups may or may not be 'lobbies' in a legal sense—with attendant impacts on tax status) may provide an opportunity to develop long-term leadership. In San Antonio, for example, the San Antonio Conservation Society both continues to serve as a watchdog and contributes money to promising redevelopment projects, not only along the San Antonio Riverwalk it helped establish but throughout the city.

In Fredericksburg, Virginia, representatives of Friends of the Rappahannock appear regularly

at local zoning board and planning commission hearings to protect the Rappahannock River. Recognizing that protecting what they cherish about Fredericksburg requires more than responding to specific development proposals, the Friends have also led efforts to revitalize Fredericksburg's historic downtown.

In Alabama, the Cahaba River Society has spearheaded Alabama's first watershed-based comprehensive regional land use planning effort. The Society's efforts are particular noteworthy because the area has virtually no tradition of public land use planning. Its efforts have led to several positive changes needed to protect the Upper Cahaba Basin and an intergovernmental land use planning effort for the Basin is now underway.

Involving newcomers and young people in such projects can help instill commitment to these communities as well as providing future "stewards." Mechanisms which publicly recognize and reward such people can also create new role models and generally raise the level of civic awareness.

7. Encourage Participation-Oriented Developers.

Participation-oriented real estate developers work hand-in-hand with the community and neighbors before and during the development process. They sell their product to the whole community, not just to a few local officials. They pay attention to environmental, cultural, and aesthetic concerns and do more than the minimum mandated by regulation. They are often willing to take a chance on innovative projects that traditional developers and bankers are afraid to touch.

These innovative developers are attracted to communities that respond creatively to new ideas, that are open minded about new tools and techniques to accomplish their goals, and that are willing to sit down at the table with developers in a spirit of cooperation. If communities are not savvy, they may receive less than optimal benefits from new development or develop a reputation for approving only unimaginative, run-of-the-mill projects.

Successful communities are savvy. They learn to negotiate with developers effectively to make sure that commitments are enforced and that they receive an acceptable return on every local dollar spent. This is particularly important with small communities, which often have less planning expertise and are eager for large development projects. Without proper review, such projects may end up draining, rather than enriching, the local economy and may overwhelm the character that attracts people in the first place. By encouraging innovative development, communities can glean from the private sector the best it has to offer.

POLICY OPTIONS

Local officials and citizens often ask what specific steps a community can take to produce success. Because of the sheer diversity of communities, there can be no single model for each to emulate. Each locality must follow a unique path. However, there are several specific policy options or activities that many communities have found useful.

1: Conduct an Inventory of Significant Natural and Cultural Assets.

A thorough inventory and assessment of significant local assets is essential prior to fashioning effective local conservation and development policies. In many communities, a wealth of information about the community's economic, natural, aesthetic, cultural, and historic resources is available. This information, however, is seldom organized into a single reference source available to local residents. A single source of information about a community's various assets and a realistic assessment of these assets can improve local

decision making. Compiling this information into an easily accessible and well-illustrated reference source and distributing it widely throughout a community prior to a public planning process can not only encourage public involvement and inform local decisions but also can help build pride in a community's distinctive assets.

2: Involve the Public in Developing a Positive, Shared Vision for the Future of the Community.

Although many local plans simply gather dust on the shelf, planning can be an extremely valuable local exercise. The best planning processes often start with an effort to define the community's long-range goals—that is, to define a popular vision for the community's future. Successful efforts to do so often start with appointment of a broadly representative task force of community leaders (in and out of government) with the task of developing a statement of long-range goals or a vision for the community's future. The key characteristic of successful vision setting initiatives is often the presence of sincere efforts to encourage meaningful and broad public participation. The traditional public hearing process has proven inadequate in many communities. One proven method for encouraging public participation is to conduct scientific public opinion polling to determine public values. Another is to make presentations of possible alternatives in numerous settings outside of formal public hearing—for example, at meetings of the Rotary and other civic clubs, at Chamber of Commerce meetings, in churches and retirement homes, at job sites, in neighborhood settings, and with local clubs. A number of communities—notably Roanoke, Virginia—have successfully used television to educate the public about local planning issues.

3: Analyze the Economics of Land Use and the Costs of Alternative Development Patterns and Scenarios.

A recent Report of the Year 2020 Panel to the Chesapeake Executive Council found that the population of the Chesapeake Bay basin (most of Maryland and much of Virginia and Pennsylvania) grew almost 50 percent between 1950 and 1980. In the same period, the amount of land used for residential and commercial purposes increased 180 per cent. In 1950, each resident in the region accounted for 0.18 acres of developed land, while by 1980, each new resident accounted for 0.65 acres of newly developed land. These figures are typical of the increasingly dispersed development patterns that have occurred throughout the South since the 1950s.

An increasing number of communities have begun to question the widely held assumption that such dispersed development always has a positive impact on local budgets and helps to reduce local property taxes. A closer look at the long-term fiscal implications for new development is warranted. A number of fiscal analyses have demonstrated that taxes generated by scattered low density development would be less than the cost of providing public services and infrastructure to those areas.

For example, in Alabama, the Huntsville Land Trust recently examined the costs of providing municipal services—such as fire protection, police, roads, sewers, and schools—and calculated the municipal tax revenues that would be generated by building the number of homes allowed by zoning laws on property being considered for a nature preserve. It compared the net cost over time of providing public services to the property if it were developed with the cost of acquiring the property for a nature preserve. The report concluded that the infrastructure costs of the proposed development would be close to \$5 million and that the city would expend \$2,500 to \$3,000 per acre each year to provide public services. In comparison, the trust noted that the city's acquisition costs for the preserve would be \$3.3 million and that maintenance costs for open space are only \$75 per acre annually. Dissemination of this information contributed to the city's decision to appropriate funds to

acquire the property.

Many communities could develop this type of fiscal impact analysis to minimize the polarization that sometimes occurs over specific development proposals and to better inform capital spending decisions, open space acquisition programs, agricultural preservation efforts, and land use regulations.

4: Consider Development Regulations That Will Improve Local Conditions

After developing a shared vision and an understanding of local assets, the principal challenge is developing and implementing specific measures to achieve the vision. Planning cannot be an end in itself and does not replace action and leadership. Communities can use both traditional and innovative land use regulations to promote a wide variety of public goals such as protecting agricultural lands, conserving open space and sensitive natural areas such as wetlands and stream corridors, revitalizing down-towns, preserving historic buildings and districts, improving landscaping, enhancing the appearance of signs and commercial corridors, protecting scenic views, and addressing traffic congestion. These regulations must be fine tuned to meet local objectives without imposing undue burdens.

5: Create or Strengthen a Local Land Trust or Local "Quality of Life" Advocacy Group

Determined action by concerned citizens often makes the critical difference in creating a successful community. Coordinated action by a formal association or nonprofit corporation generally is more effective than even the most accomplished individual action. A nonprofit corporation with a constructive and broad mission helps to channel energy and expertise beyond an immediate crisis, attracts interest from diverse groups, and may help avoid crises altogether. Local "quality-of-life" organizations play many roles: research, education, advocacy, and land acquisition to name a few. The requirements for incorporating a nonprofit association are minimal and the advantages can be substantial. A foundation could be created both to raise funds to supplement public dollars and to bring citizens together in a common cause.

6: Establish or Strengthen Leadership Development Programs and Lead By Example.

The ability of communities to devise and implement successful development strategies is heavily influenced by the quality of their leadership. Many communities have ongoing leadership development programs designed to identify potential community leaders, educate them about issues and resources, and bring them together to form continuing relationships.

[8]

Local governments can also lead by example, indicating their commitment to improving their communities by undertaking projects to enhance public property, such as restoring downtown public buildings prior to considering other measures to revitalize downtown.

7: Recognize That All Land is Unique and Develop Tools to Analyze Land.

Regulations controlling the density at which land is developed and decisions about matters such as where to build roads, schools, and sewer capacity necessarily encourage development on some land and discourage it elsewhere on other land. Many local governments could consider developing a site analysis capacity so that day-to-day spending and land use decisions steer development to suitable lands and away from environmentally sensitive lands. The ability to account for site characteristics when making zoning, capital spending, park acquisition, or industrial siting decisions helps a community decide what land is best for development of various types and what land is best for protection at various levels.

Some communities have taken advantage of recent advances in computer technology—especially the growing sophistication and affordability of geographic information systems—to dramatically improve the local capacity, both technical and financial, to perform site analysis. A geographic information system (GIS) is a computerized system used to collect, store, analyze, and display spatial information. [9]

8: Adopt a More Informed Approach to Density.

Regulating the density of residential and commercial development presents several complex issues at the heart of many local land use disputes. Communities should make every effort to avoid the fallacy that reducing development density will necessarily create more environmentally and socially benign development. Sensitive land planning and design, clustered development with dedicated open space, protected open space corridors, and increased densities in exchange for public amenities such as bicycle paths, can produce higher density development that is environmentally, socially, and fiscally superior to lower density development.

An increasing number of communities in the South are rethinking density controls in order to create contemporary counterparts to the traditional small towns that characterize the South. These new (or "neo-traditional") designs encourage a mix of housing types within walking distance of places enhance public of employment, commerce, and recreation. Their compact design can protect critical natural resources and open space. They often differ from most recent development by stressing the historic architectural styles of the region in which they are located.

In the most often cited example, Seaside, Florida, architect Andres Duany and developer Robert Davis have designed a contemporary new community that retains the traditional characteristics of a small town or traditional neighborhood. The result is a community like the neighborhoods that developed prior to the automobile revolution of the 1950s. Duany and others have developed a model local ordinance that encourages development of traditional neighborhoods. A version has been adopted in Loudoun County, Virginia and is under consideration in a number of other jurisdictions.

Case Study:

Fort Mill, South Carolina

Recent efforts in Fort Mill, South Carolina demonstrate that a community can indeed take charge of its future. Located on the southern boundary of the Charlotte, North Carolina metropolitan area, the town of Fort Mill is a small town on the brink of being overwhelmed by growth. Surrounded by farms and woodland, the community's small-town charm and proximity to booming Charlotte has created tremendous development pressure. The current population of approximately 4,500 residents is expected to increase by 77 percent over the next 12 years.

Fort Mill's situation is similar to many other towns throughout the South. For decades the town's economy has been based on textile manufacturing. But with local manufacturing on the decline, more new and long-term residents are now making the twenty to thirty-minute commute into Charlotte.

What distinguishes Fort Mill from many other towns on the urban fringe is that its citizens have implemented a comprehensive program to protect the community's significant resources and to encourage desired economic development. Working with The Conservation Foundation's Successful Communities program, they have acted decisively to protect the open space that has surrounded and defined the town for over 200 years and to revitalize the

town's historic downtown.

In a community values-setting exercise conducted by Successful Communities, Fort Mill leaders targeted preserving open space, revitalizing downtown, and attracting high-quality economic development as high priorities. With assistance from a Successful Communities field representative, residents have implemented a multifaceted program to achieve these priorities.

As so often is the case in successful local efforts, a driving force has been private action in Fort Mill, by the family of Anne Springs Close. The Close family recently produced a family land use plan emphasizing a balance between conservation and environmentally sensitive development. As part of this plan, the family dedicated in perpetuity some 3,000 acres for open space purposes to create a permanent greenbelt between Fort Mill and Charlotte. This greenbelt christened on Earth Day 1990 as the Anne Springs Close Greenbelt—the cornerstone of a program to provide a permanent natural buffer surrounding the town. A nature preserve, horse trails, and other low intensity recreational opportunities are to be developed.

The greenbelt not only saves open land for public enjoyment but also helps Fort Mill maintain its distinct identity in the face of urban sprawl approaching from metropolitan Charlotte. Fort Mill leaders see the greenbelt as a valuable asset in attracting high-quality economic development. "The greenbelt enhances the quality of life in Fort Mill, which is clearly good for business," says Barry Mack, chairman of the Downtown Revitalization Corporation. [10]

Local citizens have also formed a regional nonprofit land trust—the Nation Ford Land Trust. The land trust works with private landowners to take advantage of local conservation sentiment and tax incentives. "The land trust is not trying to stop growth—far from it. Rather the land trust offers effective solutions that are in everyone's interest," says land trust Board Chairman Murray White. [11]

In a recent public opinion survey, Fort Mill residents identified walkways as their number one recreational priority. Therefore, the town, in cooperation with Springs Industries, has developed a system of pedestrian trails connecting Springs Industries open space with a community park. Called the Inner Greenway, the mile-and-a-half trail is the first phase in a long-range plan to connect all of Fort Mill's neighborhoods and parks by walking trails.

Preserving open space is but one component of the town's comprehensive program to preserve the town's character. Accordingly, the town is implementing plans to revitalize downtown. An historic district was created in the summer of 1989. Additionally, the Fort Mill Downtown Revitalization Corporation has recently completed a Main Street improvement initiative, with the addition of street trees, landscaping, traditional lighting, and benches. Downtown merchants organized meetings with business owners and downtown development experts from around the Southeast to hear ideas for increasing downtown business. Acting upon these ideas, they have implemented a number of measures that have paid off. The success of these efforts led the *Fort Mill Times* to editorialize in November 1990 that "Fort Mill's downtown business section is experiencing a revitalization that is exceeding the wildest dreams of even the most optimistic supporters of Main Street." [12]

The essential characteristic of these efforts is the community's arrival at a consensus about a vision of its future as a distinctive locale with a vibrant town center and an abundance of protected open space and recreational opportunities. By using a wide array of private and public measures, residents are protecting the community's character as they accommodate growth. A combination of quite conventional public and private land use tools—coupled with

a clear vision of its future—indicates that Fort Mill may survive as a livable town and not inadvertently become assimilated by a nearby city.

THE STATE ROLE

Effective state leadership is required for growth management to fulfill its promise of offering regional solutions to some of our most pressing environmental and natural resource challenges. Many states are stepping forward to assume this leadership role with far-reaching state programs that empower localities to deal effectively with critical decisions made at the local level. With growth management tools and a regional framework provided by the states, coordinated local decisions can do much to further both regional and national environmental protection.

Several states—including Georgia, Florida, Oregon, Maine, Vermont, Rhode Island, Delaware, Washington, and New Jersey—have created comprehensive statewide growth management frameworks. Many other state governments—including Virginia, Maryland, and California—are actively considering such programs.

These comprehensive statewide land use management programs vary, but in general they are based upon the format first adopted in Oregon. With this format, the state adopts a state plan (as in Florida) of statewide goals and objectives concerning topics such as guiding urban expansion, protecting environmentally sensitive lands, and ensuring an adequate supply of housing; requires the regulations, decisions, and actions of state agencies and localities to be consistent with these goals and objectives; creates a review and approval process to ensure compliance; and uses various financial incentives to promote the goals and objectives. [13]

Several state programs also include technical and financial assistance to localities, minimum state land use standards, urban growth boundaries, and other mechanisms to improve local land use planning and decisions. Florida has adopted a policy requiring "infrastructure concurrency," perhaps the most far-reaching state land use requirement. This policy requires that local governments approve no new development unless the necessary public facilities such as adequate roads, schools, and sewers—will be in place to serve the development.

These state programs provide an important foundation upon which localities can build effective growth management programs that balance regional and local concerns. Yet even with the best statewide or regional framework, the real power to address these issues remains at the local level where the day to day decisions are made that determine the quality of life found in southern communities.

These new state growth management initiatives are promising in part because the constituency for them includes not only supporters of traditional environmental protection objectives, but also broader quality of life concerns, such as historic preservation, downtown revitalization, aesthetic enhancement, neighborhood protection, and economic development. These programs are generally supported by business interests who realize that environmental protection and rational regional planning are necessary components of healthy economies.

Even where no structured state growth management program exists, state government can play a crucial role by granting localities the powers to undertake innovative land use techniques and employ new local-option funding sources to create successful communities. By permitting local governments much wider latitude in the steps they can take to protect natural and cultural assets and to promote high quality economic development, state legislatures can unleash the creativity that exists in southern communities. "Home rule" issues may attract state legislators' attention as precious time is devoted to resolving statewide concerns. Expanding the ability of localities to undertake new initiatives may be particularly

important in times when state government is subject to tight fiscal constraints, often restricting the ability of states to provide funding for growth management programs.

CONCLUSION

The steps necessary to create a successful community will vary from place to place, but the "success factors" identified in this report can serve as guideposts for communities working to take charge of their futures. The most important lesson is that local leaders in and out of government must examine their communities, identify how they want them to develop and what they should strive to protect, and craft their efforts to achieve this vision.

ENDNOTES

¹ This report was prepared by Luther Propst, now the Director of the Sonoran institute formerly the Director of the Successful Communities Program at the World Wildlife Fund and The Conservation Foundation in Washington, DC. [The Southern Growth Policies Board published this report in February 1991 and gave permission to the National Park Service to use it in this publication and is similar to his workshop presentation).

² "Will We Live in Accidental Cities or Successful Communities?" *Conservation Foundation Letter*, No. 6 (Washington, DC: The Conservation Foundation, 1987).

³ Roger W. Schmenner, *Making Business Location Decisions* Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1982.

⁴ David Birch, *Job Creation in America: How Our Smallest Companies Put the Most People to Work*. The Free Press, New York, NY, 1987.

⁵ Jim Crain, personal interview with the author.

⁶ Jim Rouse, comments delivered at "A Conference on Managing Growth to Protect America's Special Places," Fort Worth, Texas, June 21, 1988.

⁷ Bureau of National Affairs, *Environmental Reporter*, vol. 19, No. 17. Washington, DC: August 16, 1988.

⁸ The Southern Growth Policies Board has published a step-by-step leadership development manual, *South LINK 2000: Leadership Development in the South*.

⁹ A Geographic Information System might be thought of as a smart map. All kinds of information can be shown on the map, from natural characteristics such as the slope of the land or types of soils; to infrastructure such as roads and utilities; to attributes such as zoning, land value, or housing conditions. The data displayed on the map are stored in computerized databases that are linked to the map. In addition to being displayed in map form, these data can be used to answer question and generate reports about development in a community.

¹⁰ Barry Mack, personal interview with the author.

¹¹ Murry White, personal interview with the author.

¹² *Fort Mill Times*. Fort Mill, SC. November 28, 1990.

¹³ This comprehensive approach could be especially useful as states increasingly promote tourism as an economic development strategy. What attracts tourists—i.e. an attractive or unique community asset—could also help build the local business climate.

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TVA AND CULTURAL RESOURCES PLANNING

CHARLES TICHY

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) is a corporate agency of the Federal Government created by an Act of Congress on May 18, 1933. In asking Congress to create TVA, President Franklin D. Roosevelt called for "a corporation clothed with the power of government but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of private enterprise." He said, "It should be charged with the broadest duty of planning for the proper use, conservation, and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River drainage basin and its adjoining territory for the general social and economic welfare of the nation."

TVA serves an area in the Southeast made up of parts of seven states—Tennessee, northern Alabama, northern Mississippi, south-western Kentucky, western Virginia, western North Carolina, and north-western Georgia. It includes the watershed of the Tennessee River system and surrounding territory in the TVA power service system, approximately ninety-one thousand square miles. The agency is headed by a three-member board of directors appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate. The president designates a chairman from among the three directors. Directors are appointed for staggered terms of nine years each. It is more than just an electric utility!

The nonpower functions still exist though many have limited rolls. These are funded through congressional appropriations, and everyone is aware of the reductions in funding that began in the Reagan administration. Over the years, these many TVA programs have changed and in recent years have encountered endless reorganizations and funding cuts.

The Cultural Resources Program technical staff consists of two archaeologists, one historical architect, one historian, one oral historian, and one curator. Considering the extensive land base of TVA, this small staff obviously does not have the ability to participate in all cultural resource opportunities. The use of consultants and contractors does help. In archaeology, considerable reliance is placed upon various universities.

The primary function of this office is to administer TVA's compliance obligations as mandated by the National Historic Preservation Act. These activities center around TVA facilities, some of which are now considered historic, and on TVA projects which impact adjacent historic or cultural resources. The Cultural Resources office also provides limited technical assistance to communities and organizations in the Valley in matters of historic preservation.

Within TVA there are other programs with which the Cultural Resources Program has worked with over the years on joint projects. These include such programs as Community Development, Economic Development, Tourism, and Townlift (a forerunner of the National Trust and State Mainstreet Program). It is in these joint efforts that our program has had involvement with communities.

More recently, there has been a growing awareness and economic development of cultural

and historic-based tourism. I am also representing the TVA Tourism program, which is administered by Gale Trussell. This program is very limited in what it can do for each individual community. Much of its function is coordinating with local, regional, and state tourism organizations. A number of tourism-related brochures have been published for distribution to assist communities in establishing programs. These include "Small Towns Who Have Successfully Used Tourism as Economic Development," "Tips on Promoting a Tourist Attraction," "Marketing By Direct Mail," "Six Ways to Package Scenery In Rural Areas," "Effective Promotional Brochures, How to Develop a Self-Guiding Photography Tour of Your Area" and "Using Photographs in Travel Marketing Activities." Copies of these brochures can be obtained by contacting the following:

Tourism Program
Tennessee Valley Authority
Old City Hall, 2C 41B
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902-1499

I am a historical architect and have been with TVA since 1979. Besides extensive work with TVA's facilities, I have traveled throughout the region and have an awareness of the diverse cultures and architecture. I have worked with many communities and organizations providing assistance related to historic preservation. My technical assistance included structural evaluations of historic buildings, preparing restoration guidelines, establishing local history museums, planning historic walking tours, and establishing boundaries for historic districts. Obviously, I was unable to become fully involved in any one project, but many times, only a single phone call or a field trip can be the catalyst to get a project on its feet. Sometimes that first push is all it takes. Other times it's not enough. It is the initiative of the community or local interest group that determines the success of their project.

PROJECTS:

Dixon Springs, Tennessee

This small rural community listed on the National Register of Historic Places was impacted by a major early TVA construction project. As mitigation for this adverse impact, TVA worked with the citizens on a program to enhance their awareness of the historic significance of the community. Historic research on the early families and their properties was compiled. Using this material with photographs, I prepared a forty eight page pictorial booklet which was printed and distributed.

Britton Log House, Cedar Creek/Bear Creek Project

A number of log houses within an area that was to become a reservoir were determined eligible for the National Register. As mitigation, TVA agreed to dismantle these and make them available for public use. The Britton Log House was one of these. I prepared the historic structures report for it and supervised the dismantling and re-erection of the log house. The work was performed by a youth work corps, the YACC, which was sponsored by TVA. The log house was moved to the Helen Keller birthplace in Tuscumbia, Alabama, to become part of the museum complex.

Rogersville, Tennessee

This east Tennessee community has seen TVA presence over the years. The TVA Tourism Program helped develop a promotional brochure used during the 1982 Knoxville Worlds Fair and assisted in the promotion of their Heritage Days Festival. As part of mitigation for the impact of a large nearby TVA project, TVA restored the historic Kenner house to be used for

community functions. In 1986 Rogersville was one of three east Tennessee historic communities participating in the workshop "Bringing Tourists to Town: How Historic Resources Can Help." This was sponsored by the National Trust and TVA.

Cumberland Gap, Tennessee

This small community lies adjacent to the Cumberland Gap National Historic Park and at the base of the historic Cumberland Gap. In the nineteenth century, the iron industry was developed, and a stone iron furnace stack still remains. The TVA Tourism Program has worked with the community to develop a tourism program. We participated in meetings with coordinating groups to develop a historic preservation program. TVA, the National Park Service, students in the historic preservation program at Middle Tennessee State University, and local groups collaborated resulting in a walking tour, a preservation program, and a National Register Historic District nomination.

TVA does have the potential for contributing to historic preservation and tourism efforts. However, it is limited in what it can do by its small staff (and large area of influence). Success depends largely on the initiatives of the local groups involved, using the limited TVA technical assistance in the most effective way.

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THE GEORGIA PLANNING ACT OF 1989: AN OPPORTUNITY FOR COMMUNITY PRESERVATION

KAREN EASTER

GEORGIA OFFICE OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION

INTRODUCTION

In 1987, Governor Joe Frank Harris appointed a 35-member Growth Strategies Commission and charged it with the responsibility of developing a blueprint for Georgia's future growth and development. The Commission's recommendations and the resulting Georgia Planning Act of 1989 take into consideration the history, culture and traditions of Georgia and affirm the importance of planning for Georgia's economic future and quality of life. Importantly, it maintains home rule and local autonomy over local matters while recognizing the need for regional cooperation and planning. The passage of the Georgia Planning Act of 1989 marked a watershed in the history of planning and development in Georgia. The implementation of this legislation presents an unparalleled opportunity for preservation advocates in Georgia. Under the Act each local government in the state will produce a comprehensive local plan to guide growth and development in that community. As one of the six required planning elements "Historic Resources" must be considered in every plan.

The keystone of the Georgia Planning Act is a comprehensive, integrated and coordinated planning process conducted at the local, regional, and state levels. To ensure uniformity and consistency, the Department of Community Affairs is charged with responsibility for the overall management of this planning process, including the development of planning standards and procedures for local and regional plans, the development of planning and review procedures for Regionally Important Resources and Developments of Regional Impact and the development of a mediation process to resolve inter-jurisdictional conflicts. Other state agencies, including the Department of Natural Resources and the Regional Development Centers have certain responsibilities under the law. Together, these efforts encourage a prosperous future which is making a stronger emphasis on region-wide programs, new public/private sector initiatives, increased cooperation between local governments and more coordination between state agencies.

THE LOCAL COMPREHENSIVE PLAN

The Georgia Planning Act put a framework in place which provides for a "bottom up" planning process. Planning will begin at the local level, with all local governments being required to prepare plans between October 1, 1990 and October 1, 1995. Minimum Planning Standards and Procedures have been developed to govern the preparation, adoption and implementation of local plans. Since Georgia is composed of many diverse communities, the complexity of a community's comprehensive plan will be tailored to its needs. The minimum planning standards are based on three simple questions:

* What do we have now? (Inventory and Assessment)

- * What do we need and want for the future? (Needs and Goals)
- * How are we going to get where we want to be in the future? (Implementation Strategy)

During the planning process these three questions are applied to each of the six planning elements: population; economic development; natural and historic resources; community facilities; housing; and land use. The Historic Resources Element of a comprehensive plan is described in the Minimum Planning Standards as follows:

HISTORIC RESOURCES

Within a community there will be areas of significant historic resources. An inventory and assessment should be made of these resources and a generalized location map of these resources should be prepared. The Department of Community Affairs working with the Department of Natural Resources can provide valuable assistance to local governments in identifying the type and location of these resources. Strategies should be included in the comprehensive plan for the preservation, redevelopment, use and/or protection of any significant resource identified. Significant or historic resources may include, but are not limited to, the following items: landmark buildings, commercial districts, residential districts, rural resources, and archaeological and cultural sites

PREPARING THE HISTORIC RESOURCES ELEMENT OF THE PLAN

A community's plan may be produced by local government staff, the Regional Development Center, consultants or citizens' advisory teams appointed by the local government. No matter who is responsible for preparing the plan, public participation is critical to a successful effort. This is especially true for the historic resources element since planners, staff or consultants are probably less familiar with historic preservation planning than with other elements of the plan. The public's involvement can make a difference in helping to preserve a community's historic resources. The coordinated planning process requires that two public hearings be held, one at the beginning of the process and one when the plan is finished. Attendance at these meetings is a good place to start, but may not be enough. Preservation advocates can help shape the historic resources element of the plan by providing information for the plan:

- on resources and their significance;
- on development pressures and other forces that threaten historic resources;
- on opportunities to use historic properties to reach other community goals (such as tourism, housing, or downtown development);
- on preservation programs and techniques available; and
- on where to go for more information or help;
- by participating in the planning process:
- by attending public meetings;
- by informing others about this opportunity for preservation;
- by helping build consensus on the community's desires and goals for preservation; and

-by serving on a committee, task force or advisory team working on the plan.

Without this active involvement by the community, the historic resources element may meet the minimum planning standards, but do little to preserve historic resources. A community's comprehensive plan is its blueprint for the future. Georgia preservation advocates have the opportunity now to see that historic preservation is made an integral part of the state's future growth and development.

MODEL COMMUNITY PRESERVATION PLANNING PROCESS

The following five steps outline the process any community should follow in developing a comprehensive historic preservation plan. The Department of Natural Resources's Office of Historic Preservation provides survey and planning assistance to communities throughout Georgia. Technical assistance and limited funding are available for developing local preservation plans, conducting surveys, National Register evaluation and registration, developing protection strategies, and information and education activities.

Step I. Identification of Local Resources

- A. Preliminary Survey
- B. Outline of local developmental history
- C. Identification of unique or distinctive aspects of local prehistory, history and historic properties
- D. Field survey of historic structures (Optional)

Step II. Evaluation of Current Trends and Influences on Historic Properties

- A. Analysis of population, economic, land use, housing, transportation, and other change in the community
- B. Identification of opportunities for preservation
- C. Identification of threats to preserving local historic properties

Step III. Community Consensus on Goals and Priorities for Preservation of Historic Properties

STEP IV. Identification of Tools, Strategies, and Action Needed to Achieve Community Goals

- A. Field survey of historic structures, if needed
- B. Evaluation and designation
- C. Legal and regulatory protection
- D. Financial incentives
- E. Public awareness
- F. Community development, downtown or neighborhood revitalization programs
- G. Other tools

Step V. Action Plan and Implementation

- A. Short term actions
- B. Long term actions

LOCAL PRESERVATION PLANNING QUESTIONS

These questions are designed to illustrate the model local preservation planning process. Answering these questions in sequence will lead the community through the planning process and assure a comprehensive approach that integrates preservation into broader development plans, including land use and regulation, capital improvements, transportation, economic development, housing, open space and recreation.

1. What historic properties exist? Where are they located? In what way do they relate to the past and future development of the community?
2. Have the identified properties been adequately documented and evaluated according to accepted criteria? Are there properties or entire groups of properties that have not been identified, documented or evaluated?
3. What preservation activities (public and private) have already taken place? What activities are in process? How effective have they been?
4. How and in what way are the community's historic properties threatened? What opportunities for preservation exist or will exist in the future?
5. What are the community's goals for its historic properties? What other community goals could preservation assist (downtown revitalization, neighborhood stabilization, housing, tourism, etc.)? What is the public's viewpoint? How can the public be involved in developing preservation goals?
6. To what extent is preservation part of the community's overall plan for its development? Does the community intend to integrate preservation into other aspects of its planning and regulation? Will the community's plans conflict with preserving its significant historic properties? If so, how will this conflict be resolved?
7. How will the community achieve its preservation goals? When? Who will be responsible for achieving them, and in what specific ways? How will these actions be funded?
8. Given the identified historic properties and the present level of preservation activity, which strategies and actions are most important? Most urgent? Which are least important now?
9. Who will be responsible for implementing this plan? Who will update it, and when?

Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) provides historic resource data to the Department of Community Affairs for use in coordinated planning. This data is then sent to the communities by Department of Community Affairs. OHP assists community residents, local governments and the Regional Development Centers by providing advice on how to prepare the historic resources element of the plan, workshops on historic resource planning, and funding through grants and survey contracts to collect historic resources data or prepare the historic resources element of the comprehensive plan. The Department of Community Affairs provides data for planning and general information on the requirements of the Georgia Planning Act and the Minimum Planning Standards. It reviews and certifies completed plans.

Local preservation advocates should participate in this planning process to ensure that preservation of historic resources is part of the community's plans. Preservationists can make a difference in helping to preserve your community's historic resources by understanding the local planning process and making sure that their community's historic resources are well represented as the process moves forward. The planning process will take place with or without preservation advocates. It is up to them to get involved in the process. The Office of

Historic Preservation is helping them participate effectively and implementing the community's plans for preservation.

With a planning process developed and historic resource data available the Georgia SHPO was able to react quickly when the Georgia Planning Act was passed, in order to ensure that historic resources are an integral part of community planning throughout the state.

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CUMBERLAND GAP: A NEW BEGINNING

DANIEL BROWN

CUMBERLAND GAP NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

To the English settlers of North America the Appalachian Mountains formed an almost impenetrable geographic barrier. For almost 200 years these mountains, shrouded in mist, somber, and forbidding, restricted the colonies to the narrow confines of the Eastern Seaboard. Penetration of this barrier was made doubly difficult by the presence of the French and their native allies. The Northern and Mid-Atlantic colonies were too near the raids of hostiles and mechanizations of the French. A way was needed that not only was practicable, but also removed from direct confrontation with these competing interests.

Carved by wind and water, Cumberland Gap forms a major break in the Appalachian Mountain chain. Located at the point where the present states of Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia converge, the Gap served as a passageway for large game animals in their migratory journeys. Native Americans following these game paths created a principle prehistoric trade and war route known as the Warriors Path. By the late 17th Century this route into the rich hunting lands of Kaintucke was known to only a handful of frontiersmen. It was not until 1750 that Dr. Thomas Walker, surveyor for the Loyal Land Company, became the first to explore, describe, and document the route to the Gap; which he named in honor of William, Duke of Cumberland, brother of King George II. In 1775 a little known longhunter named Daniel Boone was commissioned to blaze a road through the Gap for the Transylvania Company. Familiar with the region through prior exploratory trips and one unsuccessful attempt at settlement, Boone was part of the venture by Judge Richard Henderson to establish a proprietary colony. "Boones Trace" as this route was first called, evolved into the more familiar Wilderness Road, and established Boone's place in history as a frontiersman and pathfinder. During the dark and dangerous days of the Revolution, the settlements in Kentucky, headed by men like Boone and James Harrod, maintained a toehold in the wilderness, securing claim to the western lands for the young nation.

In the post-Revolutionary period, Cumberland Gap became the primary access route for continental expansion. Through the Gap passed a floodtide of settlers into the lands of the Midwest. A mere ten years after the end of the Revolution, Kentucky, unpopulated in 1775, became the 14th state boasting a population of 220,000. Though other routes were utilized, Cumberland Gap was the way West until the second quarter of the 19th Century.

From the end of the pioneer era to the coming of the Civil War, Cumberland Gap and the old Wilderness Road was a major economic thoroughfare. The commerce of the Southeast and Midwest flowed through the Gap in ever-increasing amounts. The use of the roadway and its strategic importance was not lost on either side during the Civil War. For the North, the Gap was a means of rendering relief to the loyal populations in East Tennessee and a natural invasion route into the heart of the Confederacy. To the South, possession of the Gap meant protection of the vital resources of Tennessee and, Southwestern Virginia as well as a route into the heartland of divided Kentucky. The Gap changed hands four times during the War. In the 20th Century, Cumberland Gap and its associated roadways continue to be a major economic artery for the Appalachian region. Modernization of the roadways began in 1909

with the completion of the Object Lesson Road, a Federal demonstration project by the Bureau of Public Roads. This road opened the Gap to commercial traffic. In the 1920s, the old Wilderness Road became Highways 25E and 58 allowing mechanized vehicles over the Gap.

Though long recognized by historians as an important landmark and symbol of westward expansion, it was not until 1937 that formal preservation efforts began. In that year a group of local citizens founded the Cumberland Gap National Historical Park Association. The Association began an intensive lobbying campaign in support of legislation to create a National Park at Cumberland Gap.

Their efforts were rewarded on June 11, 1940 with the signing of H.R. 9394 which authorized Cumberland Gap National Historical Park. Formal establishment of the park was contingent on the acquisition of sufficient land and features (outlined in the legislation) by the states of Kentucky, Virginia and Tennessee. Because the lands necessary for the establishment of the park crossed three state boundaries, special provision had to be made to empower purchasing authority. A 1943 amendment to the authorizing bill allowed the three states to enter into a compact to purchase the requisite land. The amendment also reduced the geographic/historic features required to permit the establishment of the park.

The recognition of Cumberland Gap as a National Park was a matter of some debate. While virtually all historians agreed on its importance in American history, some expressed reservation over the development impacts on the historic values and historic scene. This impact was exemplified to some by the fact that a modern, paved highway passed through the primary resource. In addition, the development of Middlesboro, Kentucky in the 1890s had caused a number of mining activities to be conducted in the immediate region. By this account, Cumberland Gap was not what it was in the 18th Century, and thus anything but a pristine historic site.

It took fifteen years to complete the purchase of land as outlined in the 1940 legislation. Some of the delay was attributable to World War II and a necessary shift in national priorities. Most of the problems, however, centered on state funding levels, and the resistance of some land owners. Finally, on September 14, 1955 the title deeds from the three states were presented to the Secretary of the Interior, and Cumberland Gap National Historical Park was established. The total of the original purchase of land transferred to the Department of the Interior was 20,185.04 acres.

Cumberland Gap still serves as a major transportation corridor. Use of Hwy 25E shortens the distance between I-75 at Corbin, Kentucky and I-81 at Morristown, Tennessee by approximately 60 miles. As a result, this road carries an unusually heavy load of traffic. In 1973 Congress recognized the need for improvement to the outdated and dangerous roadway through the park. Public Law 93-87 directed the reconstruction and relocation of Route 25E through the Cumberland Gap National Historical Park including construction of a tunnel to permit the restoration of the Gap to its 1790-1800 appearance and provide adequate traffic capacity.

The Cumberland Gap Tunnel will be approximately 4200 feet in length and the route is approximately three-quarters of a mile west of the Gap through Tri-State Peak. Work on the project began in 1978. A landmark achievement was accomplished in 1986 when a pilot bore through the mountain was completed. Work commenced this year [1991] on the main tunnels. Scheduled for completion in 1995, the project will open a twin bore tunnel with each bore carrying two lanes of traffic. Estimated cost is approximately one-quarter of a billion dollars. For the National Park Service the opening will presage the largest restoration of a nationally significant historic resource ever attempted. In essence, the removal of Highway 25E from

the Gap will present a singular opportunity to research, investigate, and ultimately reclaim this place.

National Park Service planning activities to date include the 1990 release of a Development Concept Plan and Interpretive Prospectus for the restoration of the Gap to its historic appearance and reestablishment of the Wilderness Road.

The primary significance of Cumberland Gap is the facet that a roadway passed through it. It was and is a transportation corridor, arguably the first and most significant landmark in the history of Trans-Appalachian settlement.

The unique conditions associated with the modern roadway have precluded any meaningful on-site interpretation. The effort to partially restore Cumberland Gap to its historic appearance will permit on-site interpretation about the inter-relationships of geography, topography, and commerce to be interwoven with the historic events. The history of Cumberland Gap is not static; it is continuing. The tunnel is the next chapter in that history.

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SOUTHERN ARTS FEDERATION

PEGGY BULGER

The Southern Arts Federation was founded in 1975 as the Southern Federation of State Arts Agencies. It is a private, non-profit organization that consists of the nine state arts agencies in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. The Regional Folk Arts Program was created in 1989 and aims to promote, preserve, and present the traditional folk and ethnic arts of the South.

In December of 1990, the Southern Arts Federation hosted a conference in Atlanta titled "PROMOTING SOUTHERN CULTURAL HERITAGE: A Conference on Impact," which was the first regional gathering of diverse professionals in the South. The participants were all working in some way on heritage programming to look critically at our models and paradigms to create a more holistic approach to our work and assess the profound impact we have upon Southern cultural life.

I imagine this is where I best fit within this particular gathering. It is unusual to find myself as the only folklorist at a conference setting—we tend to flock together ordinarily. But folklorists have more in common with you in the Park Service than may be at first apparent.

From my own experience, one of my first assignments as a graduate student in Folk Studies at Western Kentucky University was to transcribe and index oral history tapes from Cumberland Gap National Park. Interviews with families who had been moved off the mountain when the National Park Service (NPS) bought the property were given to folklore graduate students to archive. These tapes were later used to develop National Park Service interpretation of life on the top of the mountain. These tapes also contained a wealth of folklore of prime interest to the Folk Studies Department at Western. Many years later I would study vernacular architecture with Henry Glassie and work with historic archaeologists in Florida, all confirming for me the interconnected nature of the work done by folklorists, historic preservationists, and archaeologists.

Working with the Bureau of Florida Folklife Programs, we were placed under the Division of Historic Resources and folklorists worked closely with the State Historic Preservation Officer. I was charged one year with aiding a rural county achieve National Historic Register status for the county jail building. The building was so severely compromised architecturally that National Register status seemed impossible. Yet, in terms of CULTURAL significance, the building was clearly deserving of nomination. The importance of the building to the community was seen in its folk culture—through local legends, songs, anecdotes, and other symbolic forms of culture. The jail building did receive register status, the first time a structure (in Florida) was accepted based upon its symbolic significance rather than its architectural integrity.

Almost all states now have a state folklife office, and within our region we have many folklorists willing to collaborate on Park Service and preservation projects. As your mission is expanding to deal with sites that are associated with the common man our work is overlapping more and more. The rapid rise of "cultural tourism", especially in the Southeast,

has impacted the work of us all. In these times it is extremely important to form coalitions to ensure a holistic approach to cultural conservation.

Yesterday I was struck by the parallel research being done by folklorists and participants at this meeting. Mike Harmon told us about undocumented Native American sites in Pisgah National Forest, and I immediately thought of Barbara Duncan of Franklin, North Carolina. Dr. Duncan is a folklorist who is interviewing Cherokee families about extant Native American holy sites in Appalachia, in order to protect them. Using her folklore training, she is documenting the cultural significance of many sacred sites in the mountains.

Delce Dyer and Quentin Bass are researching and inventorying cultural landscapes in the Cherokee National Forest. Their work is complimented by the work of Bob Gates (State Folklorist of Kentucky) and Robert Cogswell (State Folklorist of Tennessee), who are surveying the living craft traditions of the same area in Appalachia.

Michael Southern's slides show the connection between the vernacular architectural surveys conducted in North Carolina and Virginia by folklorists and historic preservationists. Anne Rogers mentioned white oak fish traps that were made historically in North Carolina. These same traps continue to be made today on the panhandle of Florida and most of Mississippi to trap catfish. And finally, Liz Straw's paper on the Cumberland Homesteads project ties in directly with folklorist Robert Cogswell's work with the woodworkers and basketmakers of Cumberland County [Tennessee] today.

As folklorists, historic preservationists, and historians we need to talk to each other. We need to stop conversing solely within our own disciplines and open a channel for multidisciplinary programming. This gathering [the Appalachian Cultural Resources Workshop] is a start in the right direction.

I wanted to mention here two or three projects that incorporate this multi-disciplinary approach which may be seen as good models for the programming we can develop in the future. The first model is the Jean Lafitte National Historic Park and Preserve in Louisiana. This park is devoted to cultural rather than natural resources. The park has several sites that interpret the traditional cultures of Louisiana. The Eunice site is located at the old Liberty Theater which is in the heart of this small Cajun town. Eunice holds a regular Saturday night Cajun radio show. The show is put on by and for local Cajun residents and is conducted entirely in French—in some ways it is similar to the original "Grand Ole Opry" with a Cajun base. The National Park Service has collaborated with the local sponsors to open this event to tourists, yet they have worked diligently to maintain the cultural integrity of the show. Original plans to have the show change to an English language format (to accommodate the tourists) were vigorously opposed by the local sponsors. By listening to local concerns and working cooperatively with the people who are impacted most from this Park program (the Cajun residents of Eunice), the NPS agreed to maintain the French language format and other aspects of the radio broadcast that have preserved cultural authenticity and ensured local support. Most importantly, the resulting event is "real" and has proven to be exactly what cultural tourism should be about.

A second project will involve the state folklife programs in Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and South Carolina—as well as their state preservation offices, arts agencies, and humanities councils. Plans are under way to mount a major retrospective exhibition on the Arts & Crafts Movement in the Appalachian mountains and to assess its subsequent impact upon the region. The exhibit will look historically at the movement and also bring in contemporary legacies. Schools like the John C. Campbell Folk School in Brasstown, North Carolina, Berea College in Kentucky, the Arrowmont School in Tennessee and Penland School of Crafts in North Carolina are all the result of the original movement and its goal to

use traditional arts and crafts toward developing economic independence for mountain residents. This project, which will look at how well that goal may or may not have been achieved, will involve specialists from several disciplines.

Another project where folklorists and historic preservationists are working together is the Maryland Lighthouse Project. The Maryland Historic Trust, the preservation wing of the Maryland Division of Historical and Cultural Resources, has created a three-pronged approach to documenting the 125 lighthouses built on the Chesapeake Bay since 1822. A team consisting of a folklorist, an historic preservationist, and an architect work together in the field. Only twenty-five lighthouses remain, and none of these has a residential keeper today, so not only is an architectural type disappearing from the landscape, but a way of life is being lost. This project is designed to accomplish a multidisciplinary examination of the structures, their history, and the folk culture surrounding their use.

One final example is the Blood Run National Historic Landmark site in Iowa. The site shows little evidence of Indian occupation (remnants of funerary mounds only) with European developments being more obvious on the landscape. A state team is now developing a new historical context that is broader than the Oneota occupation from 1300 to 1750. The new context (being developed with a multidisciplinary team) includes consultation with amateur artifact collectors, archaeologists, other academics, descendants of Indian and European inhabitants, governmental agencies, politicians, developers, and local residents. Future development of the site by the State Historical Society will preserve the site's cultural as well as natural and archaeological resources, especially respecting the site's spiritual significance to the contemporary Native Americans in the region. The project is designed also to be responsive to the human needs of the local community.

As Luther Propst and The Conservation Foundation ask the question "How can we save our special places?", folklorists working in state government offices are asking the question "How can we save our diverse and special lifestyles—our folkways?" Folklorists deal with the intangibles, but these intangibles comprise the mortar that holds the tangible, physical landscape together. Each structure and physical site on the land is the direct product of cultural learning and folklife—the intangible side of culture.

The conventional view of cultural [resources] survey work is item oriented, emphasizing artifacts and structures over other forms of human expression. Yet, cultural values are lodged in both the tangible and intangible resources at hand. The current framework for protecting cultural resources is now shifting (at the national level) to enable a more integrated approach to heritage protection and to deal with cultural dynamism. Folk arts and other forms of traditional expression, such as tales, songs, beliefs, foodways, folk medicine, and other items of folklore, are part of the cultural ecosystem that we all are documenting and promoting. Conservation that is responsive to the multicultural diversity of the American experience must be related more effectively to federal and state historic preservation efforts.

Nearly a decade ago, Congress requested a report on the protection of intangible aspects of American heritage that would build upon the work of historic preservationists and archaeologists who were already surveying the impact of government projects upon the tangible cultural resources of the land. The report was published in 1983 under the auspices of the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress as *Cultural Conservation: The Protection of Cultural Heritage in the United States*. Just last year, following up on this report, 150 professionals met in Washington to assess the state of cultural conservation and devise a plan for its future. Participants represented a number of disciplines, including anthropology, archaeology, architecture, art history, environmental studies, folklore and folklife, forestry, historic preservation, law, and planning and design. What united these representatives from diverse fields was an interest in developing a more integrated approach

to the protection of cultural and environmental diversity in the United States and beyond.

Work being done today in both the public and private sector is:

- *linking cultural and natural conservation
- *building coalitions to enact legislation
- *articulating anew the common goals that we share
- *developing strategies to implement these goals

It has become apparent in the work that we do that there are fallacious assumptions underpinning the bureaucratic division of heritage into nature, culture, history, arts, humanities, etc. These are all constructs that hamper our work. Our models for conservation are similarly flawed. How, for instance, does a living history farmstead in any way provide for a true representation of culture? How much do we rely upon our own academic biases in the creation of public programs, rather than looking to the effected communities in planning? Kent Cave mentioned this issue yesterday when he challenged that we give the public what they expect rather than a true picture of cultural heritage.

We must consider ourselves as activists and advocates whether we want to wear that mantle or not. Whether we dig for pot shards, do elevations of derelict buildings, or record folk medicine beliefs for posterity, our role as cultural brokers puts us squarely in the center of these controversial issues. Our mission must be to empower local communities to manage the change wrought by outside forces, and we are that force. Nowhere is this more clearly needed as in the overwhelming push toward selling the South through cultural tourism. The question is not whether change will come: it is rather how that change will be met and managed.

Our only true hope to accomplish our mutual goals is to begin the process of cross-fertilization within existing agencies and disciplines, to share our resources and varied perspectives.

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THE ROLE OF THE MUSEUM OF THE CHEROKEE INDIAN AND THE QUALLA ARTS AND CRAFTS MUTUAL

MOLLY BLANKENSHIP AND KEN BLANKENSHIP

Contemporary arts and crafts among the Eastern Cherokee include basketry, wood carving, stone carving, beadwork, and pottery. The history of these traditions can be traced to pre-European times, and these crafts have been passed on from generation to generation. Today, several hundred Cherokees derive all or part of their income from craftwork. The Qualla Arts and Crafts Mutual has done much to promote and market the work of local craftsman. It is one of the most successful Indian owned and operated craft cooperatives in the country. The strength of a proud heritage combined with the demand for Cherokee crafts nationwide will insure that the ancient traditions will be continued for many generations among the Cherokee people.

MUSEUM OF THE CHEROKEE INDIAN TO DAY

The Museum of the Cherokee Indian houses a vast collection of archaeological and ethnographic materials, primarily dealing with the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. Today, approximately seven thousand Cherokee are living in western North Carolina. The museum is designed to maintain the native culture and language of the local community, as well as to provide an information center and learning experience for the general public.

Collections

Archeological—most of the museum collections consist of archaeological materials from the original Cherokee territory. The collections are donated to the museum, and in some cases they are on loan. The museum does not purchase artifacts from any source.

Exhibits

The museum's innovative displays and audio-visual exhibits that provide a unique opportunity to relive Cherokee history and share the experiences of Cherokee culture. Cherokee oral traditions is the subjects of the first displays in the museum. Sacred Cherokee myths which survive today have been handed down from one generation to the next. The visitor learns about the importance of the Sun in Cherokee life and how, according to tradition, it was set a seven handbreadths above the earth at the beginning of time. The ancient sacred stories of the forming of the earth, the origin of the mountains and valleys, the first fire, the origin of the Milky Way and the plants and animals come alive with the aid of modern technology.

Programs

Outreach Service—the museum has an outreach service that lectures to school groups and other organizations upon request. This program is limited only to a one hundred-mile radius.

Special Events

Annual Cherokee Heritage Art Show—this art show features work by various artists, including many Cherokee artists, and all work is for sale. It is displayed in the museum galleries. Prizes are awarded in six categories and the show is on display from October 1 through October 31.

Research Facilities

Archives—the archives includes fourteen hundred published volumes and collections of manuscripts, photographs, and microfilms. The archives is open to interested persons by appointment only.

Memberships

The annual museum membership fee of fifteen dollars entitles members to free admission to the museum and to research privileges upon request. Members also receive one free issue of the *Journal of Cherokee Studies*.

Journal of Cherokee Studies

The journal is published annually and contains scholarly articles pertaining exclusively to the Cherokee Indian.

HISTORY OF THE MUSEUM OF THE CHEROKEE INDIAN

The first Cherokee Museum was founded in 1948 as a means of educating the public. A group of tribal leaders acquired an old log building at the intersection of U.S. Highway 41 and 19. Local Indian and non-Indian residents donated the first artifacts and relics. Through the years, interest in the museum continued, promoted principally by Mr. Carol White and the Board of Trustees of the Cherokee Historical Association. The establishment of the museum was prompted by a growing awareness that the general public knew very little about Cherokee culture. Conditioned by the distortions of the media—especially "westerns" as well as the "chiefs" that were beginning to appear in front of craftshops in the village—the visiting public tended to perceive the Cherokee in terms of war bonnets, tomahawks, and wigwams.

As the tribal leaders watched the burgeoning tourist-oriented business on the Reservation, they became determined that some means must be established by which the public would be able to develop and awareness of, and appreciation for, the history, culture, and traditions of the Cherokee Indians. The museum became that means. From its modest beginnings in 1948, the Board of Directors established a priority goal: to depict the history, culture, and tradition of the Cherokee Indians with integrity and authenticity. In 1952, the Cherokee Historical Association was established and immediately acknowledged the development of the museum to be its primary objective. The museum acquired a Cherokee curator and lecturer, Mise Owle. For the next sixteen years, he lectured the public on the little-known aspects of Cherokee culture: herbal medicine, Sequoyah and the Cherokee alphabet, and authentic cultural aspects such as clothing, food, farming, and recreation. The museum received non-profit, tax-exempt status in 1970. In 1975 a new facility was constructed.

On August 17, 1992, the ground was broken to begin an expansion project which will improve the services provided. The museum areas which will be enlarged are the giftshop, art gallery, framing department, and area for general storage of artifacts. A new traveling exhibit/conference room will be added. Also, there are plans to include an outdoor pre-contact homestead exhibit which will have live demonstrations when weather permits. The tentative completion date is set for June 1993.

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PROMOTING SOUTHERN CULTURAL HERITAGE

LINDA CALDWELL

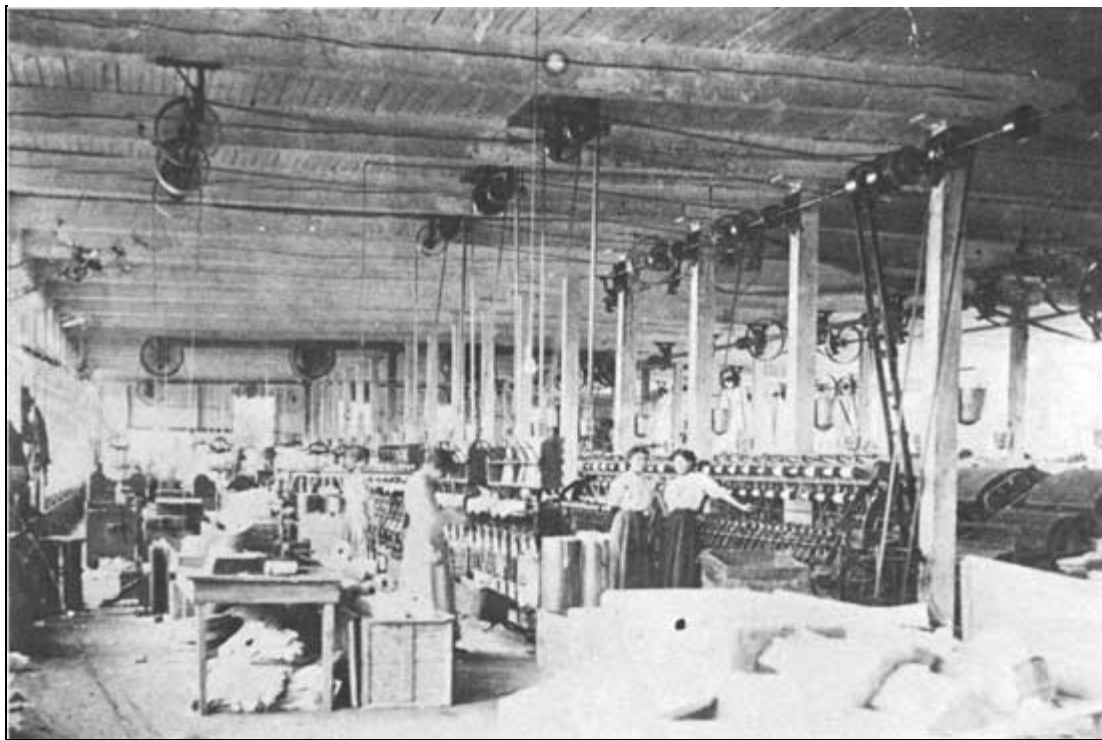
ETOWAH ARTS COUNCIL

"It was a young town. Filled with young people. All with money in their pockets." That's the way Mrs. John Palmer, daughter of a Louisville and Nashville Railroad blacksmith, remembered Etowah, Tennessee in the early part of the twentieth century. Mrs. Palmer was one of thousands of people who moved to the new railroad town between 1906 and 1920. She recalled that the townspeople were interested in building homes, schools, and churches. Copper miners who lived in nearby Ducktown and Copperhill had money in their pockets too; They lived in mail-order houses that were furnished by the copper company, but they were also interested in building churches and schools.

It was a unique time in the mountains of southeast Tennessee, marked by dramatic changes in the lifestyles of people who moved from farms to rubber stamp towns. Sons of Monroe County farmers went to work for Babcock Lumber Company near Tellico Plains. Tie hackers and teamsters hauled wooden ties for new railroads that laced the towns together and brought the world to their doorsteps. Gold was mined and panned at Coker Creek. Daughters moved to Englewood and Delano to work in textile mills and join in the industrialization of the southern Appalachians.

That era will provide the theme for a cultural tourism program that is one of sixteen pilot projects for the National Trust for Historic Preservation Tourism Initiative a three-year program designed to assist communities develop tourism plans that focus on historic and cultural resources.





View of women employees at the Eureka Cotton Mills in Englewood, Tennessee ca. 1916. Photo courtesy of the Community Action Group of Englewood.

Selected as one of four Tennessee and one of sixteen national pilot areas, the counties of McMinn, Monroe, and Polk are working on a plan that will include a driving tour/exhibit that will trace the industrialization of the region once known as the Cherokee Overhill [territory]. The boundaries of the pilot area closely resemble the boundaries of the Cherokee Overhill, and that explains the title chosen for the project, "The Tennessee Overhill Experience: From Furs To Factories."

Cherokee history is an important part of the story. The fur and hide trade that sprang up between the Cherokee and the European traders represented the introduction of the Tennessee Overhill to the world market. Existing exhibits at Fort Loudoun and Sequoyah Birthplace Museum near Vonore Tennessee discuss the first chapter of the story.

Other exhibits, such as "Growing Up With The L&N: Life And Times In A Railroad Town", located in the L&N Depot in Etowah and the various exhibits and buildings that comprise the Ducktown Basin Museum allow visitors to examine regional railroading and mining history.

The town of Englewood is working with the Tennessee Humanities Council to develop an exhibit and book that will focus on working-class women in the Englewood textile mills and how Englewood, Tennessee fits within the story of what was occurring across the South. The Tennessee Humanities Council is not unfamiliar with the pilot communities in the Tennessee Overhill. In fact, it was the Etowah Museum project, which was funded in large part by the Council, that spawned the southeast Tennessee Cultural Tourism Plan.

There is no museum at Coker Creek, but the local Ruritan Club recently published a book on the history of the Coker Creek Gold District. Realizing that gold was an important but not exclusive source of income, the book supplies historical information on the cottage weaving industry, logging operations, and whiskey making that were once an important part of the Coker Creek economy.



View of the Burra Burra Mine in 1940. This is not the site of the Ducktown Basin Museum, operated by the Tennessee Historical Commission. Photo courtesy of the Ducktown Basin Museum.

The Tennessee Overhill is a diverse geographic region. Mountains rise from the banks of the Hiwassee, Tellico, Little Tennessee and Ocoee Rivers. The Ocoee is well known for its white water sports and as a possible site for the 1996 Olympics. But the Ocoee story is far more complex than kayaks and slalom races. Historic power houses sit on its banks, and a wooden flume line built in 1912 snakes along the rock face that rises from the river. Now owned by the Tennessee Valley Authority, the power houses, dams, and flume line are reminders of the massive undertaking that allowed electricity to come to rural southeast Tennessee. Both TVA and the Cherokee National Forest plan to use signs to interpret parts of the Ocoee history, such as the building of the Copper Road and the little community of Caney Creek. Built to house Ocoee Flume Line workers, Caney Creek was accessible only by a swinging bridge and boasted tennis courts and an electric trolley.

Tucked in a gap on the Hiwassee River is the Historic District of Reliance. Nestled against the Cherokee National Forest, Reliance, with its turn-of-the-century buildings and general store, offers a glimpse of what life in a farming community was like at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Elisha Johnson Mansion, home of the Iron Master for the Cherokee Iron Foundry, sits on the Tellico River. After the removal of the Cherokee, the foundry was operated by white settlers until its destruction during the Civil War. Although the foundry is gone, the mansion remains and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

A short way downriver is the town of Tellico Plains, a town that has worn a variety of identities. Babcock Lumber Company built houses on what is now called Babcock Street. Stokely Foods built a cannery there and raised vegetables on the Plains where the Cherokee city, Great Telaquah, once sat. During World War II, German POWs were housed on the Plains and worked in the cannery. By the time the Cherahala Skyway between Robbinsville, North Carolina and Tellico Plains opens, it's possible that Tellico Plains could assume another identity. A recent development that involves installing Alpine facades on turn-of-the-century buildings is underway on the little town square. One wonders if, in a hundred years

or so, such developments will be considered artifacts of a period when small mountain communities took on new identities practically overnight in an attempt to survive economically.

Drastic change is not so welcome in the Copper Basin. Teachers and students at Copperbasin High School are exploring how the physical landscape affects the landscape of the human soul. Many years ago, the hills in the Copper Basin were denuded by open ore smelting, timbering, and erosion. For some time an aggressive reforestation program has been underway. Although the old-time residents of the Basin understand the need to return trees to the land, they are sad about the disappearance of a landscape that was home to them. The Ducktown Basin Museum hopes to acquire a parcel of land with barren red hills that adjoins the museum to preserve forever. The Town of Copperhill is working to unearth an unusual element of its unique landscape—steps built prior to automobiles for townspeople to use to climb the steep hills where the company houses perched above the little town.

The driving tour/exhibit is only one of several projects underway as part of the Tennessee Overhill Experience. Other plans include development of special events, a heritage events calendar, a cultural conservation forum, and a self-guided photography tour.

Last November a rail excursion ran for two days between Etowah and Copperhill. One thousand excited passengers rode on vintage trains across the historic 1898 Bald Mountain Loop and joined local volunteers in celebrating the railroad and mining heritage of the Tennessee Overhill. The rail trips are an excellent example of the kinds of partnerships that the National Trust is encouraging in each of its sixteen pilot areas. CSX Transportation provided operational support while four labor unions donated services as engineers, trainmen, conductors, and car hosts.

The photography tour has produced an interesting side effect. Photography students at a local high school recently complained that there is nothing in their town to take pictures of. Imagine their surprise when they discovered that amateur and professional photographers will be invited to their town to do just that.

The National Trust for Historic Preservation and the Tennessee Department of Tourist Development have worked closely with the Overhill project to develop a Community Education Plan. People are more or less aware of the value of the natural resources and grand historic structures found in the Tennessee Overhill. Not so readily accepted is the notion that mill ruins, company houses, and historic transportation routes are also valuable.

Another challenge for the Tennessee Overhill Community Education Program is the prevailing "either-or" attitude about tourism. Some people want development at any cost. Others fear that any development will create havoc. If tourism plans are made without regard for residents and inappropriate development is encouraged, then tourism will become just another extractive industry. Conversely, if towns are unable to maintain services essential for a desirable quality of life or offer business opportunities, future generations, also a valuable resource, will be drained away.

A happy medium is, of course, the preferred solution. However, the Tennessee Overhill Advisory Committee is aware of the fragility of such a balance. Educating residents to the need for protection of the uniqueness of the Tennessee Overhill is an important objective of the local plan.

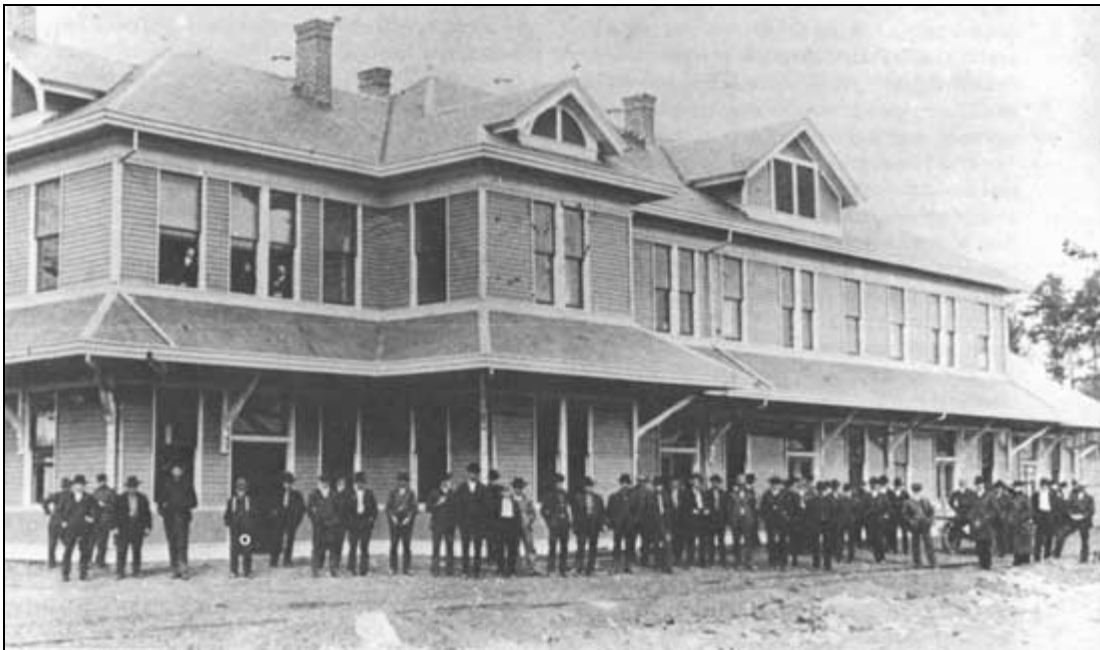
The primary goal of the Tennessee Overhill Experience is to develop a tourism product that will increase visitation to the region, serve as an educational tool, and act as a catalyst for economic development. In order to achieve this goal, the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the Tennessee Department of Tourist Development are providing training

and technical assistance for planning, museum development, interpretive planning, regional tourism development, community education, marketing, fund raising, and public relations.

The southeast Tennessee project has pledged to follow the principles of heritage tourism set forth by the National Trust for Historic Preservation:

- * **AUTHENTICITY AND QUALITY** - Tell the true stories of the Tennessee Overhill.
- * **EDUCATION AND INTERPRETATION** - Names and dates don't bring a place or event alive, but the human drama of history does.
- * **PRESERVATION AND PROTECTION** - A community that wants to attract tourists must safeguard its future by establishing measures to protect the very elements that attract visitors.
- * **LOCAL PRIORITIES AND CAPACITY** - Ensure that tourism is of economic and social benefit to the community and its heritage.
- * **PARTNERSHIP** - Cooperation among business leaders, operators of historic sites, local governments, and others is important to the preservation and tourism communities.

Everyone involved with the Tennessee Overhill Experience is aware that this project is no more than a part of the most recent chapter in the story of the industrialization of the Tennessee Overhill. They believe that their challenge will be to make this chapter one of which they can be proud.



1907 view of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Passenger Station in Etowah, Tennessee. It was the first structure built by the railroad company in the planned community. Photo courtesy of the Etowah Museum.

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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Appalachian Cultural Resources Workshop Papers



THOUGHTS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF A REGIONAL APPROACH TO CULTURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT PLANNING IN THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN REGION [1]

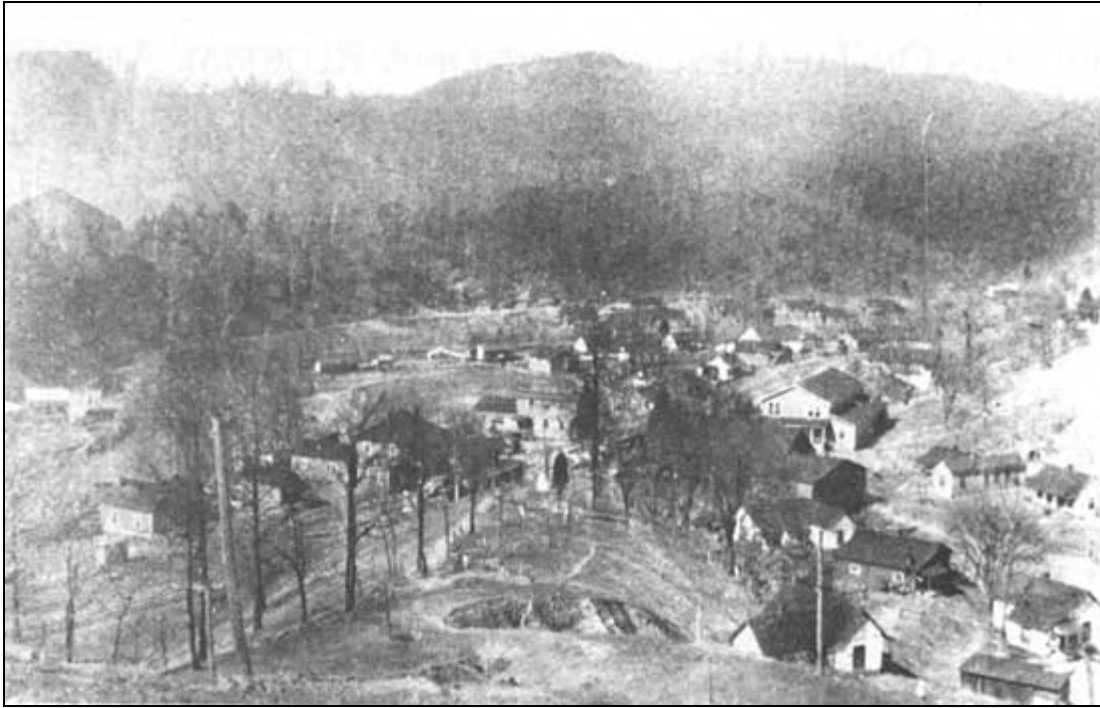
JIM B. JONES, JR.

TENNESSEE HISTORICAL COMMISSION

We have heard from a number of State Historic Preservation Officers (SHPOs) and National Park Service (NPS) planners about their perspectives on the problems of recognizing and planning for the protection and nomination of a number of cultural resources associated with the development of the southern Appalachian mountains. I have had the opportunity to point out that there exists at least one overlooked and largely historical experience, varying in degree, in the entire multi-state region. It was one in which the forces of industrial expansion in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century led to the extraction of mineral fuel to feed the increasingly voracious appetite of industrial capitalism to run railroads and blast furnaces. We can believe that the by-product of such experience was the transformation—some say gentrification—of an entire American subculture from relative agrarian independence, self-sufficiency, and romantic primitiveness to acquiescent obedience and reliance upon the industrial order. It is certainly plausible that wherever the extraction of coal took place in the entire coal-producing region of the Appalachians, there existed a complex array of resources, from the company or coal town to individual resources. Among these were coal tipples, dynamite houses, mine shafts, prison stockades and guard towers, beehive coke ovens, slag heaps, railroads and railroad stations, round houses, steam-driven electrical generators, schools, company stores, churches, and the domestic architecture of industrialism that is manifest in the coal miner's company house—the type in which the coal miner's daughter, Loretta Lynn, was to Butcher holler born.

Let me suggest here that there are other common experiences that confirm that the Appalachian region is unique in American history. There are also cultural resources associated with these experiences that can be, and should be, addressed by preservationists planners in a multi-state context. Succinctly, in addition to coal mining, these regionally common experiences are the development of motor tourism, pre- and TVA-hydroelectric development, and the history of the urban Appalachian African-American city. I do not wish here to give the impression that this brief litany is comprehensive, only to suggest that common experience could result in mutual action.

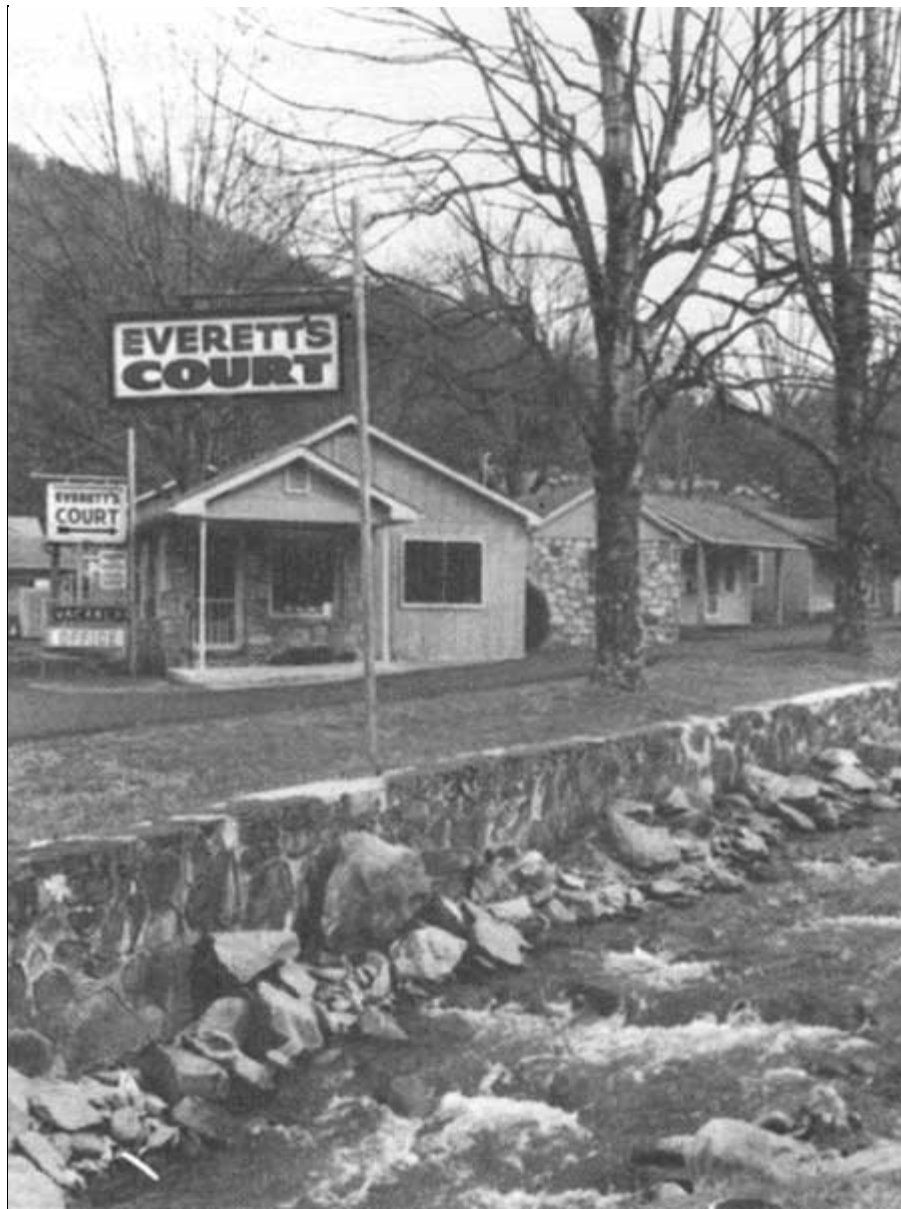
The tourist industry, typified today in east Tennessee by the attractions in Sevierville, Pigeon Forge, and Gatlinburg, had its initial development from 1910 to 1945 and was closely tied to the evolution and foundation of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. While many today may decry the excesses of contemporary tourist enticements, underneath the ubiquitous, plastic, pseudo-hillbilly images are a number of resources that can be considered cultural because they are extant examples of early tourist development. These resource types include diners, cafes, tourist convenience stores, tea rooms, early electric signs, out-buildings, service stations, and motor courts sporting various architectural affectations. Ed Trout, Historian at Great Smoky Mountains National Park, knows for example of a motor court in Cherokee, North Carolina in which all units have wigwam-shaped facades. [2]



1926 view of a mining camp at Eagen, Tennessee. Source: Tennessee Division of Mines 32nd Annual Report

Pre-TVA hydroelectric sites are also an other resource that may well be common to the multistate Appalachian mountain region. In Tennessee, the SHPO has successfully completed a Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) in which there are twenty-seven such sites, all constructed in the period of initial private-sector and municipally funded electrification. Twenty-one of these were deemed worthy of the protection of National Register listing. Resources ranged from small gravity to monumental and sweeping curvilinear dams, small unadorned poured concrete to more immense and elaborately architecturally enhanced powerhouses, water diversion mechanisms, early power transmission towers, entire man-made lakes, and ancillary office and residential buildings. Topography and river size often determined the proportions of the sites, all of which were developed between 1901 and 1933. They represent the change from island cities to the new industrial order, from small independent providers of electricity to larger regional corporations to the gigantic monopoly by TVA in 1939, Tennessee Electric Power Company (TEPCO). Other examples were produced for industrial needs, such as the mammoth curvilinear Calderwood dam which provided electricity for the reduction of aluminum at Alcoa, Tennessee. The more massive TVA developments, such as Norris Dam and its sisters in the seven-state TVA area, would, like those pre-TVA examples, would constitute a common experiential base for multistate survey, inventory, and nomination activities.





View of a tourist court in Gatlinburg, built in 1940 photo by the author

The history of the urban black in the cities of the region could likewise be considered a common Appalachian experience. Resources would include blocks of "traditional" shotgun houses, commercial buildings, schools, churches, parks, and libraries. In Tennessee, a study on Knoxville's urban African-American experience and associated resource base was carried out by the Planning Section of the SHPO. Ironically, many of the precious few extant structures associated with the black community in Knoxville were destroyed by the onset of integration and urban renewal. Both tended to draw blacks out of their "traditional" community, and so destroyed the commercial and social life that developed in the days of segregation. Recent private preservation and restoration projects in Mechanicsville, the National Register listed and historically black Knoxville neighborhood, had been frustrated by the illegal practice of red-lining. Concerted neighborhood action, however, led to a cessation of this unlawful practice.





Plant of the Tennessee Eastern Electric Company on the Nolichucky River, nine miles south of
Greeneville Source: Tennessee Division of Geology bulletin 17 (1914).

One of the reasons so few of these kinds of cultural resources are now in the National Register stems from the problem that the criteria didn't seem to include coal resources. Does this mean we therefore need special criteria? Will we have to produce an exclusive criteria for heretofore overlooked resource types such as coal tipples, coal towns, motor courts, diners, and service stations early hydroelectric stations, historically African-American neighborhoods and schools? Put another way, will they continue to be excluded as they were in the past quarter century when they were apparently rendered invisible by the criteria. As the National Historic Preservation approaches its silver anniversary, the criteria have remained consistent, but the idea that such resources as those described above are worthy of planning and preservation is a relatively new notion. Were coal towns, pre-TVA sites, shotgun houses, and tourist attractions factored in when the criteria were developed? Can existing criteria become a device to exclude resources whose significance is not addressed by conventional guidelines? Will criteria be made so exacting that it will be impossible to nominate resources? Isn't this what has happened so far?

The question is not just one of simple criteria, nor that examples of these resources are dwindling (and they are), nor that they have not fit into the preservationists lexicon nontraditional concept of "cultural resource." The question isn't so much that as professionals we are not able to recognize the regional scope of the shared historical experience, because we do. Nor is it whether or not we will rate them for what they are, the vestiges of common, significant, historical, cultural, and ecological experiences in the southern Appalachian mountain region. [3]

The real question is what are we cultural resource management professionals going to do about it now? Well, let's begin by asking what can we do? We can plan; we can survey and inventory, and we can nominate properties to the National Register of Historic Places. We can publish our results to increase scholarly interest and a heightened sense of public awareness for and appreciation about another aspect of the local, state, and regional past.

Can we justify the study and preservation of the archaeological remains of coal town sites, early motor courts, and black neighborhoods, etc.? Can we create a justification for protection when we produce a context—resources are important because we say so, and we can say so because we substantiate our claims with the historical record. It's our job as professionals engaged in cultural resource management. More to the point, why haven't we? Because of a lack of resources to nominate? Perhaps because of a lack of professional consciousness on our parts? No, it's because of something less self-evident but more profound. I'm talking about an innocent and subconscious class bias on the part of many professional preservationists (I know I have been culpable) that has for the longest time, in my view, credulously shaped a National Register profile into an exclusive enumeration of the finest, and best, colonial era and antebellum houses, civil war "hospitals," late nineteenth century millionaires' mansions, and commercial districts. In so doing, a physical record has been thus preserved that limits our vision of the past to prestigious white males, their politics and shrewdness in business, and the wars they fought. Nothing is said of the not-famous, such as the common miner or his family. They simply don't exist; they simply never existed in the world that was said to have mattered. This is an intellectual posture that must be overcome so that the examples of miners houses or coke ovens can be considered as significant for what they are, instead of for what they are not. If they are not significant, then why are we here at this workshop in this Appalachian setting? If these are important now, why weren't they important before? Because, whenever we preserve history we do so with a subconscious sense of transcendent meaning and continuity in the *preserver's* expression of *dominant values*, values that for better or worse work as blinders, hiding alternate possibilities from our historical consciousness. No matter how limited or particular any given preservation project, we place it in a broader and grander context in which what we do and say has meaning and makes a difference. Any coherent act of preservation is sanctioned by an inference of professional understanding which shapes our work ideologically, morally, and politically. It remains to be seen if our professional understanding can result in broadening—perhaps even refocusing—our efforts to include the kinds of resources associated with a variety of historical experiences in the southeastern Appalachian mountain region.

Why not think big? How big? Let me propose a regional effort to produce a context, a survey, an inventory, and nomination of related resources in one large, regional Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF). [4] Of course, such an effort should be supervised and funded by the National Park Service, (from whom all blessings flow) not out of the states' annual Historic Preservation Fund (HPF) allotment. A standard Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) could be developed between the various SHPOs and review boards in the region and the NPS. SHPO staffing and work priorities would have to be adjusted accordingly, while, funding might be allocated by virtue of the states' contexts exhibiting the probable absolute number of resources in the various states. For example, if such an effort were to be directed at coal resources, Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky would most likely receive the lion's share, followed by Tennessee, then Georgia, Alabama, South and North Carolina. Another scheme would have to be formulated for other thematically related resource bases, for instance the tourist industry or pre-TVA resources, or Civil War monuments of the period 1865 to 1920. The actual context itself could be produced in each of the pertinent states and combined as chapters in a statement of justification to fund coordinated survey, inventory, and nomination procedures. I feel certain a uniform format for such a contextual study could be developed; indeed, it probably exists already in the MPDF format. In the end, it should be possible to produce a regional MPDF (RMPDF) as the finished product. It may be that some preservation planners have already labeled this kind of thinking as altogether too grandiose, but I believe it is a plausible idea which deserves serious consideration. It certainly would be a new direction and maybe usher in an era of interstate cooperation when thematically-linked resources are common to states otherwise thought to be singularly extraordinary in their historic experience. In this era of rapidly

escalating public debt, dwindling financial support, and shifting priorities, it also might be a means to get a bigger bang out of the cultural resource management buck.

There is still the question about criteria for nominating or at least determining the eligibility of previously overlooked resources. At this point, I would like to specifically suggest the following evaluative framework for use with wooden buildings or vernacular-industrial structures typical of mining or company towns. Perhaps it may prove helpful in bridging the chasm between social and cultural history, traditional historic preservation thinking, and the recognition of vernacular structures as historical monuments. It provides the following eight priorities to evaluate criteria for determining significance, asking in order of importance, if it can be determined if the building or structure is important:

- 1) It has potential for demonstrating the fact of or evolution of mining or of a mining village;
- 2) It is important to the history of industrially supplied domestic architecture or coal/coke processing on the local and regional level;
- 3) It is symbolic of major regional and local cultural ecological and change;
- 4) It represents a particular method of construction, such as box-housing or beehive coke ovens;
- 5) It is representative of particular changes in settlement patterns or housing types found in the Cumberland Plateau (coal regions of southern Appalachia) from 1880 to 1930;
- 6) It is structurally sound;
- 7) It is representative of a particular period or broad historical development;
- 8) It is representative of the socioeconomic status of its owner-builder.

After the structure or structures are evaluated against these interrogative criteria, they could be placed on a priority list with the more areas of significance listed affirmatively, the greater the degree of importance; then the following list of preservation options may be resorted to, the treatment being determined by the degree of significance. These options allow the cultural resource management specialist the flexibility to carry out or a variety of treatments to protect endangered resources on a number of levels. The options are:

- 1) preservation/stabilization;
- 2) rehabilitation;
- 3) photographic recordation, strictly according to Historic American Building Survey (HABS)/Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) standards;
- 4) scale drawing following HABS/HAER standards;
- 5) nomination to the National Register of Historic Places;
- 6) architectural element salvage;
- 7) relocations
- 8) demolition
- 9) natural deterioration;

10) no treatment. [5]

Options 1 and 2 could involve Investment Tax Credit (ITC) certification; 1 through 6 will also allow the nomination of a particular resource, or class of resources, to the National Register of Historic Places. In the case of the SHPO who does not own any resource, these alternatives can be suggested as mitigative options in 106 questions, while survey efforts would call for the virtual blanket photographic recordation of nearly all resources. Additionally, the criteria may aid the specialist whose function is to survey or nominate resources to the National Register to make determinations of eligibility. In any case, the cultural resource management specialist has a diversified set of preservation, evaluation, action, and protection options. These same criteria and options could be utilized in a regional MPDF effort directed at coal towns and mining resources in the Appalachian region where coal mining developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

As cultural resource management planners for the historic built-environment, the real challenge is the anticipation of what the sense of the past will be as a result of our efforts and decisions today. In what ways do our decisions affect the existence of a class of cultural resources and the history they represent? How will our judgments be regarded by future public historians resource managers, park historians, and preservationists? Will future generations, as a result of our efforts now, see consensus, dramatic conflict, continuity or change in their past? Will they see coal mining, or the initial stages of the tourist business, or railroad expansion, or early hydroelectric development, as an historical experience at all? As one thinker suggests, "our anticipation of a future need of a past with reference points supplied by us is one of the few ways in which a dialogue can be developed with posterity. Our successors may not like what we offer, [but unless we anticipate the future needs of the past] they will doubtless interpret it differently...." [6]

It may be that in the case of coal, we as cultural resource management planning professionals have acquiesced in the eradication of buildings and structures that we may have considered the monuments of unhappy or depraved era, something to be overlooked because it was not "architecture." By ignoring these material cultural remains of common Appalachian historical experiences, we help increase the probability that the future will be void of a material culture heritage. The built environment representative of the common experiences of *entire generations* of Appalachian people will slip into the oblivion of a society contaminated by a kind of historical Alzheimer's disease, with equally as tragic an outcome. The challenge to preservationists

is to preserve the meaning of the way of life which buildings represent to those who have worked and lived in them, as well as the more abstract and formal qualities based on knowledge of architectural and technological history. [7]

It is for us to decide, to formulate the coming agenda. As George Orwell admonished: Who controls the past, controls the future. Who controls the present, controls the past.

ENDNOTES

¹ The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the thinking of his employer, the Tennessee Historical Commission/State Historic Preservation Officer, nor the National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office.

² The Tennessee SHPO Planning Section is currently producing a study unit and MPDF on the development of motor-tourism in Tennessee's southeastern corridor, 1910-1945.

³ It may be that these experiences are not so common to the Appalachian region, or that variations on a theme exist between states within the region, but it can't be demonstrated until study, survey, inventory activities are undertaken.

⁴ This kind of approach has already been utilized by the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, "Coal Mining in the Big South Fork Area of Kentucky and Tennessee," (1990).

⁵ U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Nashville District, "Structural Treatment Plan for National Register Eligible Architectural Structures of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area," March, 1986, 3-4.

⁶ Peter J. Fowler, "Archeology, the Public and the Sense of the Past," Lowenthal and Binnery, eds., *The Past Before Us: Why Do We Save It?* (London: Temple Smith Limited, 1981), 68.

⁷ Tamara K. Hareven and Randolph Langenbach, "Living Places, Work Places and Historical Identity," Lowenthal and Binney, eds., *Our Past Before Us: Why Do We Save It?* (London: Temmple Smith Limited, 1981), 121.

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