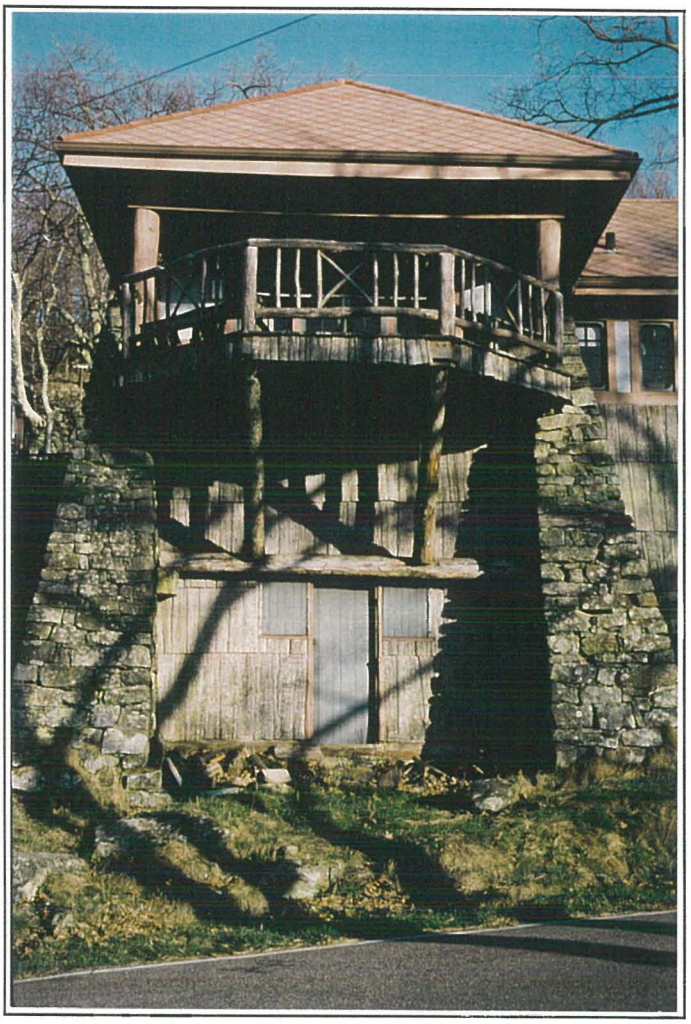


SHENANDOAH NATIONAL PARK

HISTORIC RESOURCES STUDY
FINAL DRAFT

PREPARED FOR:
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

PREPARED BY:
ROBINSON & ASSOCIATES, INC.
in association with EDAW, INC.

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INTRODUCTION

Description of Shenandoah National Park

Shenandoah National Park is today a largely natural area that is exceptional in part for the fact that when it was opened in 1936, much of its land was strongly affected by mankind. The land showed the effects of generations of farming, grazing, and lumbering. In addition, hundreds of structures associated with the residents of the park stood as reminders of their owners' former presence. Through the years, most of the traces of man on the land have been intentionally effaced in order to return the area to its condition before the arrival of man. Thus, although the park is a "natural" park rather than a "historical" park, it cannot be separated from its long human history.

The park consists of a 70-mile-long, irregularly shaped strip of land that follows the ridgeline of the Blue Ridge Mountains between the towns of Front Royal, Virginia (to the north) and Waynesboro, Virginia (to the south). The Blue Ridge Mountains form the division between the Piedmont region of Virginia to the east and the Shenandoah Valley region to the west. The park contains approximately 60 peaks higher than 3,000 feet.

The 194,600 acres that today make up the park, pass through Albemarle, Augusta, Greene, Madison, Page, Rappahannock, Rockingham, and Warren Counties. Most of the land is forested, with some 80,000 acres designated as wilderness.

The developed portions of the park are centered on the 105.5-mile Skyline Drive. They include campgrounds, picnic facilities, visitor centers, tourist-related facilities (lodges/motels, restaurants, stores, gasoline stations, etc.), and facilities related to the park operation (offices, residences, utility buildings, etc.). These facilities date from 1932 to the present. Although when the park was established there were hundreds of extant buildings (mostly cabins and barns), today there are approximately 20 buildings that pre-date 1932. Skyline Drive, which provides access to the developed areas of the park, bisects the park at the ridge of the mountains. Most sections of the drive pre-date the establishment of the park by a few years. Since its inception, it has been one of the most popular scenic drives in the country. It is known for its panoramic views of the mountains and the adjacent Piedmont and Valley areas.

Scope and Purpose/Methodology

The purpose of this Historic Resource Study is to provide a historical overview of Shenandoah National Park and to identify and evaluate its historic properties within historic contexts. In essence, it synthesizes information from many sources into a single document that can aid in understanding the park and its resources. It will also serve as a precursor for the development of National Register nominations for park resources. The document was prepared in accordance with the guidelines of NPS-28 (Cultural Resources Management Guidelines).

This study was conducted in 1994-5. Information contained in the study was derived from a large number of primary and secondary sources (see Bibliography).[1] Comprehensive discussions of certain park resources within their contextual background have already been completed and for this reason receive comparatively little emphasis in this report. Documentation associated with these resources includes Skyline Drive Historic District National Register Nomination and a nomination for the Skyland Historic District completed in draft form in 1993. Earlier, and in some cases, somewhat less comprehensive National Register forms, have also been completed for Camp Hoover, the George T. Corbin Cabin, and Simmons Gap Mission (draft). In addition to these nominations, a National Park Service-wide National Register Multiple Property Form has been completed entitled, "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks." This umbrella nomination covers landscape resources in national and state parks from 1916 to 1942.

A major ongoing project within Shenandoah National Park that will provide much valuable information in the future is a comprehensive archeological investigation of Nicholson and Weakley Hollows. A park-wide Archeological Overview and Assessment will be produced in the future. It will describe the prehistoric occupancy of the area and archeological resources in the park in general. Because this information has not yet been produced, the present document begins with the development of the area that is now the park during the historical period. In reading this document, however, it must be kept in mind that native peoples lived in the area far longer than have those of European descent, and without their history, a complete understanding of the cultural development within the park area is not possible.

In addition to written sources, an on-site survey of many of the cultural resources was conducted in April 1995. The purpose of this abbreviated survey was to gain additional information related to the architectural development of the park. An updated List of Classified Structures will be prepared for the park and is not part of this project.

This study has been organized into four major chronological sections and within these sections by themes generally based on National Register categories. The first historic context, *Settlement and Pre-Park Development in the Shenandoah National Park Area, 1669-1935,* focuses on the exploration and settlement of the area that was to become the park. The dates of this section bracket the first European exploration in the park in 1669, and the establishment of the park in 1935. Themes within this section explore patterns of land ownership and occupancy, and the exploitation of natural resources in the park area. Specific themes include: Ownership/Settlement Patterns, Transportation, Agriculture, Industry/Mining, Religion, Recreation/Arts: Folkways, Military: Civil War, Architecture, and Landscape.

The second chronological division, *Early Recreational Uses in the Park Area and Establishment of Shenandoah National Park, 1850-1935,* focuses on the development of resorts/recreational areas within

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[1]Since its founding, there has been a rich assortment of secondary sources produced on many aspects of the park and its history. Of these many sources, special mention must be made of the work of Darwin Lambert. One of the park's earliest employees, Lambert has become the park's unofficial historian and chronicler. In addition to a number of other works, he has written an exhaustive administrative history of the park and a broader history of the park for a popular audience.

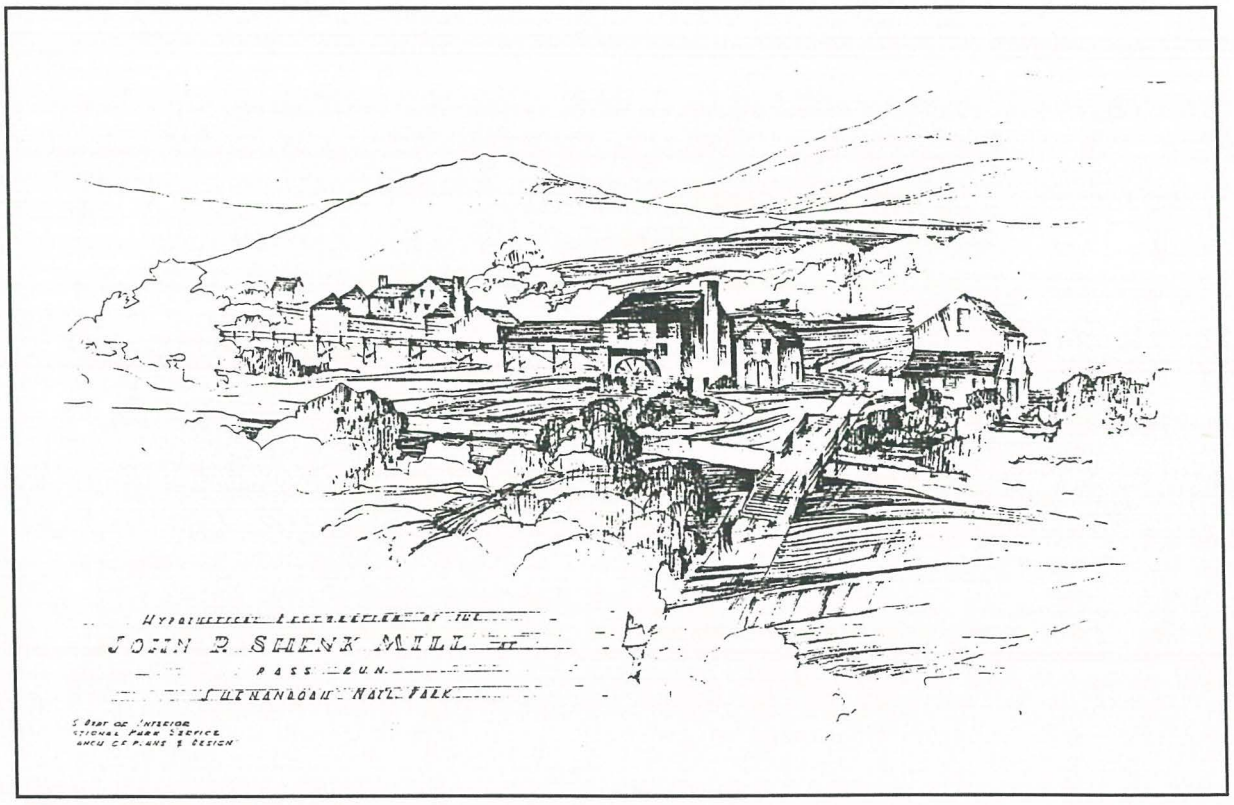
the park and the movement to establish the park, which was closely tied to the history of two of these resorts/camps—Skyland and Camp Hoover. The time frame for this section encompasses the establishment of the earliest resorts in the park area and the creation of the park. Specific themes covered in this section include: Recreation, Transportation, Conservation, Government: Presidency of the United States, Architecture, and Landscape Architecture.

The third historic context, *Initial Park-Related Development, 1935-1942,* examines the major growth and development period within the park. The beginning of the period corresponds to the creation of the park, while the ending date relates to the first full year of United States involvement in World War II, when many of the Depression-era projects that were responsible for the physical development of the park came to an end. Specific themes in this section include: Government, Landscape Architecture, Conservation, Recreation, Architecture.

War and Post-War Park Administration, World War II to 1945, looks at the effects of the War on the park and at modern post-War development at the park. Specific topics covered in this section include: Military, Government: Conscientious Objectors Camps, Ethnic Heritage, Conservation, Architecture.

The report was written by Carol Hooper and edited by Judith Robinson, both of Robinson & Associates, Inc. Brian Kane and Malaina Bowker were contact persons for the project at EDAW, Inc. Reed Engle was the NPS project manager.

SETTLEMENT AND PRE-PARK DEVELOPMENT IN THE SHENANDOAH NATIONAL PARK AREA, 1669-1935



INTRODUCTION

The area that was to become Shenandoah National Park had a long history of use and occupation, first by native peoples and later by Europeans. Although the first written documentation of Europeans in the area dates to 1669, a century later settlement in the mountains was minimal and major growth in the area occurred only in the 19th century. In terms of land use, after 1830 many lower, more fertile, areas of the park land were used to graze cattle. The unofficial "tenants" of these areas, in addition to caring for the cattle, had homesteads and raised a variety of crops and fruit trees. During the 18th and 19th century, the land was also host to an assortment of small local industries such as gristmills and tanneries. In addition, particularly in the 19th century, larger tanneries and industrial activities such as lumbering and mining operated within the park area. Although there had always been strong links between the people of the park area and, in particular, the valley area, the Civil War, the development of railroad lines and the influence of religious groups also furthered these connections. By the turn of the century, the detrimental environmental effects of the industrial activities, the loss to nearby towns of services and industries upon which residents relied, and growing population combined to strain life on the ridge. By 1935, the effects of the drought of 1929, the chestnut blight, and the Depression also contributed to a decline in the population of mountain residents and in their economic conditions.

OWNERSHIP/SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Today, two twentieth-century cabins, Corbin Cabin and Jones Mountain Cabin, and two farmhouses located at the headquarters area comprise the standing historic resources that represent the theme "Ownership/Settlement Patterns" within the park area from 1669 to 1935.

The area that is now Shenandoah National Park was strongly affected by Europeans long before the first non-native person ventured into it. The fur trade, which prospered in the area before 1600, brought furs trapped by (or traded to) native peoples into the European market. The primary native occupants of the area were the Monacan, a densely populated agricultural people who had a sophisticated sociopolitical system.[2] Furs were traded first to the French and later to the Dutch. Thus began a trend that was to continue for much of the rest of man's occupation of the area—the influence of outside economic influences on the people of the Blue Ridge.

The first written documentation of Europeans in the area relates to John Lederer, a German who, according to his written report, explored part of the park area in 1669. Because there were no established place names at that time, reconstruction of his exact route is difficult; however, he may have crossed into the Blue Ridge around Swift Run Gap.[3] A later trip took him to the northern reaches of what is now the park.

Despite the fact that others explored, and likely occupied, areas within what is now the park far earlier,[4] traditionally the "discovery" of the park area has been attributed to the Lieutenant Governor of the Colony of Virginia, Alexander Spotswood.[5] In 1716, Spotswood led a large party across the Blue Ridge and into the Shenandoah Valley.[6] His efforts were aimed at extending the boundaries of Virginia and promoting trading through to the west. Traditionally, it was believed that the group crossed the Blue Ridge at Swift Run Gap, where a monument was erected to their exploration. Again, given the lack of place names, an exact recreation of their journey is difficult, and one source has

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[2]According to Jeffrey L. Hantman, pre-contact Monacans had a "centralized and hierarchical sociopolitical system." See "Between Powhatan and Quirank: Reconstructing Monacan Culture and History in the Context of Jamestown," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 92, 1990 p. 684. Although under the Virginia Racial Integrity Law of 1924 the Monacans lost official recognition as a tribe, they were given official status again in 1989 by the State of Virginia, and they have re-emerged as an organized entity.

[3]John A. Conners, *Shenandoah National Park: An Interpretive Guide,* Blacksburg, VA., McDonald and Woodward Publishing Co., p. 83.

[4]Given the extent of the trade, and how long it had been going on, it seems likely that white fur traders, as well as trappers and missionaries, lived in the area at least temporarily.

[5]Although his official title was Lt. Governor he was effectively the Governor of the colony.

[6]Subsequently, this group became known as the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, in recognition of the fact that Spotswood gave each of the participants a small gold horseshoe as a remembrance of the trip.

suggested that they more likely crossed the mountains at or near Big Meadows.[7] It is clear, however, that his exploration greatly spurred interest in the area. Investors, including a number of the so-called "knights" who accompanied Spotswood, soon bought up large tracts of land (up to 10,000 acres) in the new area claimed by Spotswood for the colony. The liberal terms of these transactions were aimed at encouraging settlement in the area, and by the mid-1720s there were an increasing number of settlers occupying the flat land on either side of the Blue Ridge.

Despite these land transactions by the Colony of Virginia, the ownership of much of the park land was in dispute from the early 1700s until 1746. A sizeable amount of the land claimed by Spotswood, including three-fifths of the land that is now the park, was also claimed by Lord Fairfax.[8] Fairfax's grant included land bounded by the Chesapeake Bay, the Potomac River, the Rappahannock River, and to the south and west—the part of the grant in controversy—a line between the sources of the two rivers. The exact source of the Rappahannock remained undetermined for some time, and during this period the disputed land was being sold off by both sides in the controversy. A team of surveyors (reportedly including Thomas Jefferson's father) finally plotted out the actual line in 1746, thereby creating what came to be called the Fairfax Line. The line crosses the park just north of Booten's Gap, giving roughly half of what is now the park to Fairfax and half to the Colony. Lengthy court cases arising out of this dispute continued well into the 19th century.

Rather than selling his land outright, the Sixth Lord Fairfax, who was a Virginia citizen, instituted a system of ground rents (running for either 21 years or "three lives"). After the Revolutionary War, with Loyalists' lands in controversy, some of Fairfax's land was sold to the tenants, while other land was simply appropriated. (James Barbour of Orange County, for instance, appropriated large parcels of Fairfax land that are today part of the park.) These parcels tended to be transferred as a whole, and because of their size, remained largely unoccupied by their owners. Thus the Fairfax/Spotswood controversy left a legacy of numerous large unoccupied parcels, a number of which were kept largely intact until the establishment of the park. In addition, a certain suspicion of outsiders and concern about land ownership among the residents of the mountains may also go back to this time.

Before the Civil War, approximately 90 percent of the park land was part of a land ownership system that included large plantation-like tracts, many of which operated using slave labor.[9] Examples of such large parcels include that of the Shirley brothers who owned some 49,000 acres in the park's central section. Similarly, as described by Darwin Lambert, Isaac Overall acquired some 28,000 acres of land within the park area through a large land patent from Governor Alexander Spotswood in the early

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[7]Darwin Lambert, *The Undying Past of Shenandoah National Park*, Boulder, CO., Roberts Rinehart Inc., pp.32,33.

[8]The land was originally granted to Lord Culpepper in the mid-1600s. It came into the Fairfax family through the marriage of Culpepper's daughter to the Fifth Lord Fairfax.

[9]The area of the park that was not in large plantation parcels was that on the western side, from north of U.S. 211, south to Gap Run beyond Elkton. Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 131.

1700s.[10] His son was the first to settle in the Shenandoah and within a few generations a major family plantation evolved south of Overall Run. The plantation raised crops using slave labor and had an up-and-down sawmill and a gristmill. The large tract was divided among a number of heirs in 1871 but was still managed by one child, William. He continued to have the lower areas of the parcel farmed or grazed, and the steeper areas of the land were cut over for lumber and tanbark. The mills and other facilities continued in operation for many years. The Overall family retained title to the land, and at the time the park was established in 1935, they owned one-seventh of its total land area.

By 1800, settlement (as opposed to land ownership) in the mountains was minimal. The first positively identified occupant of the land that is now the park was Michael Woods, who occupied a house near Jarman Gap in 1740. Within the next years, as the fertile lowlands on either side of the mountains began to fill up, more accessible areas within the mountains became occupied. Settlement tended to be closely linked to means of transportation, as well as to access to water and fertile land. Mountain passes, or "gaps" as they are referred to in Virginia, channeled development in the area. First, they funneled people and traffic through specific routes and spawned development in their immediate vicinity. This growth, which developed to service travelers, included inns, blacksmith shops, and related settlement. Secondly, the passes encouraged development in the areas below the gaps. These "hollows" were most often named for the family who occupied them.

Although many of the earliest occupants in the vicinity of the park were of English ancestry, by the mid-eighteenth century German, and to a lesser extent Scotch-Irish immigrants, also were coming in increasing numbers to the valley area. Some of the German immigrants had ties to the settlement established at Germanna by Spotswood. Most of those with German and Swiss backgrounds, however, came to the park area, as they did to the rest of Virginia, by way of Pennsylvania. Most were from strong farming backgrounds and held firmly to traditions such as language and religion. Beginning around 1830 and peaking after the Civil War, the valley farmers/grazers (mostly German in background) began replacing those of British descent as owners of the fertile sections (especially along the Blue Ridge crest) of the park land. The Germans used the land for pasturage for their cattle. The change in land use and ownership accelerated as a result of the Civil War, and the British dominance of land ownership in the future park lands effectively ended by this time. As discussed below (see "Agriculture" theme), most of the valley farmer/grazers informally established tenants on their mountain land.

By 1900, there were approximately 6,000 people living within what is now the park.[11] By this time the size of the mountain population, as well as other factors, was straining life on the ridge. With the development of railroads and other economic changes, services and industries upon which residents relied moved into nearby towns such as Front Royal. These changes forced mountain residents to have a greater dependence on a cash economy. As a result, people followed jobs to the towns and the population of the rural areas declined. Between 1900 and 1920 about half of the mountain population left, and in 1936, when the park was dedicated, only 2,250 people remained within its boundary. Of

[10]Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 114.

[11]Conners, *Shenandoah National Park*, p. 89.

those who remained, most no longer could rely on the land to support their families. In 1934, 331 of 465 park families received cash from working either at the Skyland resort (located within the park lands) or in the farms in the valley.[12]

Early ethnographic, economic, and sociological information about the people who occupied park lands is minimal. Review of census records for what was to become the park land indicates that 19th century residents of the area tended to have livestock that included pigs, and at least a single horse and milk cow. Nearly all grew corn and potatoes and many grew wheat, rye, and sweet potatoes.[13] At the time the park was established, more thorough statistical information was collected about the lives of the park residents and some of this information may be partially applicable to earlier periods. At that time, the typical resident family consisted of five members. In terms of education, the parents generally had one to four years of schooling, and the three children attended school only periodically. The average family lived in a log house, grew a variety of vegetables, had a hog, chickens, and a cow. For subsistence over the winter, a variety of vegetables were stored. Alcohol represented another means of preserving produce. Moonshine was a significant source of income for very few residents, but many more produced liquor only for their own consumption or legal liquor for sale. In general, the typical family's health was good.

Despite publicity about the poverty of the pre-park residents, it is clear that although there were pockets of extreme poverty, such as Corbin Hollow, most mountain residents had at least subsistence income. Although the typical family had cash income of $100 to $150 per year, approximately 40 percent of the residents owned the land they occupied. Most families had one to eight acres in cultivation, although some had up to ten times that much.

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[12]Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 179.

[13]U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Agricultural Census [1850], and Tenth Agricultural Census [1880], Robertson District, Madison County, Virginia.

TRANSPORTATION

The theme of "Transportation" in the park area from 1669 to 1935 is illustrated by the location of three routes through gaps (today U.S. Routes 211, 33, and 250), as well as a number of older roads that are preserved as trails or fire roads within the park, and a railroad tunnel—the Blue Ridge Tunnel.

Mountains traditionally are a barrier to the movement of people and goods through the land, and initially, the Blue Ridge Mountains were no exception. Development often awaited the discovery and improvement of convenient places to cross the mountains through lower passages or Gaps. In the area that was to become Shenandoah National Park, three major gaps—Thornton, Swift Run, and Rockfish—that today provide three of the four access points to the park, were the first major routes between the two sides of the mountains. Most of these roads had a common history, evolving from paths made by animals, to trails used by Native Americans, to wagon trails, to roads improved by local levies, to turnpikes, to state-maintained roads.

By the 1780s, the trail at Swift Run (now U.S. 33) was well developed and heavily used. It was one of several "rolling roads," that is, roads used by tobacco farmers to transport their tobacco. The tobacco was put into hogsheads—wooden casks or barrels with oak axles—pulled (or "rolled") by mules.[14] The importance of the road—which thanks to Alexander Spotswood's 1716 journey, became known as Spotswood Trail—as a route across the mountains continued through the 19th century. It was a major transportation route for Civil War troops through the area.[15] The Mountain Inn/Shipp Tavern (no longer standing) provided lodging at Swift Run Gap in the mid-19th century. The inn was a convenient day's journey from an inn to the east of the park, and travelers stopped at one at the beginning of their trip across the mountains and at one at the end.

The Rockfish Gap and Thornton Gap Roads also developed quite early. The Thornton Gap Road (Route 211) originally linked Massanutten and Sperrysville (it later was extended to run between New Market and Culpepper). First officially improved in 1740, improvements continued via tithables (under which all able-bodied male residents had to work six days per year on road work or provide substitute labor). However, heavy traffic meant a general decline in the road conditions over time. To address the problem, in 1786 a turnpike partnership was formed between Andrew Russell Barbee and Enos McKay that resulted in the road being graded and improved with stone. The road was macadamized in 1849. Barbee had responsibility for the section of the road through the gap; to capitalize on the through traffic, he set up an inn and post station next to the toll booth. The Hawsberry Inn, which may have dated to soon after the turnpike opened, was a frame building with a long veranda running the length of the building. Although the family home (the Bower) still stood at the time of the establishment of the park, the inn, located at the intersection of Lee Highway (Route 211) and Skyline Drive, disappeared earlier.

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[14]Carolyn Reeder and Jack Reeder, *Shenandoah Secrets: The Story of the Park's Hidden Past,* Washington, D.C., The Potomac Appalachian Trail Club, p. 18.

[15]Reeder, *Shenandoah Secrets,* p. 18.

Originally a "rolling road," the Rockfish Gap crossing was first improved around 1800. It had become increasingly popular in the 1820s, when water transportation along the James River from Scottsville to Richmond was available. The Staunton and James River Turnpike Company, with capital of $200,000, built a graded road through the gap providing easier access to the river. This is now U.S. 250/Interstate 64.

Other gap routes now within the park included Gravel Springs Gap, Beahms Gap, Hughes River Gap, Fishers Gap, Powell Gap, Simmons Gap, Brown's Gap (after 1806 the popular route for valley farmers to take to Charlottesville), and Jarman Gap (part of the historic Three Notch'd Road). In addition to these "gap" roads, a network of smaller roads ran through the future park area. These roads were "private" roads that crossed through individually owned land. They provided access to the hollows, went between farms, and led to towns. Some were used for logging. The smaller gap roads, many of which were in active use up to the establishment of the park, were closed to cross-park traffic by the National Park Service in the 1930s. Some of these roads, as well as some of the private roads, continue to be used in the park today as hiking trails or fire roads.

The gaps continued to be basic to transportation to and through the area even when modes of transportation progressed from horse and buggy to train. By 1840, a steam railway had been built as far west as Gordonsville and there was intense interest in taking the line across the Blue Ridge to Staunton through a tunnel at Rockfish Gap.[16] Claude Crozet, chief engineer of the Blue Ridge Railroad, designed the 1,273-foot-long brick-lined Blue Ridge Tunnel approximately 500 feet below the summit. A joint public and private venture was set up to complete the line, with the Commonwealth of Virginia responsible for the tunnel section. Work (from either end) began on the tunnel in 1850. Irish workers using hand tools completed the project in eight years despite a host of problems, including strikes and financial problems. Amazingly, when the two sides met in the middle there was only a half inch of difference in the true center. Until the tunnel was complete, the railroad ran a temporary line through Rockfish Gap. The temporary tracks were used between 1854 and 1858. This was the first train link between the Shenandoah Valley and eastern Virginia.

The tunnel remained in use until 1943, by which time it was too small for standard locomotives and the line was changed to run under Skyline Drive as it does now. The tunnel today is a National Historic Civil Engineering Landmark.

Three train lines connected the Blue Ridge to the rest of the world. These included the Blue Ridge line, a line crossing Manassas Gap and connecting Washington, D.C. with Front Royal (completed in 1854), and the line running parallel to the valley on its western side (completed in 1882). They also greatly accelerated the process of enlarging the towns (especially those located close to the tracks) often at the expense of more remote areas (such as those in the park). Front Royal, for example, expanded particularly in the wake of the arrival in 1854, of the railroad through Manassas Gap

[16]The tunnel is located below what is now the interchange at the southern terminus of Skyline Drive and the beginning of the Blue Ridge Parkway. Only a portion of the tunnel is within the Park and the Park does not own or control access to the tunnel.

AGRICULTURE

Although agriculture in the park area during this period is illustrated by only one major built resource—the Snead Farm Barn—a greater number of landscape features survive. These include many fruit trees found around old home sites and miles of stone walls that formerly edged pastures and crop fields.

As previously mentioned, before the Civil War, most of the park land was held in large, plantation-like farms, many of which operated using slave labor. One of the earliest cash crops cultivated on these farms was tobacco. In areas with soils containing volcanic or granitic rock, tobacco was usually grown for three or four years before the soil was depleted and would no longer produce viable crops. Then the land often would be planted with corn for a few years after which it was left fallow. Wheat became a major commercial crop in the area in the late 1700s. Cattle and corn, although grown throughout the farm areas of the park, were often grown for consumption, rather than commercial value. Some plantations produced hemp.

With the decline in the plantation system in the nineteenth century,[17] grazing became the major agricultural activity in the Blue Ridge. Particularly after 1830, valley landowners purchased the richer future park land to graze cattle. Until 1845, Virginia raised more cattle that any other state or territory in the country.[18] Accompanying the use of the land for grazing was an unusual land tenancy system that embraced about half of the population in the area that was to become the park.[19] Cattle ranchers in the valley who owned mountain plots usually established a tenant on the mountain tract to help care for the herds. In some cases, the tenant was originally a squatter on the property. The tenancy was unofficial and without any written agreements. The arrangement generally allowed the tenant to stay on the land, to use some of it for gardens and orchards, to graze small herds, gather chestnuts, and harvest a small amount of timber. Many tenants also maintained droves of pigs, which fed on the chestnuts that were plentiful until the chestnut blight. In exchange, the tenants helped herd the cattle (including "salting" the cattle—that is, putting out salt for them to lick), repaired fences, and to some extent protected the landowner's property rights. In addition, the tenants/squatters often cleared additional land, thereby creating new grazing areas. In some cases, the owner received a share of the tenant's profits as payment for the use of the land. The unofficial relationship between the landowner's family and the family of the tenants/squatters continued for generations. In many cases, these longterm relationships ended only with the acquisition of the land for the park. A high percentage of the occupants of the area (60 percent) had no legal title to their land; therefore when the land was acquired for the park they often received little or no compensation for their property. This created particular hardships and was one of the major sources of conflict when land was condemned for the park by the

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[17]The decline in the plantation system was a function of a number of factors. In addition to decreasing soil fertility, population movements to the south and west, and the coming breakdown in the slavery system all played a role in the decline. (Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 73.)

[18]Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 137.

[19]Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 139.

Commonwealth of Virginia.

Although much of the park land had always been part of large tracts, there were many smaller-scale landowners. Most of these were subsistence farmers whose land-use patterns were similar to that of the tenants of the larger parcels. The mountain residents most often had small gardens, often including corn, rye, and vegetables, and frequently a small orchard. (Today, apple and peach trees are often the only visible indication of an old home site in the park.) They often also had pigs and a milk cow. In 1934, 90 percent of the people occupying park land cultivated at least some land.[20] Many grew corn and/or wheat that was milled at the local gristmills. A typical family that lived in the Swift Run area raised green beans, which they dried ("hay beans"), and grew apples in their orchard, some of which they dried, some of which went into apple butter or were stored. They also had cows for milk, butter, and cheese. The family's food supply was supplemented by gathering berries and nuts. With the exception of chestnuts, which were often sold for cash, for the most part the food produced was enough for little more than feeding the family through the winter.[21] The summer's excesses were preserved, or in the case of corn or fruits, turned into alcohol. Without rotation methods or fertilizers, the corn and wheat fields had to be left fallow every few years. Many farmers cleared land by cutting a ring around the bark of the trees, thereby killing them but allowing the dead trees to stay in place until there was sufficient time or need to cut them down later. A number of outbuildings/structures were common around these small farms, including barns, sheds, cribs, spring houses, stone walls, and fenced enclosures. With one exception, the few examples of these outbuildings that survive are in extremely deteriorated condition. A single barn, the Snead Farm Barn at Dickey Ridge, has been maintained and remains in relatively good condition.

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[20]Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 175, and Steere, Edward, "Historical Study of Park," United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Shenandoah National Park, Photocopy, p. 16.

[21]Reeder, *Shenandoah Secrets,* p. 23.

INDUSTRY/MINING

Standing resources illustrating the "Industry/mining" theme in the park area from 1669 to 1935, are minimal. Although the sites of many industrial ventures can still be identified, only a single iron furnace, Mt. Vernon Furnace, has significant surviving original fabric.

During this period the land that was to become Shenandoah National Park was used, sometimes intensively, for a number of types of enterprises. Some of these enterprises benefited mountain residents and some benefitted those from the outside. The intense exploitation of the area's natural resources altered the landscape and had far-reaching effects on the land.

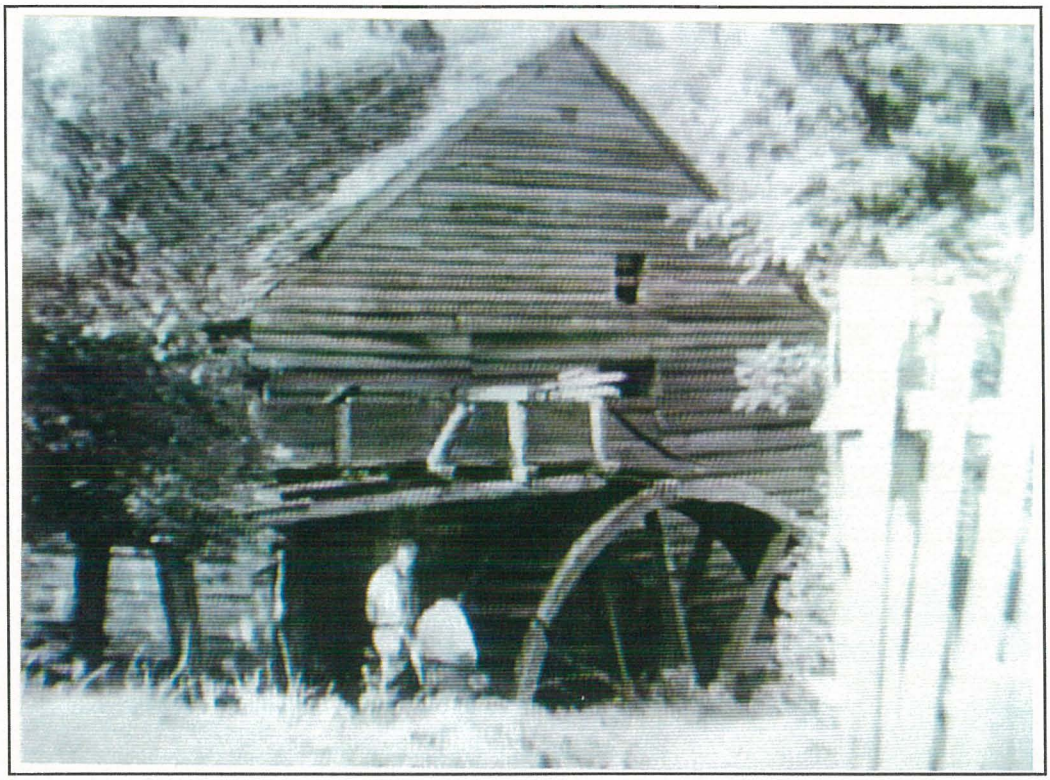
Mills

Up until the twentieth century, gristmills in the Blue Ridge were the historic equivalent of the modern convenience store. Because flour and meal had to be ground fresh, a trip to the local gristmill was a frequent occurrence and the traffic associated with the mill attracted other services, commonly including a general store. One early gristmill was established below Sperryville in the 1730s, and the need for settlers to the east to reach it was a major impetus to the construction of the road through Thornton Gap. By mid-century, there were at least a hundred gristmills operating around the Blue Ridge.[22]

Because mills tended to be located where there was a large population of farmers (as well as a water source with adequate flow), there were comparatively few mills located within the park's boundaries. Generally, what few mills there were within the park were located along the gaps. At Swift Run (Route 33), near the eastern boundary of the park, a gristmill operated by the Lam family was in service from around 1830 to 1930. The mill ground locally produced wheat and corn. When the park purchased the property, it was still operational and still in the Lam family. The structure was not maintained after it became part of the park and is no longer standing. Other mills inside the park included one along U.S. 211, called Triplett Mill, and one located on the Hazel River.

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[22]Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 143-4.



Unidentified mill, still photograph, from movie entitled "Shenandoah National Park" (NARA; College Park)

Sawmills were another important local industry. As early as 1800, a saw mill owned by Jonas Clark was operating at Thornton Gap.[23] By 1830, up-and-down saw mills (mills powered by a water wheel that used a vertical blade) appeared within the park area.[24] Eventually portable steam-powered rotary-blade mills replaced the up-and-down mills. Like grist mills, sawmills also attracted other local industries to their vicinity. The Thornton Gap area west of the ridge became a center of small industry, including a carding mill (a water-powered mill that prepared wool for spinning), and a tannery.[25]

The park area also had stave mills, one of which was located at what is now the South River Picnic Area. Around the turn of the century, with the development of large-scale commercial cold-storage facilities, apple orchards in the mountains were expanded. This created a greater demand for barrels to transport the apples, and a resulting increase in the demand for staves. Generally, staves were purchased from the stave mills, and coopers hired by the orchard owners assembled the barrels on site.

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[23]Reeder, *Shenandoah Secrets,* p. 6.

[24]Steere, "Report on Preservation of Structures," p. 22.

[25]Reeder, *Shenandoah Secrets,* p. 15.

Tanneries

Tanneries represented both an important service industry for mountain residents and an opportunity for them to earn cash income. The earliest tanneries tended to be associated with the plantations, but, in time, some expanded to service customers in the surrounding neighborhood. When residents had hides to process, they took them (and tan bark) to the tanner, who would tan them for the price of a few hides. Residents also sold tan bark and hides to the tanner for cash.

Originally, all of these operations used chestnut bark as the source of tannin for the process. To harvest the chestnut bark, trees were cut and peeled in the spring when the sap was running. The bark was then stacked and, once dry, it was ground using a horse-driven mill. The hides were then layered with the ground bark in a vat, water was added, and the mixture was left to cure.

In the 1700s and 1800s, there were dozens of local tanneries in the park area that utilized local materials in the tanning process. In addition, however, local tanning materials including chestnut-oak bark, quercitron (the inner bark of black oaks), and sumac were exported from the region to as far away as Europe. In 1890, 20,000 tons of tanbark per year were shipped out on the railroad from the nearby town of Stanley alone.[26] After the Civil War, large commercial tanneries, such as the Virginia Oak Tannery in Luray, moved into the area to take advantage of the local supplies of tanning materials. They, however, relied almost exclusively on hides from the Midwest and produced leather for outside markets. Later, chemicals replaced natural products in the tanning process, and the market for chestnut bark all but ended.

Lumbering

The chestnut tree was an important component of the mountain economy because, in addition to its bark, its nuts and wood could also be sold for cash. Chestnut was popular for use as telephone poles or railroad ties because of its straight growth pattern and resistance to rot. In addition, it had few knots and thus was easily made into wagon-wheel rims, shingles, tools, etc. Baled chestnut twigs were used to prevent erosion and new spring growth (called "Honeydew") was cut, stored, and used for feed during the winter. All of these uses of the chestnut came to a halt as a result of the chestnut blight that came into the United States, likely from Asia, around 1904. It reached the park area in the 1920s, and within a few years it had destroyed virtually all of the chestnuts in the region. At the time of the establishment of the park, large areas of dead chestnut trees, denuded of leaves, formed ghost forests.

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[26]Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 161.



Entrance to Big Meadows, showing dead chestnut trees, 1936 (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

Lumbering was another major industrial activity in the park area during this period. As discussed below, before the Civil War, large quantities of timber were harvested to provide wood for charcoal used in the iron furnaces. The peak in demand for lumber (versus that for wood) in the park area came in the first decade of the twentieth century.[27] The boom was a result of rebuilding after the Civil War and the increasing demand for timbers for the railroad. Because they were not large landowners who could sell their timber, they generally did not profit significantly from the boom. Some did bring small quantities of lumber to the mill from which they were able to get a small amount of cash. By the time the park was established, much of the "forested" land was virtually denuded of all hardwoods: chestnut-oaks for bark, and other hardwoods for lumber.[28] Studies done at that time indicated that most of the land that was to become part of the park had limited forest resources. One 1914 study indicated that most of the usable timber was already cut from the west slopes of the Blue Ridge (most for charcoal), and the east slope, although better preserved, had only 9,700 acres that qualified as virgin forest. This widespread loss of forest resulted in erosion and consequent damage to streams.

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[27]Steere, "Report on Preservation of Structures," p. 23.

[28]Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 169.

Mining and Smelting

Mining was another industry that, conducted largely by outside forces, generally brought little direct profit to the residents of the mountains.[29] Mining for three types of minerals—iron, copper, and manganese—was conducted within the park area. However, the first metal to be extensively exploited in the park area, and the one that had the most far-reaching impacts on the area was iron. Located mostly along the western foothills of the park, iron mining operations were at times the most important economic enterprises taking place in the park area. The smelting process was labor intensive. One Blue Ridge operation required more than a hundred workers, with other necessary work such as procuring the wood and the charcoal requiring almost an equal number of men.[30] Some, although not all, of the iron operations were carried out with slave labor. The actual mining of the ore was accomplished using open pits. Lumps of iron ore were selected and hauled to the furnace, having been washed on route. It required 180 bushels of charcoal, 1,600 pounds of limestone (which was used to help remove the impurities), and three tons of ore to produce one ton of pig iron.

A total of four iron furnaces, operating either in or near the park, relied on charcoal produced from the park's forests.[31] Charcoal fueled the furnaces but also was an essential ingredient in the iron (carbon monoxide from the charcoal combined with the oxygen in the ore to produce pure iron). To satisfy the need for wood for charcoal, many park lands were repeatedly cut over. Some of the owners of the furnaces also owned the land that was cut for charcoal production while others simply purchased the wood or the right to cut it. The charcoal production process involved stacking the wood and covering it first with leaves and then with clay. Because charcoal produced by slow burning was of higher quality (less water and fewer impurities) the pile had to be closely watched to control the temperature and the rate of burning. The process took one to two weeks.

Of the three furnaces operating in the Shenandoah area, the Mt. Vernon Furnace is the only one that today survives to any extent.. Located in the park on the south bank of Madison Run above the town of Grottoes, much of the masonry of the massive furnace[32] is still intact. The Mt. Vernon Furnace was owned by the Miller family, which had operated iron furnaces in Augusta County since the Revolutionary War. The first Mt. Vernon Furnace dated to 1830 and was constructed by Colonel John Miller. The furnace was destroyed during the Civil War and was rebuilt in the 1870s. It was abandoned a few years later, when one of the iron deposits on which it was dependent was no longer available. By this time, too, the economics of iron production had shifted and Virginia iron (which before the war had often relied on slave labor) could no longer compete with Pennsylvania iron that

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[29]Steere, "Report on Preservation of Structures," p. 29.

[30]Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 76.

[31]According to one source, it takes 8,000 acres of forest to support each charcoal blast furnace. Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 77.

[32]The raw materials—the ore, the limestone, and the charcoal—were dropped in from an embankment behind the furnace.

was produced using less expensive anthracite coal, rather that charcoal, as fuel.

The Mt. Vernon furnace used a number of sources of iron. One deposit of ore that was used in the furnace, also located within the park, was located in the Miller Run area to the south of the furnace site. A narrow-gauge railway line led to the furnace. The site of the furnace also included an office building, small dwellings for workers, and a shed that sheltered the furnace, none of which remain today.

Copper was mined sporadically (albeit unproductively) at many locations throughout the park. The first copper mining in what was to become the park was done in 1850 in the Stony Man Peak area. It was operated by the Miner's Lode and Copper Company, a concern with New York financial backing. According to G. Freeman Pollock, the developer of the Skyland Resort and heir to this venture, the copper ore was smelted on the site of what is now Skyland. Charcoal was made at Furnace Field, on the site of what later became Skyland's tennis courts. The vein of copper ran out before the Civil War.[33] Beginning in 1902, the Blue Ridge Copper Company operated a copper mine in the Dark Hollow area (on Rose River Loop Tail east of Fishers Gap). Although there was a narrow vein of rich copper on the spot, the high cost of extracting the metal made the venture unprofitable.

The most profitable mining within the park area was for manganese that was conducted in the Crimora area. Although the deposit was discovered much earlier, exploitation of the metal came after 1856 when it was discovered that adding manganese to the smelting process produced stronger steel. Using both shafts and open pits, the Virginia Manganese Company began mining around Crimora in 1867. By 1880, Crimora was said to be the most productive manganese mine in the world.[34] From 1882 to 1892, the mine was leased to Andrew Carnegie's American Manganese Company. A new boom took place during World War II, when demand shot up due to the loss of foreign suppliers. In 1944, the mine was the largest single manganese producer in the United States.[35] When less expensive imported sources became available again after the war, demand fell and the Crimora mine shut down permanently in 1957. Although none of the mining structures are still standing, Crimora Lake (used to supply water for washing the ore) is still visible from Skyline Drive, as are other greenish tinged lakes (flooded mining pits) to the north.

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[33]Steere, "Report on Preservation of Structures," p. 30.

[34]Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 85.

[35]Reeder, *Shenandoah Secrets,* p. 83. All of the post-1935 mining operations took place just outside of the park boundaries.

RELIGION

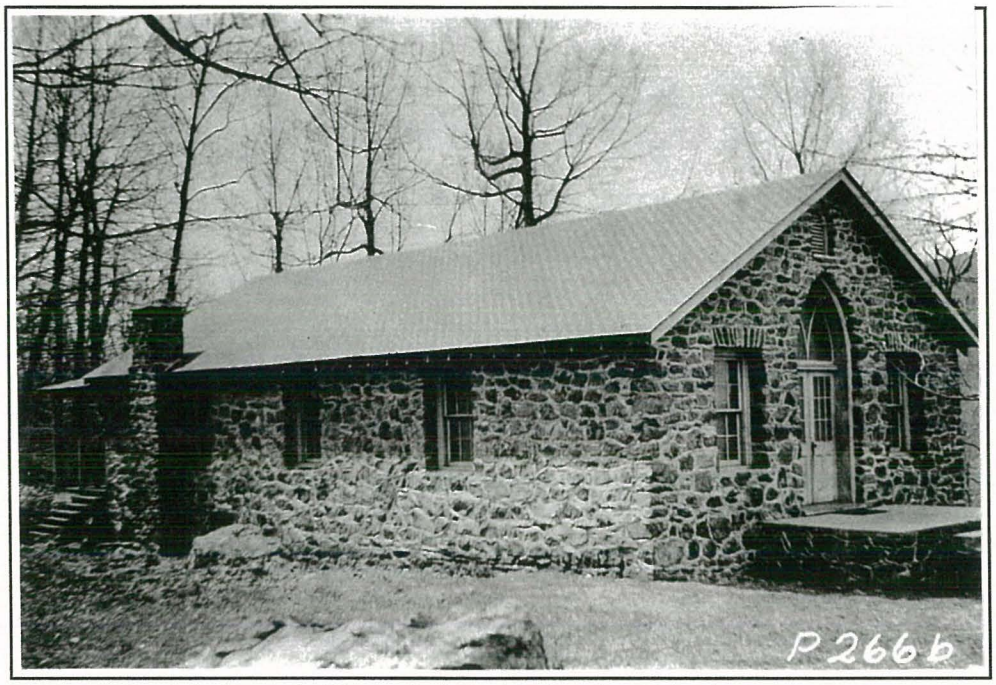
Standing historic resources in the park area from this era that illustrate the theme of "Religion" include a single resource, the Simmons Gap Mission Hall. The sites of many other resources that are no longer extant, however, can still be identified.

The first missionaries to concentrate their efforts on the Shenandoah area—and those with the greatest impact on the area of the Blue Ridge—were the Episcopalians, who began work in the area in the early 1880s. Frederick William Neve, an Englishman, was assigned in 1888 by his church to a parish in Albemarle County. After meeting some of the Blue Ridge mountain residents in his church, the people of the Blue Ridge became his personal crusade. Neve preached throughout the mountain areas and brought back stories of the people's impoverished condition (in terms of both physical and spiritual needs). These stories helped to raise money for his cause. In 1904 he became Archdeacon of a newly established Diocese that covered the Blue Ridge.

By 1900, Neve had raised enough money through donations to hire a teacher, Angeline Fitzhugh. She taught local children first in a donated cabin and later in a small frame schoolhouse at Simmons Gap. The schoolhouse doubled as a church on those occasions when a minister was available. Between 1900 and 1928, Neve expanded facilities at Simmons Gap and in 1906, a masonry chapel was added to the collection of frame buildings at Simmons Gap.[36] The only standing religious structure in the park today, the Simmons Gap Mission Hall, was erected around 1925. This building was used by parishioners for various church functions as well as community meetings and social activities including square dances. With various church-related structures, Simmons Gap by the 1920s and 30s became a thriving community that featured a general store and post office in addition to the church buildings. After the park was established, the stone chapel was moved to a location near Free Union. With the exception of the Mission Hall, which is used as the administrative offices for the park's South District, other buildings were dismantled or fell down.

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[36]Although some sources have indicated that this was a stone building, photographs (c. 1904-13) of what was called "Holy Innocent's Church" at Simmons Gap show a rock-faced concrete block building. Around this time a rock-faced concrete block school house was also built. See "Protestant Episcopal Mission Activities: 1904-10," (Lot 6986), Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



Simmons Gap Mission, n.d. (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

Neve's 1900-28 expansions at Simmons Gap were echoed all along the ridge. Another early facility sponsored by Neve was the school and mission at Loft Mountain, which opened in 1902. The number of religious facilities along the ridge continued to expand up until the park's establishment. Other Episcopalian church/school sites (none of which are standing) included: Mission Home (church, hospital, and school east of Simmons Gap and Loft Mountain), Bacon Hollow School, Pocosin Mission's upper mission and school (north of Dean Mountain), Tanners Ridge School and Chapel (near Big Meadows), and Pine Grove Mission Church.[37]

Of these religious facilities, the Pocosin settlement was one of the most extensive and included a number of frame buildings as well as a stone schoolhouse/chapel. The settlement was largely the inspiration of Cora Virginia Roche.[38] Originally services were held at her home where a chapel had been added on to house parishioners. Later, she donated 10 acres of land for the mission. These and other church facilities were generally staffed by women volunteers, and, in many cases the mission

[37]Neve did live to see the creation of Shenandoah National Park. He died on November 19, 1948.

[38]See generally, John W. Stoneberger, *Memories of a Lewis Mountain Man*, Vienna VA: PATC, 1993. Roche contacted the Anglican church about the lack of religious and educational facilities in the mountain area and the church sent the Reverend Frank Persons who initially lived in the Roche home.

worker's home became a center of community life.[39]

Although the largest missions and schools in the park were Episcopalian, other denominations were also active in the area. The Church of the Brethren, a faith that traveled to the area with the German immigrants, provided a teacher for the one-room school in Bacon Hollow that was in operation in 1909 (and is now no longer standing). There were also community churches that were organized, and sometimes ministered, by local residents. In this category were the Dark Hollow and Dean Mountain churches.

[39]Reeder, *Shenandoah Secrets,* p. 153.

RECREATION/ARTS: FOLKWAYS

Based on existing information, the theme of "Recreation/Arts: Folkways" is not illustrated by extant architectural or landscape resources in the park.

Although many think of the early mountain residents as having a distinct "culture," it appears that the residents of the park area did not think of themselves as a distinct group or culture. To a great extent, it was the establishment of the park that drew the residents together into a recognizable group. By the 1880s, however, the idea of the mountain residents being uniquely different is a concept that was common among outsiders to the mountains.[40]

The diversity of the mountain residents makes it difficult to make broad assumptions concerning their common cultural characteristics. In some respects, they are diverse enough that they defy, or at least make difficult, categorization. In this regard, Darwin Lambert cites the example of the Fox family who acquired a 450-acre site on Dickey Ridge in 1856.[41] Thomas Fox built a home on the site and, with the help of slaves, farmed the area. After emancipation, the Fox family continued the farm operation without slave labor. It is interesting to compare Thomas Fox's grandson, Samuel George "Buddy" Fox (born in 1892), with his grandfather. Thomas Fox owned slaves, was well educated and was reasonably well off. Buddy, on the other hand, received little education, and without hired help, spent long days as a child and adult cutting trees and peeling tanbark and farming. He and his father produced moonshine for family and friends, and although denying the fact that he was superstitious, had beliefs common in the mountains and elsewhere in rural areas. Thus although Thomas Fox easily fits within the "gentry" class and cultural category, his grandson fits within the stereotypical (and often inaccurate) "mountain folk" image.

Because of the residents' diversity, as well as the early 20th century decline in population and increase in the cash economy, specific cultural traditions/folkways distinctive to the park land are somewhat uncertain. Certain crafts and pastimes, however, most linked to local natural resources, were common among the mountain people and continued until the establishment of the park. Herbert Barbee, a noted sculptor and park resident stated that domestic crafts among the residents of the park area "bore unmistakable evidence of a high order of artistic talent."[42]

Two crafts that fit this category were whittling and basketmaking. Children were taught the skills of their elders by whittling toys from cedar blocks, imitating wood carvings produced by their elders. Adults produced wood pipes and tool handles among other items. Basket weaving was a traditional mountain craft that survives today in areas around the park. The Nicholson and Corbin families were known for producing split-white-oak baskets. It is not clear, however, to what extent the baskets produced reflected traditional designs or methods of production. In the 1930s, specific programs were

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[40] Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 171.

[41] Lambert, *The Undying Past*, pp. 172-175.

[42] Steere, "Report on Preservation of Structures," p. 16.

initiated to revive folk arts and crafts among the park residents. Some crafts, such as weaving, which were practiced into the twentieth century in the area, had all but died out among the park residents by the time of the park's establishment.

A practical craft common in the mountain area was the production of shingles. Shingle making was a traditional source of cash income for many mountain people. Generally, shingle makers contracted with the owner of a timber tract for the "shingle rights" to a particular tract of land. To produce the shingles, cedar logs were cut into blocks, then split along the grain. The shingles were sold locally.

Another craft practiced within the park was the production of braided rugs. Rugs, produced by a resident of Milam Gap were used by the Hoovers at their camp.[43]

[43]See Dorothy Noble Smith, Recollections: The People of Blue Ridge Remember, Virginia: McClure Printing Co., 1983.

MILITARY: CIVIL WAR

The theme "Military: Civil War" during the period from 1669 to 1935 is illustrated by a single resource in the park, the Brown's Gap Civil War Gun Emplacement.

Although Civil War movements within the park boundaries were generally incidental to movements outside of the area, the Civil War did influence the history of the park area.

Strategically, the Blue Ridge provided protection for the valley, which was referred to as the "breadbasket" of the Confederacy. The most extensive Civil War action in the area came in the Valley Campaign of 1862. At the beginning of the campaign, Maj. Gen. Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson's troops established defensive positions at Swift Run Gap, thereby foiling an attempt by the Union's Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Banks to drive Jackson out of the valley by preventing reinforcements from reaching him. Banks gave up on the tact when Jackson reached Swift Run before him. Jackson's command may have occupied the old Mountain Hotel (Shipp Tavern). After Jackson's troops were replaced by Maj. Gen. Richard Ewell's troops, Jackson proceeded to Port Republic and then to Brown's Gap. At this point, although it was assumed that Jackson was heading to Richmond, he actually doubled back through the mountains at Rockfish Gap and proceeded to west of Staunton, then to New Market, and Luray. Meanwhile, Ewell's troops moved from their Swift Run Gap positions and intersected Jackson's troops at Luray. After a string of battles, Jackson's force holed up at Brown's Gap for a few days. After his sojourn at Brown's Gap, Jackson was ordered to Richmond, and he withdrew through the gap to join Lee. The overall result of Jackson's valley campaign was to tie up the much larger and stronger Union forces for a significant period of time.

The only remaining physical evidence of the war in the park is the stone breastworks at Brown's Gap. They are roughly 500 feet long and run generally north/south. The breastworks may have been constructed during Jackson's sojourn at Brown's Gap. However, some historians date the breastworks to 1864, when Lt. Gen. Jubal Early's men took refuge in the gap after defeats by Union forces.

Despite the strong support for the Confederacy in the area, there was some sympathy for the Union cause among the valley's Germans and certain mountain residents. However, there were no overt actions on their part.[44]

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[44]Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p.101.

ARCHITECTURE

Most of the standing resources dating from 1669 to 1935 that fall under this theme, including the Corbin and Jones Mountain Cabins, the Headquarters farmhouses and associated outbuildings, the Snead Farm Barn, and the Simmons Gap Mission, also fall under other themes.

With a few possible exceptions, buildings that existed when the park was established were not architect-designed. For the most part they were practical vernacular structures. Buildings originally located in the park area represented a range of periods of construction, material, and styles similar to nearby areas of Virginia. In terms of building type, buildings standing at the time of the opening of the park included mills, taverns, churches, schools, stores, houses, and a variety of outbuildings.



Unidentified cabin within park area, c. 1935 (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

Of these, dwellings and barns were the predominant building types. At the time of the establishment of the park, there were more than 400 houses in the park area. In general, the houses were small vernacular buildings, typically log cabins. A 1934 study indicated that typical houses were one-story (with attic) log buildings with three or four bedrooms (although some had as many as nine or as few as one). The houses generally had a gabled roof covered with tin or shakes, a porch, and a stone chimney. Based on historic photographs taken soon after the park was established, it appears that V notches were most commonly used in these buildings, although square notches were also used. Weatherboards were commonly used as sheathing material (inside as well as out) although hand-split

shingles were also common. Frequently, a lean-to addition was added to the side of the building to provide additional space.

Today, there are two remaining resources that reflect this type of typical wood dwelling: Corbin Cabin and Jones Mountain Cabin. The many other cabins from this period that existed when the park opened have either been demolished or have deteriorated to such an extent that they can no longer be considered to be standing structures. For approximately half of these deteriorated buildings, some physical evidence remains on site, typically chimneys or foundations.

Corbin Cabin is typical of mountain cabins that existed in the area before the establishment of the park. It is located in the central section of the park to the north of Skyland (1.5 miles east of Skyline Drive, between milepost 38 and 39). The cabin was constructed by George T. Corbin around 1910 on his four-acre site in Nicholson Hollow. Corbin cut and hewed the logs with an ax and split the shingles for the building himself and with the help of neighbors, he constructed the walls and the roof of the building in a single day. The 22-foot-by-16-foot building originally consisted of a one-room first floor and an attic. A kitchen addition was added to the rear of the building prior to 1936. At the time Corbin was evicted from the property in 1938, he was in the process of completing a lean-to addition to the side of the building and putting on a new metal roof. This lean-to addition was eventually completed in 1954, when the building was renovated by the Potomac Appalachian Trail Club (PATC) for use as an overnight shelter for hikers. The building is of log construction, and uses saddle and "V" notching. It has stone chimneys and foundations and a tin roof (now covered with other roofing materials). The building's original front porch and stairs were replaced in kind by the PATC. It was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1989.

The Jones Mountain Cabin, a two-room, two-story chestnut log cabin with a high front porch, was the home of Harvey Nicholson. It is near the east boundary0 of the park, and is reached via the Staunton River and Jones Mountain Trails. When other buildings in the park were being demolished, the cabin was retained for use by hikers. Following the war, however, the trails in the area were not maintained and they, as well as the cabin fell into disuse. Severely deteriorated by the 1970s, the building was restored and improved by the PATC and opened for the use of hikers in 1975.[45] At this time, lumber from a shed was reused to construct the new porch. Other changes included opening the attic to produce a loft area, and adding a new roof and second window to the second floor.

For more affluent owners in the park area, the predominant house type was the two-story, side-gable farmhouse, often referred to as an I-house. I-houses are a housing type found throughout the country. They are usually described as a mid-19th to early twentieth century symmetrical, two-story, one-room-deep building with central hall/stair. In this category are two houses located in the Headquarters area of the park. The first of these, HQ-0217 is a two-story, side-gable, wood-frame house with a one-story front porch and two one-story additions. It has stone foundations, a standing-seam metal roof, a brick exterior chimney, and painted clapboard siding. Although little or no historical information is available

[45]Parts of the building, including the foundation and the chimney, date to about 1855. They were constructed by Albert Nichols. Information on the cabin can be found in Tom Floyd, *Lost Trails and Forgotten People: The Story of Jones Mountain*, Vienna, VA: PATC, 1981.

about this house, it is believed to date from 1916.[46]



Pre-park house at Headquarters Area (HQ-0217), 1995 (Robinson & Associates, Inc.)

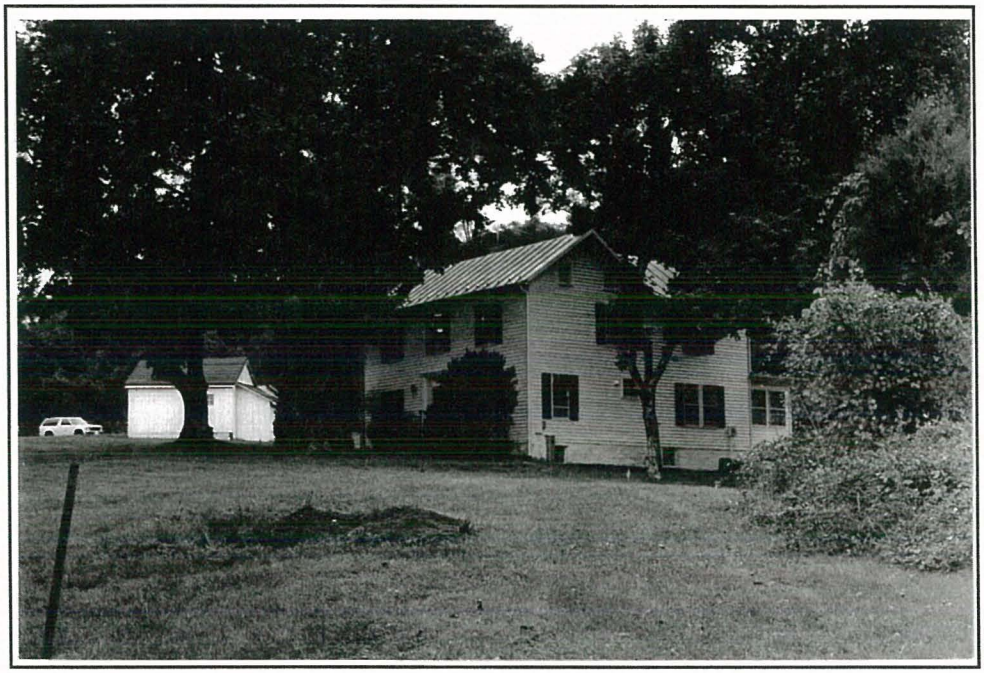
The other surviving I-house type building in the park is HQ-0218, currently the Center for Resources. This too is a two-story, side gable frame building. The building has clapboard siding and rear additions. Like HQ-0217, little or no historical information is available about this house; however, it was apparently constructed before 1900.[47] After establishment of the park, the building was used for a number of years as the superintendent's residence. Around 1942, the building was reconditioned using Emergency Conservation Work/Civilian Conservation Corps foremen and technicians who remained in the park after official projects ended.[48]

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[46]"Determination of Significance" statement, 1994, files of the Shenandoah National Park (DSC Facility Development Plan Project). According to the 1973 Sellars Report, the building was constructed by the family of Mrs. John Shenk of Luray, VA.

[47]The 1973 Sellars Report states that the house was constructed "about 80 years ago" by the father of Mrs. John Shenk of Luray. Changes to the building include various additions and the removal of the front porch.

[48]Darwin Lambert, "Shenandoah National Park: Administrative History 1924-1976." Luray, Virginia, 1979. Photocopy. p. 287.



Pre-park house at Headquarters Area (HQ-0218), 1995 (Robinson & Associates, Inc.)

The two I-houses in the headquarters area of the park are representative of a number of slightly larger homes that were extant when the park was created. There were, however, other, even more substantial and older houses standing in the park when it opened. In this category was the Barbee family residence, a stone house located at Thornton Gap. This house, referred to as "the Bower," was likely constructed in the 1770s.[49] At the time of the establishment of the park, it was considered to be the oldest house in the park.

The land around most of the houses within the park area was involved in some way in agricultural production and most houses had several associated outbuildings to accommodate these activities. Originally, houses were surrounded with a variety of outbuildings, typically including barns, or sheds, corn cribs, smokehouses, outhouses, stone walls and springhouses. Both of the headquarters area I-houses still have one or two frame outbuildings, now used as sheds or garages. The only other surviving outbuilding of note is a frame barn, originally associated with the Snead homestead. It is located south of Dickey Ridge, approximately a half-mile off of Skyline Drive.

Although there were at one time a handful of school buildings in the park area, now only one severely

[49]Reeder, *Shenandoah Secrets,* p. 8.

altered building survives.[50] Based on photographs and documentary evidence, most of the schools constructed in the park were simple, unadorned frame buildings. A photograph of the Hull School, located off of the Hull School Trail, shows a frame building with tongue and groove siding, a single door, and no windows on the front facade.

Like the schools, at one time there were many buildings with religious associations located in the park area. Today only one building remains, the Simmons Gap Mission Hall, erected around 1925. It is a one-story fieldstone building with front and side porches. Originally the building had a double Gothic arch door, a porch, and a staircase on the north facade. The Simmons Gap Mission Hall is atypical of the church-related buildings that were extant when the park opened. Most such buildings (including churches and small buildings to house missionaries or clothing exchanges) were of simple frame construction. Illustrative was the Dark Hollow Church that had the appearance of a one-room schoolhouse, with a single entrance door, two windows on both of the side facades and fish-tail shingling on the area below the roof. A bell in the belfry was reputedly donated by President Hoover.[51]

Although no longer extant, the Old Rag store and post office, located near the intersection of the Weakly Hollow Road and the Old Rag Road, had the outward appearance of a cabin. Photos show a one-story log building with a single door in the front facade and windows on the side and in the front. The building had stone foundations and a shingle roof.

In terms of industrial structures standing at the time of the acquisition of land for the park, Lam's Mill at Swift Run Gap (no longer standing) was one of the better preserved. A one-story oak log building with weatherboard walls and stone foundations, its logs were hewn on both the outside and inside. The building's gable ends were framed with square timbers and the end of the mill toward the water wheel was covered with clapboard to protect it from water. Small, flat pieces of wood were used as chinking. The wooden water wheel, which was eighteen-feet in diameter, was turned by water running through the millrace of the building.

Charcoal blast furnaces were another type of structure common in the pre-park years. Those used in iron production in the Shenandoah area were of stone construction with an inner chamber (where the smelting occurred) lined with brick. The furnaces were large—roughly 15 to 20 feet square and 30 to 40 feet tall. The only (partially) extant example in the park today is the Mt. Vernon furnace located on the south bank of Madison Run above the town of Grottoes.[52] Today much of the masonry of the massive furnace is still visible.

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[50]The only surviving schoolhouse in the park is the Hoover Schoolhouse. The building was designed by architects from the Virginia Department of Education. It was moved to the Big Meadows area and is currently used as an office building. It was severely altered to accommodate residential uses.

[51]Reeder, *Shenandoah Secrets*, p. 138.

[52]To reach the furnace follow the Madison Run Road west out of the park, continue along the state route for .1 mile to a point opposite a house. The furnace ruin is visible on the far side of the stream.

LANDSCAPE

No buildings relating to the landscape theme during this period are extant in the park today. Landscape features that date from this period consist of over 100 cemeteries scattered throughout the park, plant material, stone walls, roads, and retaining walls (many of which relate to building sites and graveyards).

In 1669, when John Lederer rode through the area that is now the park, what he saw was a heavily wooded mountain chain largely unchanged by human hands. Because it had never been cut to any significant extent, the "vast forest" was different from what it is today.

The impact of man on the natural landscape of the park area was greater during the period from 1669 to 1935 than at any other time in its history. Most of the major effects relate to loss of forest resources due to farming, grazing, timber cutting, and the chestnut blight (which was only indirectly caused by man). At the time the park was established, roughly one-third of the land (approximately fifty square miles) was in open pasture with most of the rest of the acreage in scrub forest.[53] Only a few acres of the park remained in virgin forest. Although in the years following the establishment of the park, most of the park's land was allowed to return to forest, today less than one percent of the forest land in the park is more than one hundred years old. Big Meadows has been maintained as an example of the type of open field that was common before the establishment of the park.

Other remaining effects on the landscape from the settlement period include domesticated plants such as fruiting bushes (grapes, raspberries etc.), fruiting trees (apple, peach), and introduced flowering plants (such as daffodils) at the site of abandoned homesites. Other exotic species introduced by man and found in the park today include Asian bittersweet, kudzu vine, tree-of-heaven, and princess-tree.

Perhaps the most eloquent landscape features reminiscent us of this period and of the people who lived on the land before the park was established, are the small cemeteries (estimated as at least 100) scattered throughout the park.[54] Although most of the cemeteries are not maintained, burial stones, and funerary plantings such as boxwood and periwinkle, often still remain.

Man's influence on the land during this period also included a variety of changes to the terrain caused by erosion (due to timber cutting, grazing etc.) and intentional changes such as the creation of road beds. As discussed in further detail below, the erosion problems were addressed by the Depression-era programs that were operating in the park in its early years.

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[53]Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 131.

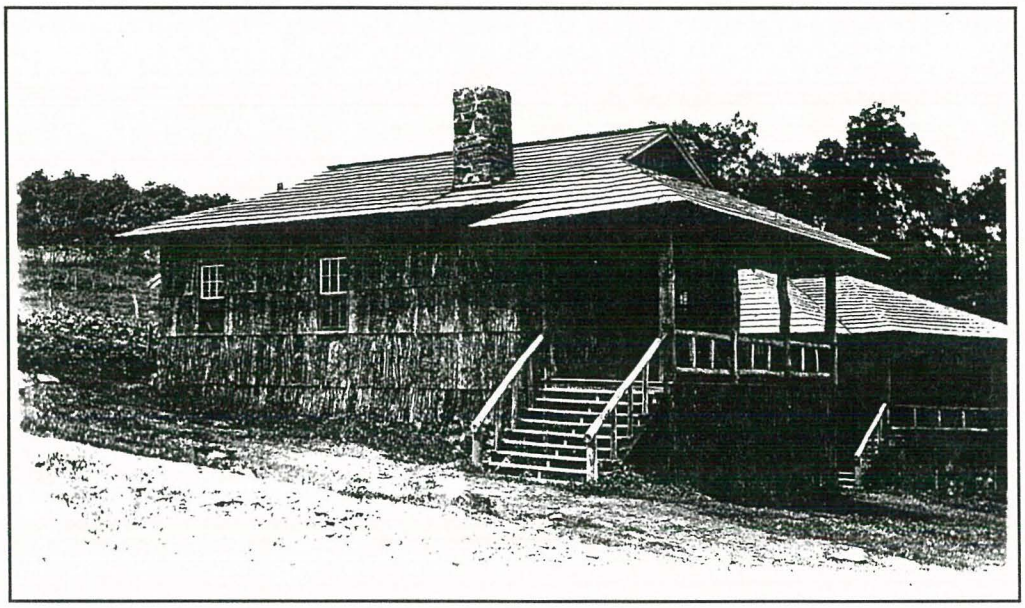
[54]Potomac Appalachian Trail Club, *Appalachian Trail Guide to Shenandoah National Park*, (PATC, Vienna: 1994) p. 52.

RESOURCES ILLUSTRATING THE THEME

The following extant resources illustrate the theme of Settlement and Pre-park Development in the Shenandoah National Park Vicinity, 1669-1935:

Simmons Gap Mission (Determined Eligible for the National Register 12/23/82)
Pre-twentieth Century Headquarters Residences (and associated outbuildings)
(Determined Eligible for the National Register 2/10/1995)
Snead Farm Barn (Dickey Ridge)
Corbin Cabin (Listed on the National Register 1/13/1989)
Jones Mountain Cabin
Brown's Gap Civil War Gun Emplacement
Various Pre-Park Roads/Trails/Gaps
Various Pre-Park Stone Walls and Retaining Walls
Approximately 100 Pre-Park Cemeteries (Not generally eligible for the National Register.)
Mt. Vernon Furnace
Blue Ridge Tunnel (National Historic Civil Engineering Landmark)

EARLY RECREATIONAL USES IN THE PARK AREA AND ESTABLISHMENT OF SHENANDOAH NATIONAL PARK, 1850-1935



INTRODUCTION

The establishment of the park was a particularly long and convoluted process involving the work of dozens of individuals and groups. However, much of the park's creation can be told through the stories of two recreational facilities located within what was to become the park: Skyland and Camp Hoover. The later is also indicative of the involvement of Herbert Hoover in the park. He, along with Franklin Delano Roosevelt, played strong roles in bringing plans for the development of the park to fruition. Hoover's role was particularly tied to the construction of Skyline Drive. It and the Appalachian Trail preceded establishment of the park by a few years. Both were important to the park's establishment. Roosevelt's role was linked to one of his favorite New Deal agencies, the Emergency Conservation Work/Civilian Conservation Corps, which was responsible for much of the infrastructure development at the park.

RECREATION

Extant resources related to the theme of "Recreation" from 1850-1935 in the park include approximately 20 contributing resources to the Skyland Historic District. (Other contributing resources at Skyland fall under other contexts.) These resources consist of buildings, archeological sites, and landscape features/structures. A number of other resources, such as those associated with Camp Hoover, the Appalachian Trail, and the Skyline Drive, although they too represent recreational uses, are included in other themes. [55]

The period from 1820 to 1914 has been identified as the period during which the resort (and the hotel as a building type) "reached its apogee of development."[56] In America, resorts satisfied Americans' desire for movement and variety as well as their aspirations for luxury. With the expansion of the middle class, more resorts catering to a variety of budgets could be supported.

One of the earliest types of resorts was that oriented toward health concerns. Typical of this was one of the first resorts in the park area, the Black Rock Springs Hotel, which was constructed in 1830.[57] It was located in what is now the south district of the park, on the ridge off of Paine Run Road, half a mile below Skyline Drive. The resort built its trade in large part on its "restorative" mineral springs and was a favorite summer resort for tourists from tidewater Virginia, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. During its years of operation, the hotel overcame a number of misfortunes including three major fires, and the effects of the Civil War. After the latter, it reopened to feature "dancing, card playing, croquet, tenpins, riding, and church picnics."[58] Around the turn of the century, the hotel again faced difficulties, including a law suit initiated by unhappy stockholders and competition from a nearby boarding house and amusement building. The final, 1909 fire that destroyed all of the Black Rock development did not affect the competing nearby boarding house, and after the destruction of the original, the latter adopted the Black Rock Springs name. (This hotel continued to operate until the creation of the park at which time it was demolished.) In addition to the main hotel, the original resort featured two curving rows of neat wood-frame and clapboard cottages. At its peak, the resort accommodated around 36 people at the hotel and more in the 30 cottages.

By the late nineteenth century, with the greater urbanization of the United States, Americans increasingly sought out resorts that provided an escape from the city. Another early pre-park resort

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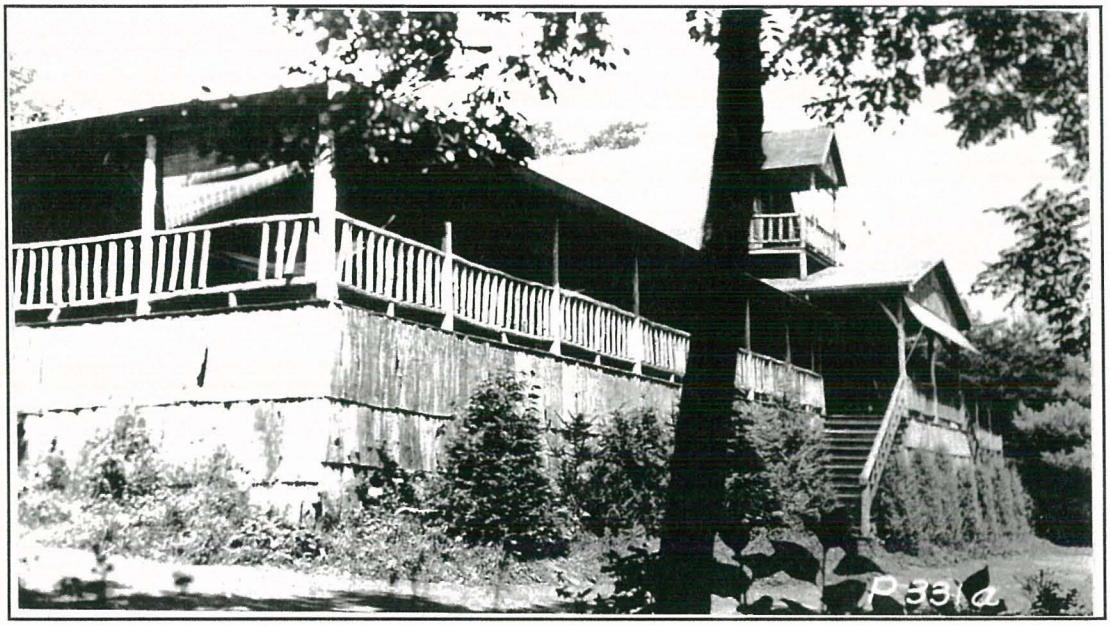
[55]Two cabins now in use for storage at Big Meadows (Cottage A and B), were moved from Swift Run, where they were constructed by M.M. Mundy prior to 1933. These small cabins likely were constructed for lodging for visitors and thus would also fall under this theme.

[56]Richard Guy Wilson, "Nineteenth Century American Resorts and Hotels," in Richard Guy Wilson, ed., *Victorian Resorts and Hotels*, Philadelphia: The Victorian Society, 1982, p. 11.

[57]Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 190.

[58]Reeder, *Shenandoah Secrets*, p. 164.

that provided such an opportunity was the ridgetop Panorama resort. Its location, near what is now the Thornton Gap Entrance Station, took advantage of the area's scenic vistas. In operation by the first decades of the twentieth century, Panorama eventually included a hotel, gasoline station, cabins, and a restaurant. The hotel was a long structure with a large veranda running the length of the building constructed of stripped logs. Executed in the rustic style, the lower portion of the building was covered with chestnut bark. The restaurant/tea room remained in place until 1960 when the U.S. 211 cloverleaf was constructed.[59] (The hotel was razed by the CCC between 1935 and 1936.) The cabins at Panorama were small frame cottages generally with three or four bedrooms and shingle or composition exterior walls. At least one had a rustic log porch.[60]



Panorama Hotel, 1935 (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

Skyland Resort and Early Efforts to Establish Shenandoah National Park

The best known pre-park commercial resort, and the one most influential in the park's development, promoted both its rural setting and the healthfulness of its air and water. Skyland, located in the central section of what was to become the park, was the creation of George Freeman Pollock.[61] Pollock was just seventeen when he saw, and became captivated with, this area of the Blue Ridge. The son of one

[59]Reeder, *Shenandoah Secrets,* p. 12.

[60]Park Building Survey. [A survey of various historic structures in Shenandoah National Park], 1946.

[61]More in-depth information on Skyland and its resources is contained in a draft National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for the property—"Skyland Historic District"-- prepared by Reed Engle.

of the owners of the Stoney Man Copper Mine, Pollock decided that the area's great beauty warranted enjoyment by more people, through the means of a resort. Pollock convinced his father and two other investors to buy out the other investors in the mine, and they founded the Blue Ridge Park Association. The approximately 6,000-acre tract in the Stoney Man/White Oak Canyon area shifted from a mining investment to a resort development.

Pollock began by organizing trips to the area to encourage investment, and then, in an effort to gain capital and promote development at Stoney Man, formed a partnership to produce lumber and build cottages at the resort. Within a few years, Pollock had succeeded in attracting a number of purchasers and had erected a few cabins at the site. Throughout this period, however, Pollock's venture was somewhat tenuous. In 1891, business had slowed to the point that he took a job as a timekeeper at Glen Echo Park in Maryland (just outside Washington, D.C.). In 1893, Pollock's father and one of the other investors in the property died, thereby clouding Pollock's claim to the land and producing extensive litigation. In the same year, many early structures burned in a fire caused by arson. Thereafter, slowly but surely, the Skyland development prospered as more cabins were built on the site, and relatively well-heeled visitors, most from the eastern seaboard, came to enjoy the surroundings. The cabins, nine of which are still standing, were generally modest structures executed in a rustic style. (See "Architecture" theme).

Pollock was a showman at heart, and through his efforts he succeeded in turning Skyland into a successful resort. The resort incorporated some elements of chautauquas (plays, dances, exhibitions etc.), such as he had encountered at Glen Echo Park. Pollock's extroverted nature was put to use in the theatrical events, huge bonfires, and mountain rides that he staged for the benefit of visitors. His relationship to his mountain neighbors was complicated. The resort supported many local residents either by being employed at the resort or by supplying the resort with food and supplies, including liquor. However, there was an underlying tension between the residents and Pollock attributable to a variety of factors, including differences in their background and how they used the land.

Pollock had always been a strong advocate for his corner of the Blue Ridge. For this reason, he was a key player in the converging movement to establish a national park in the area. The effort to establish a park was a long process that involved dozens of dedicated individuals and groups working at the local, regional and national level.

As early as 1901, there was legislation introduced in Congress proposing the idea of an eastern national park in the southern Appalachian mountains. This solidified an idea that had surfaced in the 1880s. The idea languished, however, and only in the 1920s was there real movement to achieve this objective. Stephen T. Mather, the first director of the National Park Service, in his 1923 *Annual Report,* again suggested an eastern national park, more specifically, one located in the Appalachian Mountains. His interest in an eastern park was in part in response to the large number of national parks already located in the west and the lack of parks within easy reach of residents of the eastern seaboard. The next year, the Southern Appalachian National Park Committee, which was organized by

Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work, began to actively seek sites for such a new park.[62]

This was a period of boosterism throughout the country, and many communities recognized the potential economic return that the creation of a national park could have for their communities. Letters of interest from representatives of dozens of different sites within the Appalachians poured into the committee. Early on, advocates for a park in the Smokey Mountains were particularly vocal. When it became apparent that the park would likely go to the Smokies, however, various groups in Virginia acted quickly to provide equal support for local spots for the park. In January 1924, a group of local Chambers of Commerce banded together to form Shenandoah Valley, Inc., the purpose of which was to "Proclaim to all the world the material resources and scenic attractions of the area."[63] L. Ferdinand Zerkle, the director of the new organization, with the help of Pollock, managed to convert the part of the group that initially advocated that the park be located on the Massanutten range. Zerkle and Shenandoah Valley Inc. went on to play vital roles throughout the long process of establishing the park.

To screen the large number of competing sites, the Park committee eventually developed a survey form. Harold Allen, a friend of Pollock's and frequent guest at Skyland, apprised Pollock of the committee. After securing a copy of the survey form, in the summer of 1924, fellow Skyland resident, George H. Judd and Allen helped Pollock complete the form. According to Pollock, "We all got excited with the task as it progressed, and no wonder: we were convinced that we had a real national park site to present and our answers not only sounded good, they actually *were* good."[64] Pollock thereafter began a full-fledged campaign to bring the park to Skyland. He personally visited members of the committee in Washington and brought with him glowing letters about the spot from his many well-placed guests. Pollock's lobbying, combined with the enthusiastic survey form, and the efforts of Shenandoah Valley, Inc., was successful in attracting a portion of the committee to come view the area. Pollock, with his characteristic persuasive showmanship, convinced the members of the committee of the potential of the Skyland site. Thereafter, the full committee returned to the site, and as a result, ended up endorsing the Blue Ridge area as the first national park in the southern Appalachians. (The committee also endorsed the Smokey Mountains for the second national park site in the mid-Atlantic area.) Although the closeness of the site to such a large portion of the population was persuasive, Pollock's salesmanship also played an important role in winning the support of the committee. His efforts to win the committee's support varied from orchestrating moonlight horseback rides, to erecting viewing towers and constructing paths to make the vistas more easily visible to park committee

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[62]Visitorship at existing parks, and interest in establishing new national parks, increased during this period for a number of reasons. Among these factors was the continuation of the movement to escape urban areas that had given rise to many earlier resorts. Americans were more interested in the out-of-doors for a number of pursuits, including camping, hiking, and picnicking

[63]Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 14-15.

[64]George Freeman Pollock, *Skyland: The Heart of Shenandoah National Park*. Edited by Stuart E. Brown, Jr., Berryville, VA: Chesapeake Book Co., 1960, p. 213. In certain cases, their answers to the questionnaire may have been a little too good in, for instance, emphasizing the total lack of improvements in the area and the large areas "never touched with the ax."

members. Pollock spent $7,000 of his family's funds on these improvements.

By February 1925, Congress approved a bill providing for a commission to recommend park boundaries and to arrange to acquire land at Shenandoah and the Smokey Mountains. It specified that a minimum of 385,000 acres would have to be donated before the park could be accepted into the national park system.[65] (In the following years, the acreage required to establish the park was twice reduced. It ended up at 160,000 acres.) This, of course, was only the first of many hurdles that the project had to face. It took ten additional years before the park was to come into existence. The delays were due to a number of factors, including a lawsuit relating to the condemnation of land for the park, the need to set up a program to help resettle the former residents of the park area, and the overall difficulty in getting donations to fund the procurement of the land. (See "Government: Presidency of the United States" theme for more information regarding the establishment of the park.) Although in later years Pollock's participation in the effort to establish the park diminished somewhat, he must be given major credit for bringing the park to the Blue Ridge.

Another pre-park recreational area, Camp Hoover also had a strong recreational component. (During this period private camps where urbanites could retreat from the world of the city, thrived throughout the country.) Camp Hoover is discussed below in the "Government: Presidency of the United States" theme. Two other types of recreation—automobile-related and pedestrian—gave rise to transportation corridors that pre-dated the park. Both of these helped to define and shape the park itself. They are discussed in the next theme.

[65]In addition to setting a minimum acreage for the park, the bill also set the legal maximum acreage for the park at 521,000 acres. This represented areas where the park could expand if land was acquired. This figure was reduced and the authorized area now stands at 196,000 acres.

TRANSPORTATION

Resources located within the park associated with this theme include contributing resources to the Skyline Drive Historic District and resources associated with the Appalachian Trail. (Information about the establishment of the Skyline Drive is discussed within the "Government: Presidency of the United States" theme, which follows.) Skyline Drive resources include waysides, lodging areas, overlooks, picnic grounds, roads, trails, and entrance stations, as well as the drive itself. Appalachian Trail resources include six cabins, and approximately 10 shelters or huts, in addition to the trail itself and side trails. Many of the Skyline Drive and Appalachian Trail resources were constructed by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), which is discussed under the theme of "Government: CCC." Details relating to the construction of these resources will be covered in the next context statement.

This period saw the creation of two new transportation routes through the park area. Unlike the old roads and paths that had for the most part crossed the mountain, the new routes ran along the ridge. Their development was linked to changes in the types of recreational activities that Americans took part in and new attitudes toward the out-of-doors.

Appalachian Trail

The creation of the Appalachian Trail grew directly out of the renewed interest in the "curative" power of nature. The idea for a hiking trail along the Appalachian mountains first appeared in print in October 1921 in the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*. The article, by forester and planner Benton MacKaye, emphasized the need for a path that would provide an escape from the cities, "the breath of real life for the toilers in the bee-hive cities." As part of his scheme, he envisioned shelters located a convenient walking distance apart. MacKaye's idea generated significant interest, and, in 1925, the Appalachian Trail Conference was founded to promote establishment of such a national trail. There were a few immediate problems to be overcome. At that time, nearly all of the outdoor organizations involved in this type of activity were located in New York or New England; therefore, the southern end of the route was originally without sponsors. In addition, although there were existing trail systems in the north that could be incorporated into the Appalachian Trail, in the south there were few routes that could form part of the trail.

Given that it was clear from the start that the most appropriate route for the trail would take it through the then-potential Shenandoah National Park, the Potomac Appalachian Trail Club (PATC) was founded in November 1927 to establish the section close to Washington and to promote the idea of the park. Within a month of its founding, the PATC started planning a route for the Appalachian Trail in the Blue Ridge. Halstead Shipman, and later Myron Avery, and J. Frank Schairer began the process by establishing its alignment along the mountain ridge, within what were to be the boundaries of Shenandoah National Park. The original route was constructed with volunteer labor between 1928 and 1930. Soon after its completion, however, and despite protests from the PATC, much of its original location was appropriated for the Skyline Drive, which was constructed beginning in 1931. A new route had to be plotted, and construction in the new location was completed largely by CCC labor.



"Myron Avery and Party Measuring Trail on . . . Hawskbill Mountain," 1936 (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

The current location runs close to the ridge along an old path reputedly dating back to Native American use.[66] The PATC worked closely with the Park Service in the construction and marking of ancillary trails and the location and construction of shelters. The first permanent shelter on the Appalachian Trail, located at Pinnacles, was constructed by local masons and carpenters in 1930. PATC cabins were completed in 1933, 1936, and 1937, most with help from CCC workers. The 2,144-mile-long Appalachian Trail, crossing fourteen states from Maine to Georgia was finally completed in August 1937. Members of the PATC, despite differences of opinion with the Park Service regarding the Skyline Drive, remained strong advocates for the park.

Skyline Drive

The other major transportation route through the future park area was Skyline Drive, the 105.5-mile road along the Blue Ridge that was begun in 1931. The drive's creation was linked to the rise of the recreational use of cars. Beginning in the late 1910s and 1920s, the number of Americans who owned cars rose dramatically. This greatly increased Americans' mobility. Driving—from a Sunday drive to a long summer vacation motoring trip—soon became a recreational end rather than a means to an end.

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[66]Conners, *Shenandoah National Park*, p. 97.

This growth of driving as recreation, encouraged the construction of parkways, i.e., limited access roads designed for passenger cars, that had recreational purposes and were bordered by natural areas. Skyline Drive was part of this movement. The history of the establishment of the drive parallels, and to some extent intersects with, the history of the establishment of the park itself.[67] The history related to the establishment of the drive, because of its close association with Herbert Hoover, is discussed in more detail in the next theme, "Government: Presidency of the United States."

From survey to construction, there were several shifts in the location of the road and changing concepts of how far along the ridge it should go. The overall design of the drive was completed by the National Park Service Branch of Plans and Designs with the involvement of the Bureau of Public Roads (part of the United States Department of Agriculture). NPS Director Stephen P. Mather, and NPS Chief Landscape Architect Thomas Vint provided final review of the designs. Major input on the design also came from Park Service landscape architects and engineers located onsite (in particular Harvey Benson) and local BPR engineers (William M. Austin and H.J Spelman). Actual road construction came under the aegis of the Bureau of Public Roads, which let the construction contracts.[68] The Park Service's landscape architects and engineers actively reviewed the construction work to ensure that it followed the plan. They also were more directly responsible for supervising work done by the CCC on overlooks, picnic areas, and areas adjacent to the drive. This work included landscaping, and construction of guard rails, and other structures including comfort stations, picnic shelters, and wayside buildings.

The National Park Service obtained title to the land that was to become the drive (along with a 100-foot right-of-way) and construction on Skyline Drive was started July 18, 1931 on the section of the road from Thornton's Gap (Panorama) to Swift Run Gap with a smaller road to Fish Rack (south of Camp Hoover). Although still unfinished, a special advance opening of the drive, from Lee Highway (Route 211) to Skyland was held between October 22 and November 30, 1932—during which time 30,837 persons in 7,891 cars used the then-unpaved road.[69] The central section of the drive (Thornton Gap to Swift Run Gap) also opened before the park on September 15, 1934. The north section of the drive, from Front Royal to Thornton Gap, opened October 1, 1936 (after the establishment of the park), and the south section, from Swift Run Gap to Jarman Gap, was completed August 29, 1939. The segment of the road from Jarman Gap to Rockfish Gap was constructed in 1936-37 as part of the Blue Ridge Parkway and incorporated into the park and Skyline Drive in 1961.

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[67]The history and development of the drive is explored extensively in the National Register of Historic Place Registration Form for Skyline Drive Historic District. The nomination gives extensive detail about the design and construction of the drive.

[68]Under federal guidelines, the private contractors were required to give preference to local residents in filling positions.

[69]Lambert, *Administrative History,* p. 117.



Skyline Drive, c. 1947, postcard

Even after the park's establishment in 1935, the drive maintained a preeminent position in the park and was one of the major magnets attracting visitors. As recently as the late 1940s, park personnel had to struggle to get road signs to refer to the park rather than the drive and to get park postcards to reinforce the idea that the road was part of the park.[70]

[70]Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 302.

GOVERNMENT: PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES

Existing resources in the park associated with the theme "Government: Presidency of the United States" include approximately 23 that are associated with Herbert Hoover. These are contributing resources to the Camp Hoover historic district. Although the many resources associated with the CCC have strong links to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, they are discussed more extensively in the "Government: CCC" theme in the next context section.

It has been said that there was more involvement by Presidents in the establishment and development of Shenandoah than in any other national park.[71] The deep involvement of two Presidents in the park, however, was not mere happenstance. By 1926, the park had received Congressional authorization but the securing of the vast amounts of donated land necessary to make the park a reality was still only a distant vision. In that year, Harry Byrd, newly elected governor of Virginia and a strong promoter of the park, persuaded Will Carson to become chairman of the newly created Virginia State Commission on Conservation and Development. In this position, Carson became responsible for furthering the cause of the park, and, in particular, with coming up with the funds necessary to buy the land. Carson was involved in a variety of activities relating to promoting the park and raising funds, including getting the required size of the park reduced through Congressional action, obtaining appropriations from the Virginia legislature, and securing a law to permit a streamlined condemnation process. One of Carson's most important contributions to the park endeavor, however, was his successful effort to involve two Presidents in the park.

Herbert Hoover and the Creation of Skyline Drive

Less than two months after Herbert Hoover's inauguration, Carson managed to convince him to establish a fishing camp on a stretch of the Rapidan River within what was to become park land. This was accomplished through extensive behind-the-scenes work. Soon after his election, Hoover, an avid trout fisherman, recognized that he would need a retreat from the world of official Washington. He instructed an aide to seek out trout streams within 100 miles of the Capital that were at elevations around 2500 feet (therefore cooler and less likely to have mosquitoes) so that he could set up a fishing camp/retreat. Carson heard about Hoover's interest and moved quickly to find a location within the park that met the criteria. Thereafter he quickly secured fishing rights to the stretch of stream and starting the planning of a road and phone service to the site. Although President and Mrs. Hoover did not select the exact spot of land, they gave their general approval to the site on the Rapidan River, and Carson went ahead with plans.

In the late winter and early spring of 1929, events moved rapidly. By March 25, Carson sent a full set of plans "for the proposed fishing lodge" to the President's aide (these were never acted on). A few days later, the access road was under construction. In April, President and Mrs. Hoover visited the site and approved the exact location. Around this time an architect friend of theirs, James Y. Rippin,

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[71] Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 107.

wrote a letter in which he specified the facilities that would be required by the Hoovers at the camp.[72] It is likely that Lou Henry Hoover was a very involved client however. She wrote a letter to a friend in which she gives specifics regarding the number and type of buildings and rooms within each building, and even the general construction methods to be used. "It seems to me that good board flooring and a roof, with a boarded strip extending up perhaps three feet from the floor and with or without a similar strip below the eaves, with the sides composed of canvas curtains that let up and down as weather dictates, might answer this year's needs for the eating and congregating centers. . . ."[73]

Construction started as soon as the weather permitted in May; the local newspaper reported that materials were being amassed for construction and that "[w]ooden buildings (not just the dining room-kitchen) would start rising on the Hoover site very soon."[74] As the article suggests, sometime during the spring, plans for a camp constructed mostly of canvas buildings with wood floors were converted into plans for a collection of frame structures. By mid-May construction of "Hoover Cabin" was underway, and, by May 18, the President had slept out in an Army tent on the Rapidan "out of the way of construction." By the first week in August, the papers referred to the "newly completed Hoover cabin," and Hoover was holding conferences at the site.[75] Hoover personally paid for the land and for $15,000 in building materials. The buildings themselves were constructed by the U.S. Marine Corps.

For the rest of his administration, Hoover relied heavily on the camp as a spot for both relaxation and uninterrupted work. The Republican tariff bill of 1930 and the 1931 federal budget were formulated at the camp. However, the most famous of the work sessions were the naval disarmament talks held in October 1929 between Hoover and Britain's Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald.

Carson, investing heavily in the Hoover Camp idea in terms of time, money, and effort, clearly saw the establishment of a camp for Hoover as a means of promoting the park. He and other park supporters hoped that the President, as well as the potential array of state and national officials who might come to the camp, would end up becoming park advocates.

The Hoovers quickly did, in fact, became devotees of both the place and its people. Both rode extensively in the area and as a result, connections evolved between local people and Mrs. Hoover in particular. Mrs. Hoover, for instance, gave a no-interest loan to the Clore Furniture Company, the

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[72]Darwin Lambert, *Herbert Hoover's Hideaway*, Luray, VA, Shenandoah Natural History Association, 1971, p. 20. Recently located information from the Hoover papers indicates that Rippin was a New York City architect and the husband of an acquaintance of Mrs. Hoover. He apparently was the designer of the Camp Hoover buildings. (See Shenandoah National Park Archives files relating to Camp Hoover).

[73]Lambert, *Herbert Hoover's Hideaway,* p. 10. Herbert Clark Hoover, *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover 1920-1933: the Cabinet and the Presidency,* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1952, p. 322.

[74]Lambert, *Herbert Hoover's Hideaway,* p. 22.

[75] Lambert, *Herbert Hoover's Hideaway*, p. 27.

maker of much of the camp furniture, after a fire destroyed their factory. She also assisted some of the local families in various ways. One encounter with a local boy influenced President and Mrs. Hoover to establish a school in the area.[76] The Hoover Mountain School, which was completed and in operation by early 1930, helped to further link the Hoovers to the community. After raising money for the construction and operation of the school, the Hoovers remained involved with the school by, for instance, inviting the students to visit the White House. (This building, although greatly altered, is still standing. It was moved to Big Meadows.) The relationship between the Hoovers and the community was not totally one sided, however. In August 1929, Madison County reciprocated by holding a "Hoover Day," complete with 21-gun salute, food, and speeches.



Former Hoover School (BM-0214), 1995 (Robinson & Associates, Inc.)

Hoover had been active in the American Parks Association, so even before establishing Rapidan Camp, he was familiar with, and supportive of, plans for a national park in the area. Hoover was also a major

[76]This is the well-known "possum-boy" incident, in which a local boy, Ray Burracker, brought the Hoovers an opossum for which Hoover paid him $5.00. According to the story, the boy was asked if he went to school and when he responded in the negative, that proved to be the inspiration for building a school close enough for him to attend. Although it is not clear, this incident may have been planned in part for the benefit of the media. Lambert, *Herbert Hoover's Hideaway*, pp. 82-100.

force behind the implementation of a "skyline drive" along the mountains.[77] In May 1931, President Hoover, while riding horseback along the crest of the mountains with the director of the National Park Service, Horace Albright, remarked on the beauty of the views along the ridge and his desire that others be able to enjoy them. He directed Albright to undertake a survey in preparation for construction of a skyline drive.[78]

However, by the time Hoover instructed Albright to proceed with the survey, others were already working behind the scene on the idea. William Carson had been given a rough estimate of the cost of the road and, as early as the fall of 1929, he had (again while riding the ridge with Hoover) received Hoover's agreement that when they became available, federal funds could be used to build the road. The drought of 1930, which hit the Shenandoah area particularly hard, provided such an opportunity. Despite his overall reluctance to fund work-relief projects, Hoover agreed to use drought-related aid for the construction of the road, as long as it was authorized by Congress.[79] Again, in large part through the efforts of William Carson, legislation was introduced and passed to this effect. Additional surveys were completed, and because condemnation proceedings had not been completed for the park land, right-of-way agreements and/or deeds had to be negotiated for all land needed for the road. Hoover personally reviewed the plans for the road and made suggestions about the alignment.

Franklin Roosevelt and the Arrival of the New Deal

Hoover's loss to Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the 1932 election did not bring an end to Presidential involvement with the park. Roosevelt's involvement, although of a different nature, was also strong. In April 1933, Roosevelt visited Hoover's camp, and although the terrain of the site was too rough for him to consider for his own use (he instead went to what was later known as Camp David), he was impressed with the area and with Skyline Drive. He became convinced that the park area was the perfect site for the first of the CCC camps.

The Emergency Conservation Work program/Civilian Conservation Corps,[80] one of Roosevelt's "pet" programs, was authorized within a month of his inauguration. (See "Government: Civilian Conservation Corps" theme in the next context statement) He insisted on being personally involved both in the selection of sites and in the scope of projects. Although, as it turns out, the first CCC camp

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[77]The concept of a skyline drive did not start with Hoover, but goes back at least to 1924. The questionnaire produced by Pollock and the report of the committee charged with selecting an Appalachian Mountain park site both mentioned the idea—although where the idea came from is unclear.

[78]Horace M. Albright, "My Trips With Harold Ickes," *Washington History*, Spring 1990, p.39. Although Albright dates the trip to May 1931, other sources give different dates for the trip.

[79]Lambert, *Herbert Hoover's Hideaway,* p. 57. Hoover was also adamant that actual farmers and their hand tools be used on the project.

[80]The CCC program was officially known as the Emergency Conservation Work program until July 1937.

was not located in the future park area,[81] camps within the area of the park soon followed. Land was donated or leased within the park, and two camps (NPS-1/Skyland and NPS-2/Big Meadows) were set up in May 1933. These were the first camps to be managed by the Park Service. One month later, two more camps were opened, NPS-3 was established beside the drive north of Swift Run Gap, and NPS-4 was located near Front Royal. (Two existing Forest Service CCC camps were later converted to National Park Service camps.) In August, Roosevelt came to inspect the progress. He ate lunch at one of the CCC camps. Based on his trip, FDR said he would like to see the yet-uncompleted drive open to the public as soon as possible. He also stated that he hoped that a highway from New York to Georgia through the Smokies and Shenandoah could be constructed. (His idea was to reach fruition in November 1933, when he approved a scenic highway, later to be called the Blue Ridge Parkway, which would connect Shenandoah and Great Smokey Mountains National Parks.) Roosevelt's interest in the park, and more specifically, the priority he gave to committing CCC resources to the park, made possible many important physical improvements to the park area that would otherwise not be possible. (See, generally, the next context statement.)



Park dedication ceremonies, 1936 (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

[81]Due to organizational difficulties, it was established northwest of Luray in the George Washington National Forest.

It was only on December 26, 1935 that three deeds transferring a total of 176,429.8 acres from Virginia to the United States government were accepted, and Shenandoah National Park officially came into being.[82] The delays were due to a number of factors, including a lawsuit relating to the condemnation of land for the park, the need to set up a program to help resettle the former residents of the park area, and the overall difficulty in getting donations to fund procurement of the land. The dedication of the park occurred approximately six months later on July 3, 1936. Thousands of visitors and hundreds of CCC participants attended the proceedings that were broadcast on national radio. Roosevelt, in addition to a number of others, addressed the crowd. His speech discussed the related goals of preservation and development of the country's natural and human resources and how these goals were accomplished through the CCC program at the park. In addition, he spoke of the need for recreational opportunities:

> *All across the nation at this time of the year people are starting out for their vacations in national and state parks. They will set up roadside camps or pitch their tents under the stars, with an open fire to cook by, with the smell of the woods and the wind in the trees. They will forget the rust and the strain of all the other long weeks of the year, and for a short time at least, the days will be good for their bodies and good for their souls. Once more they will lay hold of the perspective that comes to men and women who every morning and every night can lift up their eyes to Mother Nature.*
>
> *There is merit for all of us in the ancient tale of the giant Antaeus, who every time he touched his mother earth, arose with strength renewed a hundredfold.*[83]

[82]The deeds had been delivered over a year before, in August 1934. The delay in accepting the deeds was related to the problems of resettling the residents of the park.

[83]Quoted in Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 145.

ARCHITECTURE

The resources associated with the "Architecture" theme also fall under other themes. Extant resources include cabins at Skyland and the Camp Hoover resources, most of which are also rustic residences. Many of the resources originally associated with the theme were demolished soon after the park was established.

Architectural and landscape-architectural resources from this formative period in the park's history generally share a common stylistic heritage that relates to the naturalistic designs of Andrew Jackson Downing. In architecture, aside from Downing's work, this common rustic design impetus owes debts to a number of different sources.[84]

The first and strongest concentration of buildings in the rustic "camp" style, was in the camps of the Adirondacks constructed in the 1880s through the 1920s. Located in natural settings often close to lakes, the camps usually consisted of a number of separate buildings including cabins, lodges, and boat houses. The buildings were positioned to take advantage of views and to fit comfortably in the landscape. Buildings were constructed of chinked logs and set on stone foundations that were often battered. The oversized timbers used for the roofs and beams were exposed. Large stone chimneys, often protruding high above the roof ridge, were typical. The houses often incorporated stylistic elements from a variety of European vernacular styles as well as the vernacular log cabins native to the area.

The Adirondack "camp" style was first documented in 1889 in *Log Cabins: How to Build and Furnish Them,* by William Wicks. In addition to discussing the construction of the camp buildings, Wicks also emphasized the importance of the concept that the buildings should "grow out of" of the site. Some of the best examples of the camp style are the buildings of William West Durant, one of the major architects of lodges and camps in the area.

Major characteristics of the Adirondack style that were to be incorporated into the design of recreational buildings in the Shenandoah Park area include the reliance on native materials, the emphasis on fitting the buildings to the site, the use of porches and outdoor decks, the use of stone chimneys, and exposed interior beams.

Major precursors to the "rustic" or Camp style include the Arts and Crafts movement (of which it is arguably a part) and the earlier Shingle Style, and Richardsonian Romanesque movements. The Shingle Style came into prominence in the 1870s. The ultimate expression of the style was along the east coast particularly in seaside resort communities such as Newport, Rhode Island. The Shingle Style shared the Victorian emphasis on variety in massing, pattern, and texture. It is characterized foremost by its use of wood shingles on walls, and also by its asymmetrical facade, and complicated massing (often including towers, porte cocheres, etc.). Another influence on the rustic style was Richardsonian

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[84]This same impetus also greatly influenced the later architectural design executed by the Park Service (See "Architecture" theme in next context section).

Romanesque, a stylistic spinoff of the work of Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-86) most popular from 1880-1900. Like the Shingle Style, Richardsonian Romanesque shared some of the Victorian emphasis on variation in pattern, color, and massing; however, these elements became greatly simplified. Its key characteristics include heavy stonework and rounded arches resting on short, thick columns.

Another important antecedent of the rustic style was the Arts and Crafts movement, which had its ultimate philosophical roots in the works of English craftsman/designer and writer William Morris. It influenced a number of important regional styles and nationally prominent architects. In terms of architecture—the movement was as strong or stronger relative to the decorative arts—the underlying tenets of the style include an emphasis on craftsmanship (often by hand), strong connections to the natural world through the use of intermediate areas (such as pergolas and porches) between building and grounds, and an overall horizontal emphasis in design. Although certain of these characteristics can be revealed on the exterior of a building, much of what truly characterizes an Arts and Crafts-influenced structure is in the interior. Here an emphasis on craftsmanship tends to be revealed in materials (wood, stained glass, metal work) and workmanship/decorative treatment. The influence of the Arts and Crafts movement can be seen in the work of the Bernard Maybeck and Greene and Greene in California, in the work publicized by Gustave Stickley in *The Craftsman* magazine, in the widespread popularity of the Bungalow form, and in the Prairie-style work that originated in Chicago.

The oldest extant architectural resources that fall within this context period in the area that became the park are those located at Skyland. All of these resources generally fall under the "rustic" stylistic category, and share a number of characteristics of the Shingle Style. In general, the pre-park resources in the Skyland area date from 1902-25. Although constructed over a lengthy period of time, the buildings have a number of common features, including open porches, small casement windows, stone chimneys (and, inside, open fireplaces), irregular/multipitched rooflines, and wood roofing and siding. Pollock initially required owners to construct cabins of either exposed logs or of wood frame with an exterior covering of shingles or (after 1901) chestnut bark siding.[85] One reason for Pollock's initial selection of these materials may have been simply that his lumber and construction company produced them, and (after the mill closed) they were easy to obtain from local sources.[86] However, the overall effect of the buildings was in keeping with what were considered appropriate styles for "resort" or buildings located in wild areas.

A number of the earlier structures at Skyland were designed by Victor Mindeleff (1860-1948), a Washington architect with far-reaching interests and talents. Early in his career, Mindeleff accompanied J.W. Powell in his expeditions to explore prehistoric Native American dwellings in New Mexico and Arizona. Later, beginning in approximately 1897, Mindeleff worked for the U.S. Life-Saving Service, designing lighthouses (generally towered structures with shingling) in the Midwest and Mid-Atlantic areas. By the late 1910s, he had established a private practice, "principally [including] the designing and supervision of detached dwellings, with accessory features of gardens, etc., including

[85]Engle, Draft National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Skyland Historic District. All of the original chestnut bark siding has been replaced. With one exception, the buildings now have wood siding.

[86]Engle, Skyland National Register Nomination.

the complete layout of country places and community planning. . . ." He met Pollock at Glen Echo, where he was the principal designer. His only known remaining design at Skyland (another structure is extant but no longer on the site) is the Massanutten Lodge, constructed in 1911. To accommodate the 20-foot drop in elevation on the site, the building is built over massive pyramidal stone piers. With the area between the piers filled in with bark slabs, the building has a tower-like appearance in keeping with Mindeleff's lighthouse work.

Somewhat later—dating to 1929—are the Camp Hoover resources. Three of the approximately dozen buildings associated with the President's section of the site are still standing. Five buildings from the "Cabinet Camp" are located outside the park and are in private ownership. These buildings appear to be largely representative of the building style and construction techniques of all of the original structures.[87] The buildings, which are all in the camp or rustic style, were simple three-season, one-story, post and beam buildings with shiplap (German) siding and hinged windows. One of their most significant characteristics was their careful siting to take advantage of the natural setting. In a number of cases, great care was taken to avoid cutting down trees. The Hoover cabin ("the President"), for instance, was constructed with a tree growing through the outdoor deck. The sites of the buildings were not leveled, and they were constructed on rock footings. On the interior of the buildings, neither the walls nor the ceiling were sheathed. The most impressive architectural features of the buildings were their massive stone fireplaces. They were also equipped with bathrooms.

"The President" was constructed in 1929. The original portion of the building is a generally cruciform-shaped structure with open decks on the south, east, and west sides of the building. Since its construction, a number of the open decks have been removed and a number of changes have been made to the northwest side of the building (a kitchen and storage area have been added). "The Prime Minister" was also constructed in 1929. It was so named because it was used by British Prime Minister Ramsey MacDonald in connection with the naval disarmament talks. It is a small L-shaped structure, which originally consisted of three rooms, two bedrooms with a stone fireplace between, and a bath and an open deck running the length of the building. The deck has been removed, and the space that was previously the bathroom and dressing area has been converted into another bedroom and a separate bathroom has been added on. "The Creel," named for the old-fashioned wicker fishing basket, was also constructed in 1929. It too, is a small structure consisting of three rooms (two bedrooms and a closet/dressing area/bathroom). Like the other structures, it is fronted by an open deck. The building's plan remains intact.

Architectural resources associated with the Appalachian Trail (including both closed and open shelters) and those associated with the Skyline Drive were, for the most part, designed by the National Park Service and in many cases constructed by CCC labor (particularly for less complicated structures). (Concessionaire-related buildings were a major exception). Because these topics are addressed comprehensively below, and because the resources are so closely related to those completed in the early years of the park, they will be discussed in the next context statement.

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[87]Tom Walsh, [William Wagner, and James Jacobsen] National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Camp Hoover.

LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

Resources associated with this theme include two major designed landscapes, one at Camp Hoover and one at Skyland. Landscape resources associated with Skyline Drive are discussed in the "Initial Park-Related Development 1935-1942" context statement.

It was during this era that significant designed landscapes were introduced into the area that was to become the park. The early designed landscapes in the park area, although executed largely by nonprofessionals, have a common design origin in the rustic or naturalistic landscape design style developed in the United States by Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852). Downing's work built on eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century British landscape designers of the "picturesque" school (including Humphrey Repton, William Kent, and Capability Brown). Downing published his ideas in both a periodical (*The Horticulturalist*) and a number of books the most popular of which was *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*. The latter became the standard guide to landscape gardening and was republished from 1841 until the 1920s. In general, the ideal of the picturesque involved an emphasis on irregularity and variation. Downing's work is characterized by a sequence of changing vistas, rustic manmade features, and variations in topography and natural features. Specific elements included winding paths and drives, open meadows, groves of evergreens, natural water elements (including waterfalls, bubbling brooks etc.), and rock outcroppings. Downing paid particular attention to the design of the manmade elements. For these, he emphasized the need to blend the structure with the setting and advocated a common design initiative behind major built elements and the garden. After Downing's untimely death in 1852, his style was adopted and his teachings were followed by a variety of landscape designers. The most notable of these were Calvert Vaux (his partner for a short period of time) and Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr.

Two areas of the park in particular received extensive landscape treatment, Skyland[88] and Camp Hoover. Both of these areas employed a naturalistic garden style that by the early twentieth-century had become fashionable for gardens in settings such as these.

Skyland

Most landscaping at Skyland was completed by individual owners. Typically, houses and paths were bordered with ferns, shrubs, or flowers. Most of the houses were fenced (to keep out free- grazing cattle and hogs) using split-rail, post-and-rail, or stone fences, or paling. The most extensive[89] and best known landscaped areas were the Judd gardens, which were designed by Mr. and Mrs. George H. Judd and developed beginning in 1911. At their peak, the gardens were divided into seven discrete areas or "rooms" that were defined by a number of hardscape features (walls, fences, and stairs), as well as paths/roads and changes in topography or vegetation. The gardens included: the Sentinel Lodge Garden; the Western Forest; the Lower Entry Garden; the Great Lawn Area; the Jonquil and

[88]For a thorough discussion of the landscape resources of Skyland and their contextual background, see Engle, draft Skyland Historic District National Register Registration Form.

[89]From 1922-42, thirteen gardeners maintained the Judd gardens. Ibid.

Herb Garden; the Stroll Garden; the Lower Hemlock/Pine Forest. The gardens employed both native and exotic species in a variety of settings from rock gardens to formal beds.

Camp Hoover

As discussed previously, the buildings at Camp Hoover were carefully placed so as to disrupt the natural setting as little as possible. The landscaping around the camp continued the same naturalistic philosophy. The landscaping scheme included, most prominently, a manmade stream (Hemlock Run) that ran through the camp area and was embellished with a number of stone bridges, artificial ponds, stone-lined channels, and waterfalls. Other landscape features included an outdoor fireplace (for outdoor meals) and a stone fountain. The latter, a mortared stone structure consisting of four concrete-lined tiers, was a key feature of Lou Henry Hoover's rock and flower gardens.

Lou Henry Hoover was a natural history enthusiast. Her recommendations regarding the natural design of the plantings around the camp are contained in a seven-page letter entitled "Flowers and Shrubs for the President's Camp."[90] It stated that the plants to be introduced around the camp were to be:

> *either the identical species which grow in that neighborhood . . . or of perhaps hardy species that might be better to cultivate but very similar to the native ones. (For instance, there is a native forget-me-not and a little native plant that is not a lily-of-the-valley but looks remarkably like one. But the cultivated species of these two can well be put in at camp.) All the plants should be such as not to seem out of place among that woody setting.*

She suggested that where "appropriate to the species" shrubs and flowers should be arranged to give a mass effect of color. She suggested that for most areas shade plants were appropriate. She vetoed formal beds but noted that there should be "a certain compactness so as to form masses of color [which] should ramble off into the surroundings. They should not be carefully trimmed, nor should the beds be outlined in any way." She suggested that flowers be planted along the stream and that others should overhang the water. She also suggested that a cutting garden be initiated a distance from the camp. She even went so far as to recommend particular species that she admired. On her list of "most desired" plants were morning glory, wild cucumber, black-eyed susan, yellow-eyed susan, butterfly weed, spirea, hardy aster, trillium, jack-in-the-pulpit, columbine, mimulus, goldenrod, violet, ladyslipper, Virginia creeper, common 'red' swamp lily, tiger lily, day lily, solomon seal, foxglove, gentian, iris, lupin, gourds, and larkspur. She also encouraged the establishment of honeysuckle, huckleberry, dogwood, rhododendrons, and judas trees. She introduced flower boxes around the buildings, and made natural receptacles for flowers out of stumps and rocks. According to one source, she supervised the cutting of each tree in order to protect the natural appearance of the site.[91]

Landscape-architectural resources associated with the Appalachian Trail and those associated with the

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[90]Quoted in Lambert, *Herbert Hoover's Hideaway*, p. 46-7.

[91]Horace M. Albright, "My Trips With Harold Ickes," *Washington History*, Spring 1990, p. 38.

Skyline Drive were designed by the National Park Service and constructed by CCC labor. Because these topics are addressed comprehensively in the next context statement (see "Government: Civilian Conservation Corps" and "Architecture" themes) and because the resources are so closely related to those completed in the early years of the park, they will be discussed below.

RESOURCES ILLUSTRATING THE THEME

The following extant resources illustrate the theme of Early Recreational Uses in the Park Area and Establishment of Shenandoah National Park, 1850-1935:

Skyland Resources

Buildings:

- Fell Cabin (Determined Eligible for the National Register 12/23/1982)
- Byrd's Nest Cabin (Determined Eligible for the National Register 12/23/1982)
- Trout Cabin (Determined Eligible for the National Register 12/23/1982)
- Peak View Cabin (Determined Eligible for the National Register 12/23/1982)
- Pine Grove Cabin (Determined Eligible for the National Register 12/23/1982)
- Massanutten Lodge (Determined Eligible for the National Register 12/23/1982)
- Vollmer Cabin
- Whispering Pines
- Boulder Cabin

Structures:

- Circulation System
- The Field
- Stone Retaining Walls
- Fences
- Vegetation (including the Judd Gardens)

Three Archeological Sites

Camp Hoover Resources

Buildings:

- The President (National Register/National Historic Landmark 6/7/1988)
- The Prime Minister (National Register/National Historic Landmark 6/7/1988)
- The Creel (National Register/National Historic Landmark 6/7/1988)

Structures:

- Exterior Fireplace (National Register/National Historic Landmark 6/7/1988)
- Stone Fountain (National Register/National Historic Landmark 6/7/1988)
- Big Rock Falls (National Register/National Historic Landmark 6/7/1988)
- Springhouse (National Register/National Historic Landmark 6/7/1988)

Man-made Troutpools (National Register/National Historic Landmark 6/7/1988)
Roads and Trails (Certain included in National Register/National Historic Landmark 6/7/1988)
Archeological Sites (Certain included in National Register/National Historic Landmark 6/7/1988)
Hemlock Run Sluice Gate (National Register/National Historic Landmark 6/7/1988)
Bridges, Fords, Channels etc. (Certain included in National Register/National Historic Landmark 6/7/1988)

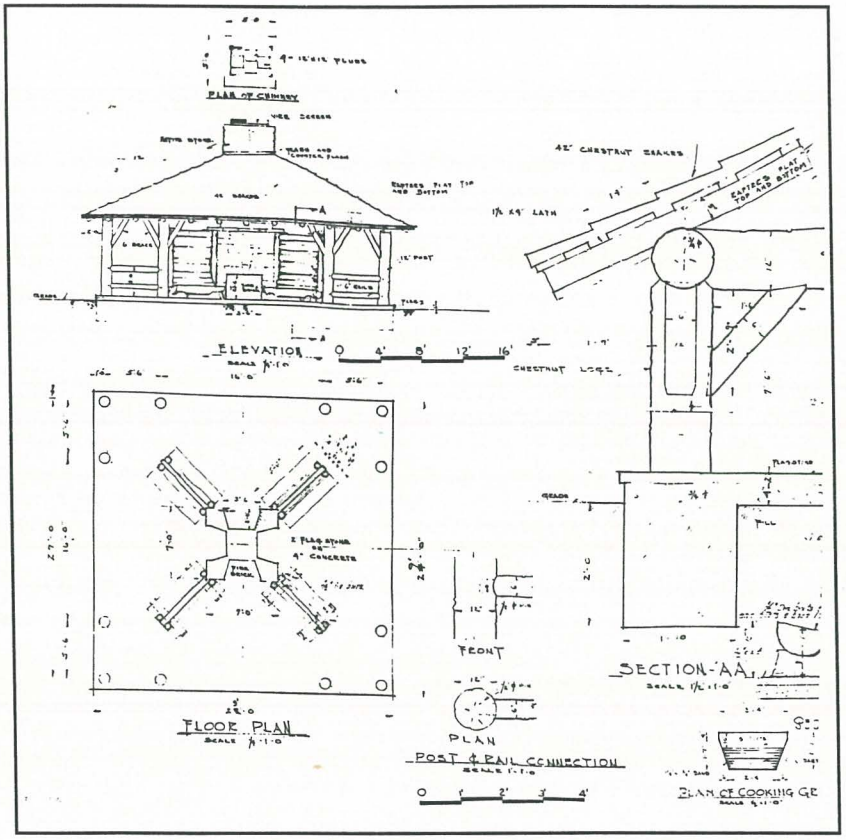
Sites:

Landscape Features (including natural boulders)

Appalachian Trail Resources

Skyline Drive Resources

INITIAL PARK-RELATED DEVELOPMENT, 1935-1942



INTRODUCTION

With the transfer of ownership of the park land to the National Park Service in December, 1935, the official administrative wheels of the park began to turn. On March 1, 1936, permanent park staff began work at temporary offices at Luray. The first chief ranger, R. Taylor Hoskins, was sworn in on that day, as was the first park employee, Darwin Lambert (later, historical chronicler of the park).

However, in regard to physical improvements, the beginning of direct control over the park area by the National Park Service represented more of a transition than a major change. Work on the Skyline Drive and associated projects (such as the construction of waysides and picnic areas) by CCC workers continued irrespective of the change in ownership. In addition, Park Service personnel who had been working on the site in a number of capacities (in particular, supervising CCC workers) continued their work.

This represented the peak building period in the park, and a majority of the Park Service-constructed structures date to this time. In addition to the planning and construction of park facilities, many of the early activities in the park related to the theme of restoring the park to its "natural" form. This included restoration work related to reclaiming the land and work related to erasing signs of human occupation on the site.

GOVERNMENT

Most of the built resources in the park—encompassing hundreds of buildings and structures—were constructed during this 1935-42 period. Of these, New Deal programs played a role in the construction of many resources—either directly or in the preparation of the infrastructure/utilities that were necessary precursors. Many of the buildings and structures, such as the waysides, overlooks, picnic grounds, roads, trails, and entrance stations, are closely associated with use of the Skyline Drive. Others have uses linked to the operation of the park or to services for visitors and include a variety of types of resources varying from blacksmith shops and garages to restaurants and inns. Most of these buildings also are included in the "Architecture" theme in this context.

Shenandoah National Park (and, in particular Skyline Drive) benefitted from the timing of its establishment; both the drive and the other park projects constituted perfect activities for the various federal New Deal works programs. Without the influx of money and labor that accompanied these projects, many of the improvements could not have been accomplished for many years. The drive, and the park-related improvements were completed using a combination of types of federal funding programs. Although in theory the different programs/funding sources were separate and had quite distinctive differences in terms of their program goals, in practice, these goals became blurred. To some extent, it appears that to accomplish any one particular project at the park, oftentimes funds and/or labor were used from whatever program had money or workers available. For instance, although CCC labor supposedly was not to be used for large construction projects, the CCC often worked on such projects if men were available.[92]

Public Works Adminstration and Works Projects Administration

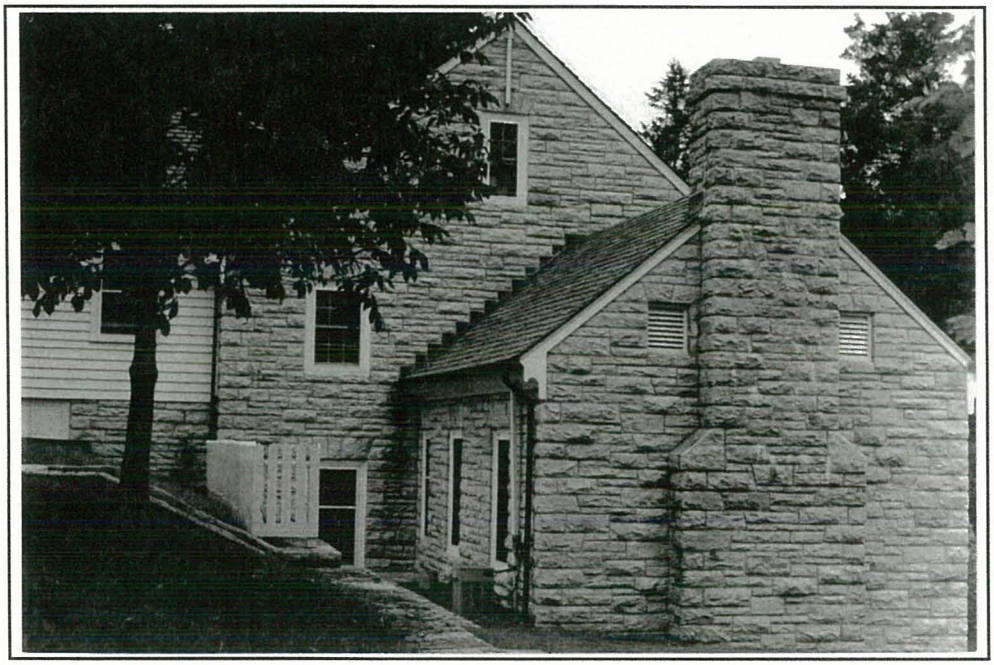
The Works Progress Administration (as of July 1, 1939, the Works Projects Administration) (WPA) was established in 1935 as part of the second wave of New Deal work relief programs. It was the successor organization to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and the Civil Works Administration (CWA), both of which date to 1933. Unlike many other New Deal programs, a number of the WPA's programs supported skilled labor in a wide variety of fields, varying from art and theater to engineering. Typical WPA projects varied from murals in post office buildings, to public highways and travel guides. With the exception of a few totally federal projects, funds for the program were administered by states. At Shenandoah, the WPA is known to have supported the Big Meadows and the Skyland areas through construction of the water and sewer systems.[93] In addition, stone used for

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[92] Oral interview with G.L."Hop" Baughan, September 21, 1995.

[93]Harvey P. Benson, "Report of Harvey P. Benson, Resident Landscape Architect, July 1936." NARA RG79, Finding Aid 166, Entry 30, (NARA II, College Park, MD.) The actual construction of lodges, waysides, and cabins was done by Shenandoah's concessionaire, Virginia Sky-line. The buildings were, and are today, owned by the concessionaire.

the Administration Building was quarried and hauled to the site by WPA workers.[94]



Administration Building (HQ-0101), 1995 (Robinson & Associates, Inc.)

The Public Works Administration (PWA) was initially established in 1933 as the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act. In 1939, it became a part of the Federal Works Agency. Its function was to plan, help construct, and finance a comprehensive program for federal and nonfederal governmental public works projects. The overall goals of the program included reducing unemployment, increasing consumers' purchasing power, improving standards of labor, and conserving natural resources. The organization acted to some degree like a bank or building and loan association, supplying funding, but at the same time employing inspectors to ensure that the project was being constructed according to plans and specifications. The PWA also supervised the bidding process, and dictated the price to be paid for labor. The type of project funded by the PWA varied widely, and a 1939 PWA summary lists over 120 different types of buildings, varying from abattoirs to windmills, which were constructed using the funds. The National Park Service was a major recipient of PWA funds—receiving some $17,059,450 in the first year of the program. For projects located within parks, the National Park Service reviewed and supervised construction projects. At Shenandoah, major projects funded by the PWA included construction of a

[94] "Final Construction Report Administration Building - 752-02-255," January 2, 1941. National Archives and Records Administration [NARA], RG 79, Entry 81, Box 120 (at Mid-Atlantic Regional facility in Philadelphia).

portion of the Skyline Drive[95] and construction of the Headquarters building and certain other buildings at the Headquarters area.

Emergency Conservation Work/Civilian Conservation Corps

The Civilian Conservation Corps, initially part of the Emergency Conservation Work initiative, existed for nine years and three months. During virtually the entire period of its operation, the organization conducted work at Shenandoah National Park (or what was to be the site of the park). The work that it accomplished pushed the park years ahead in terms of physical development than would otherwise have been possible. A considerable portion of the current infrastructure of the park, from roads and trails to picnic shelters and sewage and water systems, are attributable to the work of the CCC.

Although precursors to a CCC-type program date back as far as the mid-19th century, the immediate precursor to an employment project that emphasized conservation/forestry projects lay in a number of state programs. Primary among these was the New York state program, which was established under then-Governor Franklin Roosevelt. It was a temporary emergency relief administration aimed at hiring the unemployed to work on conservation projects including fighting fires, constructing roads and trails, and developing recreational facilities. Seven other states had similar programs either operating or in the planning stage.

Roosevelt, as former chairman of the New York State Legislature's Committee on Forest, Fish and Game, had a strong interest in, and commitment to, conservation work. After his election as President in November 1932, and prior to taking office, Roosevelt asked staff to come up with plans for a national program to employ unemployed men in projects in federally owned forests. Soon after taking office, Roosevelt held a conference to discuss the outline of the program, a bill was drafted and submitted to Congress on March 13, 1933. Although this bill was eventually withdrawn, another that became known as the Federal Unemployment Relief Act was submitted. In supporting the bill, Roosevelt emphasized the bill's effect of conserving natural resources, and the "moral and spiritual value" of the work. By placing the "vast army of these unemployed out into healthful surroundings [w]e can eliminate to some extent at least the threat that enforced idleness brings to spiritual and moral stability." He also emphasized that the work done by the corps would be, "simple work, not interfering with normal employment, and confining itself to forestry, the prevention of soil erosion, flood control, and similar projects."[96] Roosevelt signed the legislation on March 31, 1933, just 22 days after assuming the Presidency. The legislation specified that the program would expire after two years. Because Roosevelt wanted to see the program put the unemployed to work for the summer months of

[95]Funds in the amount of $2,117,228 were granted for the construction of a portion of the Drive completed in August 1937. C. W. Short and R. Stanley-Brown, Public Works Administration, *Public Buildings, A Survey of Architecture*. 1939, p. 557.

[96]U.S. House, Committee on Labor, Message from the President of the United States on Unemployment Relief, Doc. 6, 73rd Cong., 1st sess., March 21, 1933, p. 2, quoted in John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 1933-1942, National Park Service, 1985, p. 8.

that year, a stepped-up effort began to get the program—officially called Emergency Conservation Work—up and running. Under the plans, the Department of Labor would help select recruits, the Army would train and transport the recruits and operate the work camps, and the Park Service and Forest Service would direct their work assignments. The ECW officially began operation on April 5, and within one week, representatives from many established national parks and (in the case of Shenandoah) planned national parks had contacted the ECW requesting ECW enrollees.

Roosevelt was personally involved in the program insisting, for instance, that he himself approve all camp locations and work assignments. During this early period of the program's existence, projects were selected that did not call for large quantities of material or equipment, and that did not require skilled workers. Many types of projects were limited to $1,500 without the specific authority of the Washington office of the Park Service. In general, the emphasis in the program was on spending funds on labor rather than expensive equipment.[97]

On April 25, the Director of the ECW announced that ECW camps would be located in the proposed Shenandoah National Park at Skyland and Big Meadows. On May 11, the first three National Park Service camps, including NPS-1 located at Skyland, opened their doors.

The early work of the CCC at Shenandoah preceded the establishment of the park by two years, and in general, tended to revolve around fire protection, erosion control, trail construction, and landscaping/contouring along Skyline Drive.[98] In the latter category was work along the drive that included removing dead chestnut trees and flattening slopes, moving stones, and opening ditches. In four years, one CCC camp (NP-2) re-contoured 40,000 square yards of banks and sodded 16 acres along Skyline Drive. It also replanted 15,000 native trees and shrubs along the drive and in the visitor service areas. By December 1933, the camps had built a total of 9.65 miles of guard rails for the drive.

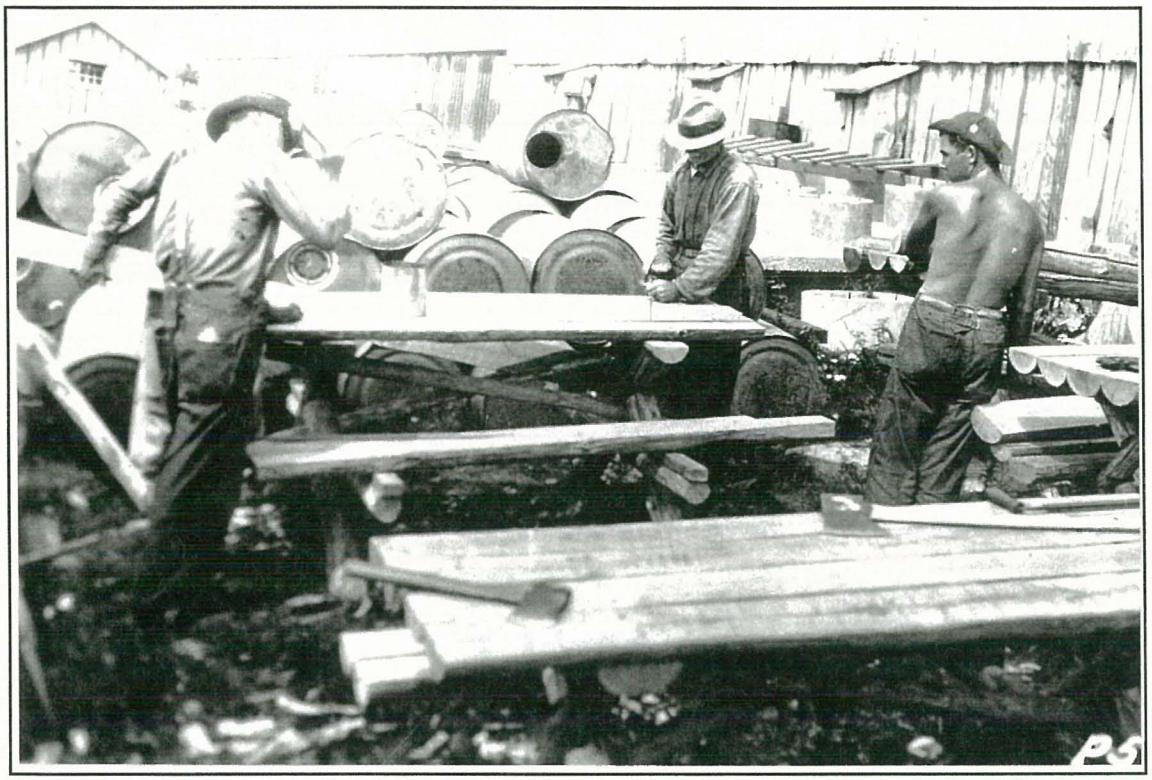
Other ECW work involved construction of trails such as the replacement of the original Appalachian Trail, work on picnic areas, construction projects including construction of shelters, and landscape furnishing (including drinking fountains, picnic tables, and fireplaces). In 1935-36, CCC workers developed the Pinnacles (Sexton Knoll) Picnic Grounds along with the parking lots, fire grates, tables, water fountains, comfort stations, and the utility systems necessary to operate them. Four additional

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[97]To avoid competition with private sector enterprises, enrollees were not supposed to be used for the construction of larger buildings. A February 5, 1934 memorandum from the ECW stated, "Enrollees of the Civilian Conservation Corps will not be used in the construction of buildings of a permanent or semi-permanent nature except temporarily in an emergency which does not permit obtaining other labor." (Quoted in Otis, *The Forest Service and the CCC*, p.74. p. 74.) This prohibition may not have applied to skilled locally employed men (LEMs) who were hired by the ECW for their knowledge of local conditions.

[98]Much of the work related to the Drive was under the direction of the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads. This agency, which was a part of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, had varied responsibilities related to road construction, including cooperative programs with states for road construction and federal projects including the interstate highway system and construction of roads in National Parks.

picnic facilities were completed in rapid succession, including South River (1935-36), Elkwallow (1936), Dickey Ridge (1938), and Big Meadows (1939). Big Meadows campground, the first in the park, was completed by the CCC in 1937 and included 20 camping sites and 50 sites for trailers. Other amenities included 20 fireplaces, 50 tables, and 6 drinking fountains all completed by the CCC.



"Building Picnic Tables Camp 2—Big Meadows,"1936 (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

The CCC also constructed the Lewis Mountain picnic grounds (circa 1939). The nearby campground was in use by the summer of 1939.[99] Especially after the opening of the park, CCC workers were also involved in more elaborate construction projects, including temporary checking/information stations (at Thornton Gap and Skyland), firetowers, trailside shelters and PATC cabins. The CCC also was involved in producing material for other construction. They operated a saw mill where they cut chestnut timbers and fence rails and they helped to make the concrete shingles that were used in many park buildings.[100] Finally, CCC labor was also used in the construction of the Headquarters building.[101]

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[99]Harvey P. Benson, "The Skyline Drive," *The Regional Review*, NPS Richmond, Feb. 1940.

[100]The chestnut timbers were used in the interiors of park buildings and some of the chestnut fence rails were sent to George Washington Birthplace National Monument. See, NARA, RG 79, Entry, 42 Box 33 ("Virginia-Washington") (at NARA II, College Park, MD). Regarding concrete shingles, an oral history of CCC enrollee Benjamin Silvestri (available at the Shenandoah National Park Archives, Shenandoah National Park,



CCC Camp NP-12, 1943 (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

With a few exceptions, CCC workers were housed in camps located close to the project sites. At Shenandoah, camps were located at Skyland (NP-1), Big Meadows (NP-2), Bald Face (NP-3), Harmony Hollow (NP-4), Grottos (NP-5). Later camps were located at Sperryville (NP-9), Sexton Shelter/Pinnacles (NP-10), and Rattlesnake Point/Piney River (NP-12).[102] Initially, the shelters at the camps were entirely tents. However, given the short lifespan of the tents, the effort involved in setting them up and their unsuitability during the winter months, the tents were soon replaced with wood buildings. Tents began to be replaced by permanent wooden buildings in late 1933 and early 1934.

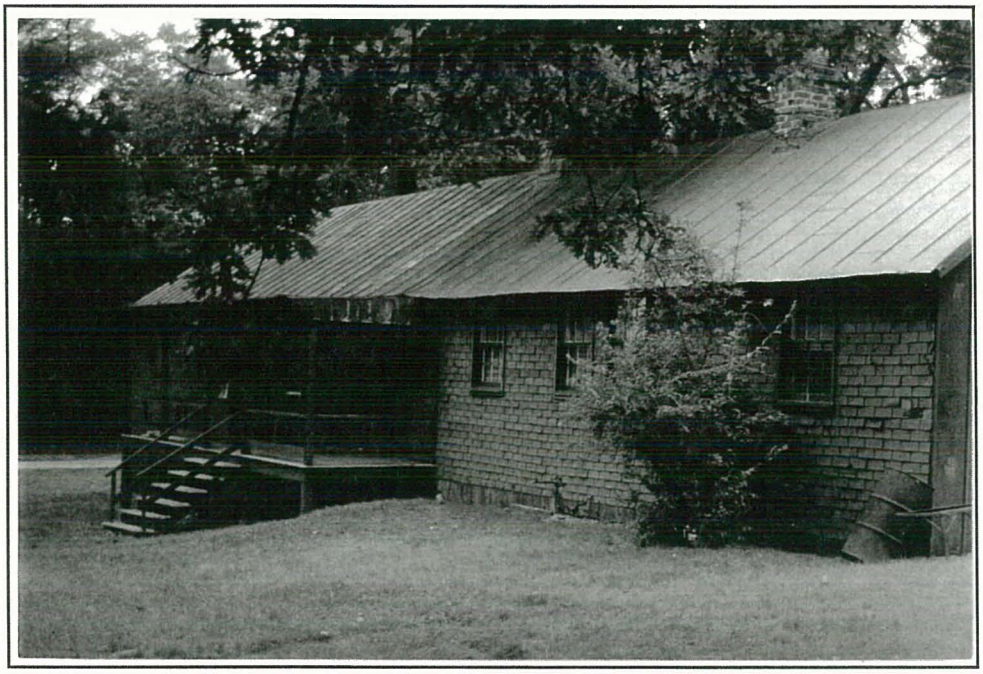
Virginia) indicates that the CCC made concrete shingles for most of the buildings in the park. According to the construction report for the Headquarters' Warehouse project, the shingles were reinforced with galvanized wire and colored to imitate local chestnut shakes. See "Final Construction Report Warehouse Project - 752-02-256. "

[101]Oral interview with G.L. "Hop" Baughan, September 21, 1995. Given the CCC's general charge of working on smaller projects, their excavation of the basement of the administration building was justified as "a borrow pit for grading a parking area in front of the building." "Final Construction Report Warehouse Project - 752-02-256,"

[102]NP-9 (which operated only for a few months in 1934-35) and NP-10 were transferred to the National Park Service in 1934. NP-12 was moved from Sperryville in 1935 (where it had been called NP-9). NP-26 and NP-27 operated only briefly for part of 1939 and 1940-41 respectively.

This change to permanent structures was part of a nationwide effort. According to one press release:

> *Forty thousand carpenters, working in 46 states and utilizing 300 million feet of lumber, are rushing to completion a record-breaking camp construction program for the Civilian Conservation Corps. On over 1,400 camp sites, a total of nearly 15,000 buildings are being constructed to take care of housing and recreation needs for the 300,00 men of the CCC for the winter and spring months.*[103]

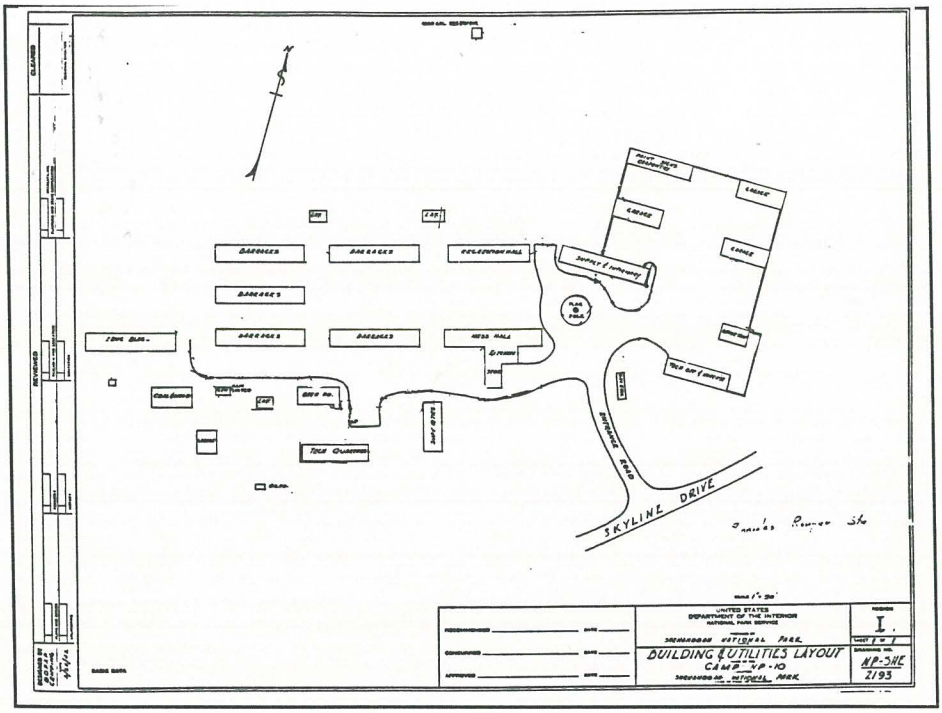


CCC Building at Piney River (PR-0712), 1995 (Robinson & Associates, Inc.)

By 1934, there was considerable experimentation with "portable" CCC buildings and by around 1936 they had become the CCC standard building type. The Army's design was for an inexpensive, easily constructed, partially prefabricated wood building with interchangeable parts that could be used for any of a variety of buildings. Constructed of standard size units, the buildings in many cases were held together by long bolts. The buildings were generally arranged in an U-shaped configuration, with the open central area used for central assemblies or other group activities. Buildings housing a recreation hall, a garage, a dispensary, administrative buildings, a mess hall, officers' quarters, barracks, and a school house were standard in the camps. The buildings were covered with tar paper, clapboard sheathing (painted brown or green), or were creosoted. The standard plans for the camps changed

[103]Press release dated November 3, 1933: pp.1-2. Located at: Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, NY; Official File 268, 2, quoted in, Alison Otis, William D. Honey et al, *The Forest Service and Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42*, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, 1986, p. 74.

slightly in 1939, when separate buildings for the camp superintendent, the dining room, and the recreational hall were added.



Site Plan NP-10 (Pinnacles), 1942 (NPS-Denver Service Center)

Although most of the CCC camp buildings in the park were either torn down or disassembled and moved to military bases during the war years, CCC buildings still survive at their original location at Piney River and Pinnacles. The two major buildings that remain are long, narrow wood frame structures of modular construction. Both may have been used as technical quarters for the CCC camp.

Prior to the dedication of the park in 1936, the Park Service's Branch of Plans and Design and Branch of Engineering, provided supervision of CCC workers in the park area. In addition to supervising construction work at the camps, Park Service employees prepared plans and conducted planning work (see "Landscape" theme below). The program as a whole placed large demands on the National Park Service that expanded greatly to administer it and other New Deal programs. In June 1940, 3,956 of 7,340 Park Service employees were paid out of WPA, CCC, and PWA funds.[104]

The saga of the decline of the ECW was a long one. When the ECW was re-authorized under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 (April 8, 1935), Roosevelt issued a directive calling for the doubling of the program to 600,000 workers. At the same time, however, he was beginning to plan

[104]Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, p. 46.

for reducing the size of the program and making it permanent. He instructed the director of the ECW to begin reducing the program to 300,000 by June 1, 1936. On June 28, 1937, Congress passed legislation establishing what would now be called the Civilian Conservation Corps. Although it was not made a permanent agency (it was to end three years later) Roosevelt signed the bill. In 1939, under legislation aimed at consolidating federal relief programs, the CCC came under the Federal Security Agency. By this time it was becoming increasingly difficult to get adequate recruits to meet the needs of the CCC. Increasingly, men were either taking jobs in better paying defense-related jobs or were joining the military. The CCC programs became increasing connected to the military, with some camps located at military bases, and certain defense-related training taking place at the camps. As of the bombing of Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941) all CCC projects that did not directly relate to the war effort were ended. The program ended completely on June 30, 1943.

Resettlement Authority

Residents of the park land began a tenuous period of occupation as their land was condemned by, or sold to, the state and later as the federal government took control of the area. Although an overwhelming majority of the residents moved out when they received notice to do so, in a few cases residents were forcibly evicted.[105] Strong action to compel occupants of houses in the park to leave, however, was slowed by a number of forces. Formal acceptance of the deeds by the federal government awaited the outcome of a suit filed in federal court styled, *Robert H. Via v. The State Commission on Conservation and Development of the State of Virginia*. The suit challenged the constitutionality of the condemnation by Virginia of land intended to be donated to the federal government.[106] Removal of the residents was also slowed when President Roosevelt (apparently with strong input from First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt) and Secretary of Interior Ickes decided that residents of the park should not be removed from their land until new homes in a settlement area became available.

To address the President and First Lady's concerns, in September 1934, the Subsistence Homestead Division of the Department of Agriculture purchased 343 acres at Ida, Virginia, just west of Hawksbill Mountain, to construct a settlement for displaced residents of the park. Although construction of the settlement started within a few months, soon after, the Solicitor General of the Department of Interior rendered an opinion that the law establishing the program authorized construction of settlements only for residents of urban areas. This proved to be only a temporary obstacle, however, as the Subsistence Homestead Division was brought within the new Resettlement Administration (which became part of the Department of Agriculture). The new organization was headed by former Undersecretary of Agriculture, and member of the Brain Trust, Rexford G.Tugwell, and under the new authority, construction began again. The first homes in Ida were occupied in October 1937. A total of 172 park families were placed in seven resettlement communities in the area. In addition to the Ida Valley

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[105]The most famous of these came in October 1935 when Melancthon Cliser and his wife, who owned and operated a gas station along U.S. 211, were evicted.

[106]After losing at the District Court level, Via appealed the case to the Supreme Court, which heard the case in November 1935 and finally rendered a decision the same month against Via.

settlement, settlements were located near Standardsville in Greene County and Elkton in Rockingham County, at Madison and Wolftown in Madison County, and at Washington and Flint Hill in Rappahannock County.[107] It was 1940 before the former residents of the park were all finally moved into new quarters. The Corbin and Jones Mountain cabins, and two houses located in the Headquarters area, are the only surviving homes of pre-park residents in the park today.

[107]Darwin Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 252.

LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

Resources located within the park associated with this theme include areas along Skyline Drive and most of the developed areas of the park that were part of the early master planning for the park. In general, they include the design of waysides, campgrounds, cabin and lodge areas, overlooks, roads, trails, and entrance stations. They include the many extant landscape furnishings from this era such as water fountains, rock walls, etc. Developed areas that fall outside of the time period of the context include: Matthews Arms, Dundo Group Camp, Panorama, and Loft Mountain.

Landscape design of this period in the park area was a product of well-developed National Park Service design theory.[108] Much of this theory (such as the use of curvilinear design) had its origin in the naturalistic landscape design of Downing as discussed in the "Early Recreation Uses" context. Perhaps the most significant component of the design theory was the importance of preserving existing landscape and restoring landscape altered by man to its original condition (see "Conservation" theme in this context). Park Service landscape design theory [109] emphasized the complete understanding of particular landscapes and plants within them. For instance, the restoration of native flora and fauna called for an educated restoration that entailed specific knowledge about the conditions under which specific plants thrived. Like Downing, Park Service design theory emphasized the opportunity for a series of unfolding scenes threaded together, for instance, by roads or paths. Trails were to be designed so that important views were viewed at turns in the path at rising grades. Smaller scale scenes such as those of specific objects were best viewed straight ahead and from a distance. Broad vistas were best seen at an angle. The scenery was to be allotted along the trail in a variety of settings. Roads, trails, and buildings while being positioned to take advantage of views, were at the same time placed so as to be as inconspicuous as possible.

Much of the landscaping around developed areas and around the drive was completed by CCC workers. Among the CCC landscape-related activities were CCC-Job 62 and 88 that focused on "landscape naturalization," the process of moving native species that were located on the site of construction and transplanting them to temporary nurseries before replanting them in other sites. CCC Job 88 involved operation of a nursery at Big Meadows. This nursery was established to "ensure the success of transplants" to be used throughout the park. Having transplants (and in some cases cuttings) spend a limited time in special beds, strengthened the plants and their root systems. The presence of a nursery permitted a ready stock of a number of types of plants. Fraser fir (Abies fraseri), red spruce (Picea rubens), and Canadian yew (Taxus canadensis) were especially singled out for cultivation. These declining species in the park were started via transplants and seeds, and studies were made about their germination and growth to understand the appropriateness of these species in the park. CCC-Job 62 involved the transplanting of native species (and a small amount of nursery stock), much of which came from the Big Meadows nursery. Stock was planted on slopes along the drive to control erosion, around picnic areas and campgrounds for screening (for privacy or to conceal "undesirable " objects),

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[108]See generally, McClelland, *Presenting Nature.*

[109]See generally, Frank Waugh, "Planning for the Restoration, Conservation and Utilization of Wild Lands for Parks and Forest" (1935).

to frame vistas, and transplanting to heavily used areas to replace mature stands in the future. Under this project, 300,000 trees or shrubs were transplanted.[110]

Branch of Plans and Design

Much of the pre-park planning (most of which related to the Skyline Drive) and all of the early park development was planned and designed by the National Park Service's Branch of Plans and Design headed by Thomas Vint.[111] The duties of the Branch of Plans and Design as described by Vint in 1933 were as follows:

> *Functioning not unlike a private professional office, the Branch of Plans and Design . . . serves as professional adviser to the Service in matters of architecture and landscape architecture. The park superintendents and public utility operators are in the position of clients, while the Branch of Engineering and Bureau of Public Roads are collaborators.*
>
> *Although not assuming direct charge of construction funds, the branch is vitally concerned with all phases of park development. Its function is to prepare a practical, well considered course of development for every park and monument (as represented on the Master Plan) . . . The branch prepares the landscape and architectural plans for the Government facilities contracted through or constructed by the park superintendent's organization. It reviews the plans submitted by the park operators for tourist accommodations and the plans for road projects, preparing the architectural plans and specifications for bridges, guard rails, tunnel portals, and other structures constructed by the Bureau of Public Roads as adjuncts to the major road system.*[112]

The office was organized with a number of "resident landscape architects" who had responsibility for individual parks.[113] From 1935 to WWII, the resident landscape architect for Shenandoah was Harvey P. Benson. Benson was born April 25, 1905 in Matlock, Iowa. He received a BS in landscape architecture from Iowa State University in 1927 and after graduating worked in private practice in Illinois and Colorado for six years. He started working for the National Park Service in 1933 at Rocky

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[110]Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 198.

[111]The Park Services' work at Shenandoah prior to the transfer of ownership was partially attributable to its involvement in the supervision of Emergency Conservation Work. However, some of its involvement was strictly unofficial and a function of the fact that the transfer imminent. According to Horace Albright, ". . . the reality of turning [the park land] over to the United States was close enough for the National Park Service to cooperate in its supervision as well as planning for its future." Horace M. Albright, "My Trips With Harold Ickes," *Washington History*, Spring 1990, p.37-8.

[112]Thomas Vint, "Report of the Branch of Plans and Design," (August 29, 1933) NARA, Record Group 79, Entry 7B, (at NARA II, College Park, MD).

[113] In 1934, Vint, as head of the division, moved to Washington as the work was divided between an eastern (Yorktown) office and a western (San Francisco) office.

Mountain National Park and shortly after was transferred to Chattanooga. He came to Shenandoah in 1935 and left it for duty with the Army during WWII. Following the war he continued working for the National Park Service in the regional office in Omaha, Nebraska, where he was involved in planning Bureau of Reclamation water projects. Still working for the National Park Service, he moved to San Francisco in the 1950s. He died while residing in Sun City, California, around 1968.[114] At Shenandoah, in addition to supervising a substantial staff, Benson also was involved in the design of some buildings and in the final check on, for instance, master plans.

During the heyday of Depression-era work at the park at least a dozen individuals worked under Benson. Four other "assistant" landscape architects or technicians who are known to have worked at the park during this time include G.E. ("Hop") Baughan, M.J. Orcutt, Scudder Griffing, George C. Knox, Wallace G. Atkinson, Henri Carbanne, James K. Somerville, and James T. Swanson.



"[SNP] Landscape Technicians," (Left to Right: Baughan, Orcutt, Griffing, Benson), 1936
(Shenandoah National Park Archives)

The resident landscape architects were generally either landscape professionals or engineers; there was

[114]Information on Benson was supplied by Iowa State University Alumni Association, various oral interviews, and *The Regional Review*, February 1940.

reportedly only one architect in the group.[115] The planning work of the resident landscape architects was done in cooperation with the park superintendent and the regional Park Service officials. The available reports of the landscape architects indicate that most planning decisions went through both the regional office and the park Superintendent. Their work on the Skyline Drive was done in cooperation with the Bureau of Public Roads (BPR), and the records indicate that Benson's associates made frequent trips to the local BPR office in Roanoke. Typical of the type of input made by the landscape architects was to change an alignment to avoid a heavy rock cut. The resident landscape architects also spent much of their time supervising the landscaping work of the ECW/CCC.

Although the resident landscape architects appear to have major roles in many landscape design issues, others clearly played an important role. For instance, according to one report, Chief Landscape Architect Thomas Vint was the source for a suggestion that more grass, annual and perennial flowers, and weeds (and fewer trees and shrubs) be planted in undeveloped areas of the park. Vint also suggested that vines such as Virginia creeper, bittersweet, wild grape, and clematis be used on rock cuts and along guardwalls. Along the drive he favored opening important vistas more and creating bays to "lighten up the ever-encroaching tree growth . . . thereby making the existing forest outline less monotonous and more interesting."[116]

Occasionally others were brought in to study specific problems. One of the first systematic looks at the landscaping needs of the park was completed in June 1938. R.B. Moore, a forester, conducted a field survey of the entire park area to determine the location of areas that were in need of planting, erosion control, etc. The general conclusions of the report were threefold. First, that approximately 245 acres of eroded cultivated areas or pastures and 10 miles of eroded paths should be replanted with native species. Second, that areas with dense sod, which would not easily revert to woods, be replanted with trees. Third, that indigenous species, in particular trees and shrubs that were uncommon in the park (including fir, spruce, fringe tree, Canadian yew, rosebay rhododendron, catawba rhododendron, mountain ash, and pines other than Virginia pine) should be underplanted (that is, planted in existing forested areas) on chosen sites. The second suggestion, of replanting on sod areas was not approved, but the other two suggestions were followed.

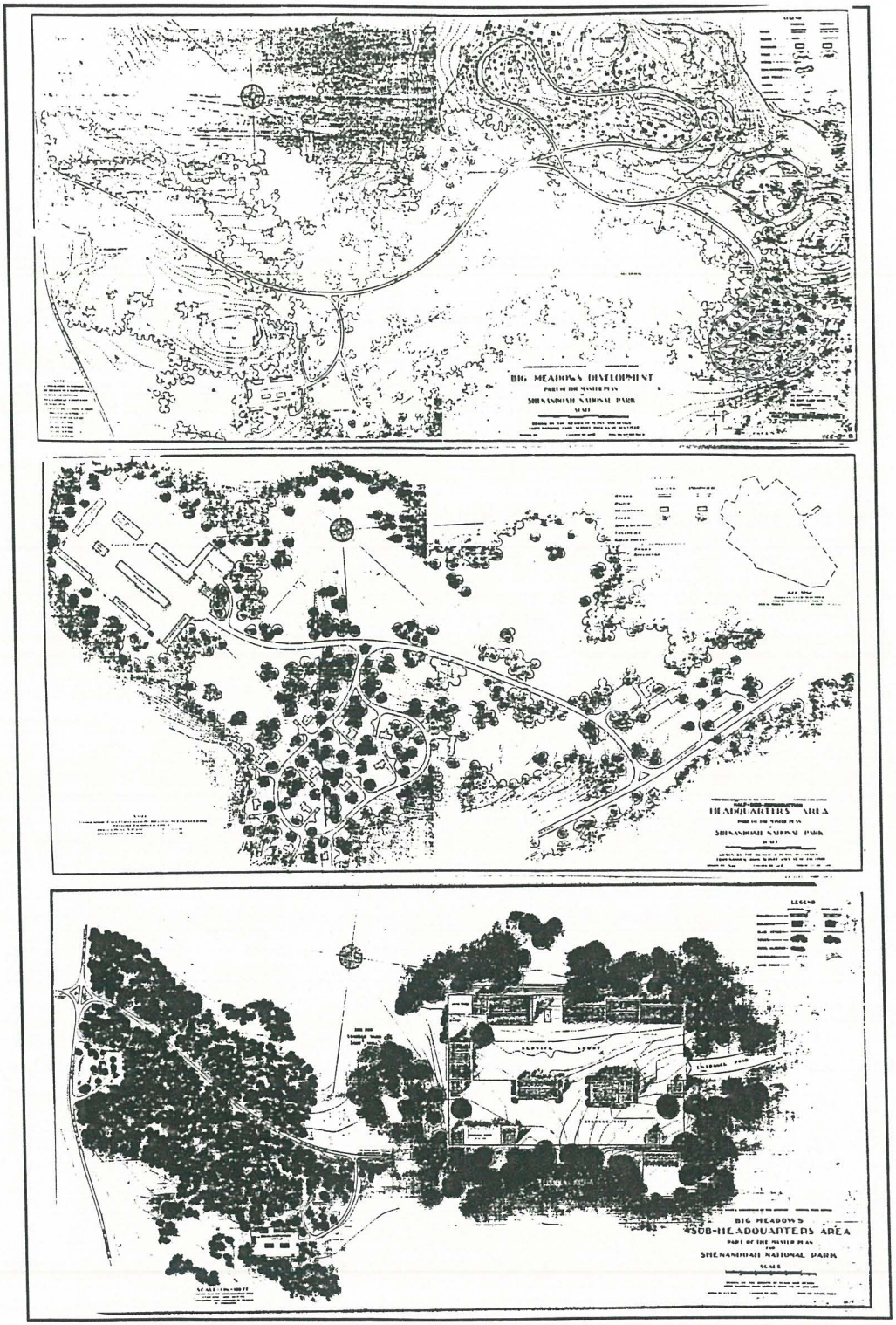
Master Planning

By the early 1920s, master planning had become one of the cornerstones of park development. Annual reports from this time emphasized the need for such plans to precede both National Park Service and concessionaire construction. By the early 1930s, plans for each National Park had been developed. Master plans were seen as a means to ensure that a park would develop in a rational manner that both

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[115]Oral interview with G.E. Baughan, September 21, 1995. See "Architecture" theme for a discussion of the resident landscape architects' design-related work.

[116]Report of Harvey P. Benson, July 1936. The issue of the degree to which vistas should be opened was a continuing one. By the end of the war years, many previously open areas had grown up, and it became necessary to again institute a program of vista clearing. There were objections from a number of sources to the cutting, but the idea prevailed that having outlooks with no views was not appropriate.



Master Plans for Big Meadows Area (General Area and Sub-headquarters) and Headquarters Area, 1930s (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

preserved outstanding scenery and provided for public facilities.[117] Under National Park Service's design theory, park buildings were subordinate to the overall plan for the park. Buildings were to "bow deferentially before the park plan" rather than become a "feature." The park plan was supposed to determine the "size, character, location, and use" of every structure. Elements of the plan were interrelated to ensure the plan's "workability and harmony." Although much of the planning work related to the Skyline Drive was completed before the development of a master plan, all post-1935/36 development at Shenandoah was closely tied to plans both for the park as a whole and for individual "developed areas."[118]

The Shenandoah master plans generally included a title sheet, index map, roads and trails map, fire control map, a general plan of the entire park that showed the location of "developed areas," and individual plans for developed areas. The earliest plans, in addition to showing the broad outlines of the park and the route of the Skyline Drive, provided detailed information on areas that were scheduled to be developed in the near future, such as Big Meadows. In addition to a 1935 plan, pre-World War II master plans are known to exist for at least 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, and 1940.

Generally the plans grouped buildings together by function. These groupings were to be aesthetically pleasing and in harmony with the natural surroundings. A specific architectural theme for each grouping, drawn from local materials or architectural designs, was also selected.[119] One example of such a functional grouping was maintenance areas. In the 1920s, the concept of clustering all maintenance-related facilities together in a single location gained favor and resulted in preliminary schemes to be used in parks. Charles Punchard came up with a typical ensemble that included stables, equipment sheds, a garage, a warehouse, shops for machinery, blacksmithing, electrical work, painting, plumbing, and carpentry. The buildings themselves were arranged for maximum efficiency and were usually located on side roads, out of the way of the park visitors. Most often, the maintenance area was located within the headquarters area.[120] At Shenandoah, the Big Meadows and Headquarters maintenance areas followed these guidelines.[121] Both areas are rectilinear with (mostly

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[117]Linda Flint McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service,* Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1993, p. 179.

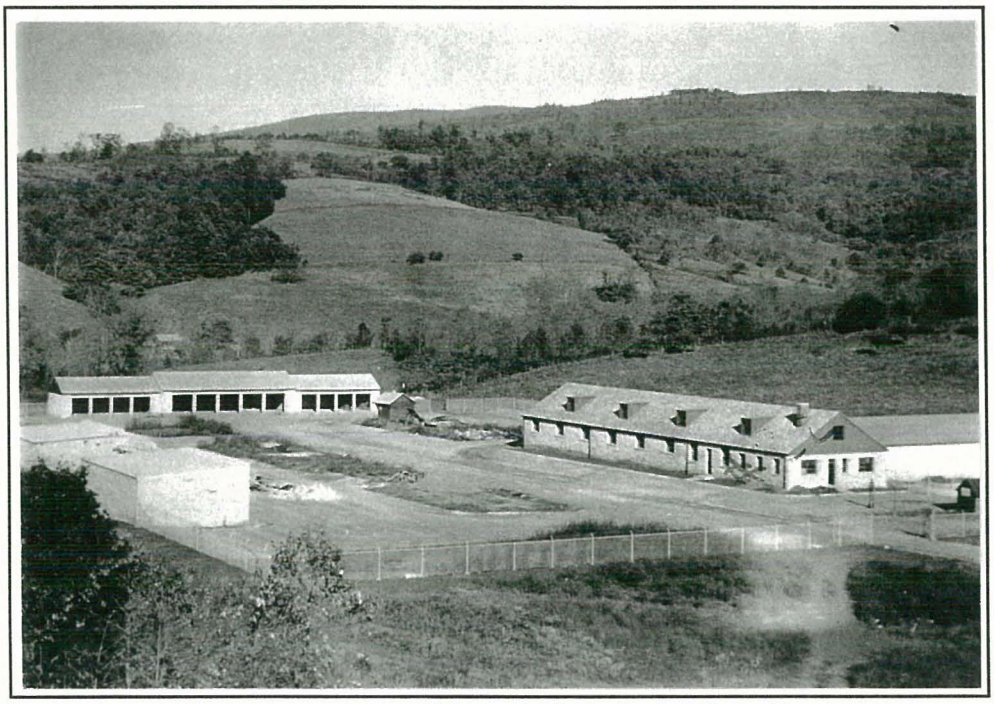
[118]There was continuity before and after the establishment of the park because the ECW/CCC work done prior to the development of the master plans was supervised and/or designed by the same individuals from the National Park Service's Branch of Plans and Design who were involved in the master planning process after the creation of the park.

[119]McClelland, *Presenting Nature* p.142.

[120]McClelland, *Presenting Nature*, p. 86.

[121]The Piney River and Simmons Gap maintenance areas were not included in the master plans and apparently were informally sited to take advantage of the pre-park facilities at these locations. At Piney Branch, a temporary ranger station for the district was needed so an existing CCC building was put into service. Thereafter maintenance facilities were also located at the site.

long, narrow) buildings located around the periphery of the rectangle and within the rectangle in parallel rows.[122] The two areas had distinctive architectural themes—the Headquarters area employing local sandstone for exterior walls and the Big Meadows area employing flitched-edge vertical siding.



Headquarters Maintenance Area, 1940 (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

Campground design followed a different path. In the early 1920s, with the increasing popularity of automobile travel, national parks enlarged their campgrounds to accommodate the growing number of motorists/campers. At the time, campgrounds were located in open fields or forest clearings, and provided at most water, fireplaces, and a comfort station. However, individual camp sites were generally not well defined and overall the campgrounds were not well organized. Cars were haphazardly parked, tents were hung from the sides of vehicles, and campers set up portable tables.[123] Camping areas became increasingly unattractive as standing wood was cut down for fires, the remains of campfires were located randomly throughout, automobiles dripped oil into the soil, and campers'

[122]Historic photographs of the area (and original plans) show the Big Meadows maintenance area enclosed by a wood fence. The rectilinear scheme may have its source in Charles Punchard's 1919 scheme for the design of park administrative areas. He called for structures to be located around three sides of a centrally located open square. Later industrial groupings "were arranged to form enclosed compounds." See McClelland, *Presenting Nature* pp. 87, 142.

[123]McClelland, *Presenting Nature*, p. 161.

constant trampling on the ground killed off vegetation, in particular harming trees by damaging their roots. As a result of these problems, by the late 1920s, a number of campgrounds were abandoned.

The solutions to the problems were to come from an unexpected source. In 1932, the U.S. Forest Service introduced the Meinecke plan for campground development, whose application resulted in the modern campground. E. P. Meinecke was a plant pathologist who had studied at length the problems of the Forest Service campgrounds which were similar to those of the National Park system. His theory of campground design was premised on providing a naturalistic campground environment for the camper, while preserving the existing natural plant life.

To implement this, Meinecke first urged that more attention be paid to where campgrounds were located. To ensure that sites could withstand intense use, he proposed that they be selected based on soil type, projected length of seasonal use, type of vegetation, and altitude. The heart of the Meinecke plan, however, was campground design. Fundamental to his plan was the dividing of the campground into individual campsites. Each campsite would consist of a parking space and a clearing equipped with a fireplace, a fixed picnic table, and a tent site.[124] Vegetation would be protected from automobiles by strategically placed boulders and logs. Permanent paths to comfort stations and other locations were employed to prevent a proliferation of different trails. Trees and shrubs between campsites served as screens, providing privacy and a naturalistic setting. Amphitheaters and campfire circles were also included as essential elements of the new campground. The design allowed for parking in parking spurs adjacent to the individual campsites along one-way loop roads, which limited the amount of automobile-related damage to the site. It took several years for the Meinecke plan to be successfully implemented, because of the slow nature of clearing vegetation and building roads. However, his ideas soon became so widely adopted that park planners referred to the "meineckizing" of campgrounds.[125]

At Shenandoah, the Meinecke plan was clearly the starting place for the design of the Big Meadows campground. The use of a one-way road system and individual campsites provided with fixed tables, a tent site, fireplaces, and parking spurs comes directly from Meinecke. A later innovation, however, was the use of camping sites that span the width of the loop and provide access to campsites from two roads. The arrangement, which was designed for use by travel trailers, appeared in the National Park Service publication, *Park and Recreation Structures*, a year after the opening of the campground in 1937.[126]

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[124]McClelland, *Presenting Nature,* p. 162.

[125]McClelland, *Presenting Nature,* p. 163.

[126]McClelland, *Presenting Nature,* p. 222.



"Big Meadows Campground Looking East," n.d. (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

Meinecke also addressed the design of picnic areas. For these also, he advocated a one-way loop road system with off-road parking and fixed fireplace areas. At Shenandoah, both the Big Meadows and Dickey Ridge picnic areas generally follow this plan. Both employ pull-in parking areas, a one-way traffic pattern, and fixed sites for fire grates. Both picnic areas were designed with permanent paths leading to and from comfort stations and parking areas. The two areas differ significantly in their topography and therefore in their individual design. The Dickey Ridge picnic area is built around a small knoll, and a central path runs along the ridge with side paths connecting to the parking areas. At Big Meadows, the site is largely flat and a cloverleaf pattern was selected for the layout of the paths.

The National Park Service also approved the design of concession facilities and generally decided on the appropriate location for facilities (as consistent with the park master plan). In general, concessionary facilities followed the overall National Park Service design principles (use of native materials, fitting buildings to the setting, etc.). The National Park Service initiated the concept of waysides—an idea that originated with landscape architect Jens Jensen.[127] As seen at Dickey Ridge and Big Meadows, waysides were areas located along a parkway that included visitor services such as gasoline stations, comfort stations, stores, restaurants, and often picnic areas. The concept of

[127]McClelland, *Presenting Nature,* p. 224.

combining a number of functions in a single building and in grouping buildings together to make the least impact on the landscape was consistent with the National Park Service's naturalist design ideal.

The design of "housekeeping cabins" like those at Big Meadows were also the subject of study by the National Park Service.[128] Cabin areas first were established in national parks in the mid-1920s. Their popularity, and the desire of concessionaires to greatly expand the number of such cabin camps sparked a 1929 study of housekeeping cabins and resulting standards for housekeeping cabins. The standards prescribed the size of the cabin as well as specifics such as the number of windows. The placement of cabins was also somewhat controversial, as concessionaires in other parks were anxious to squeeze as many into a small area as possible. This oftentimes conflicted with the National Park Service principle of integrating buildings to sites. At Big Meadows, although an extensive collection of cabins was planned, only seven cabins were built, and these were grouped together in a loose circular arrangement in a wooded area facing Black Rock.



Big Meadow Cabin Area, 1940 (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

[128]See generally, McClelland, *Presenting Nature,* p. 142. A group of cabins were also constructed at Dickey Ridge; these were later moved to Lewis Mountain and other areas.

CONSERVATION

There are no built resources located within the park primarily associated with the "Conservation" theme. However, in general, the appearance of much of the landscape of the park today was influenced by the conservation ethic.

Before the establishment of Shenandoah National Park, the area that was to become the park was promoted as a natural area, with newspaper articles describing it using such adjectives as "pristine," and "primeval." It was evident, however, to all who viewed the park area that this was, instead, an area that had been used by man for various purposes for hundreds of years. Large areas of what was to be the park area had been maintained as fields, and much of the forested area of the parkland was new, not old, growth. Although the preservation of existing natural landscapes and the rehabilitation of altered landscapes was a central feature of Park Service landscape design theory in general, [129] given its history, when the park was established there was a special emphasis on reestablishing the park's "natural" state.

Much of the restoration work was completed by ECW/CCC workers. Work projects assigned to the ECW/CCC (and later the Civilian Public Service) included planting native trees and shrubs, erasing signs of old woods roads, controlling erosion, and demolishing pre-park structures. (See "Landscape" theme). In addition to these efforts, attention was also given to fighting tree diseases, many of which were inadvertently introduced from foreign countries. Although there was no cure for the widespread Chestnut blight, much effort was spent on clearing diseased trees and on reducing the white pine blister rust through the removal of wild gooseberries located close to the pine stands. Similarly, a significant effort was made to reduce or eliminate aggressive introduced vegetation, the most prevalent of which was the tree-of-heaven plant. Conservation measures also involved the prevention of fires, some of which were natural and some of which were manmade. Fire protection measures also provided a justification for many types of projects including the development of springs and water lines and the construction of roads and trails.

The efforts to reforest and prevent forest fires went hand-in-hand with encouraging native animal life. Because of the long history of man's use of the area, by the 1930s few of the native large mammals remained. Species native to the area originally included bison, elk, deer, fisher, timber wolf, mountain lion, and beaver. Deer and bears were introduced into the park in 1934. (A native bear population was extant in the general vicinity of the park, so their introduction was likely unnecessary.) Beaver were unsuccessfully reintroduced into the park in 1938 and 1939; however, they eventually returned to the park on their own. Wild turkeys were released in 1938 and 1940. By 1942, the park estimated a total population of 3 cougar, 370 bobcats, 40 deer, and 64 turkeys.[130] Fish, in particular trout, were also released into the park, particularly in the late 1930s and 1940s.

Another important component of the effort to return Shenandoah to its "natural" state involved the

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[129]McClelland, *Presenting Nature*, pp. 82 et seq, pp. 119 et seq.

[130]Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 215, 216.

demolition of pre-park structures. This task was accomplished as occupants of residences in the park moved out and as abandoned structures fell into disrepair. Both ECW/CCC workers and, later, Civilian Public Service workers were involved in the demolition effort (see "War and Post-War Park Administration" context statement).



"Razing Old Log House on Lee Highway," c. 1935 (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

RECREATION

The many buildings and structures located within the park associated with this theme include a variety of types of resources including those constructed by the concessionaire such as lodges, cabins, and waysides, and resources such as campgrounds and picnic areas constructed by the Park Service.

With its opening in 1936, thousands of visitors poured into the park and utilized the existing recreational facilities, driving on the scenic Skyline Drive (see "Early Recreational Uses in the Park Area . . . ." context statement), and enjoying the out-of-doors at picnic areas (at Pinnacles, South River, and Elkwallow). Additional picnic areas were soon opened (Dickey Ridge, Big Meadows, and Lewis Mountain) to accommodate the crowds as was the first campground, completed in 1937, at Big Meadows.

Park-owned recreational areas were augmented by privately owned facilities. When the park opened, existing operations at Skyland and Panorama, as well as the Spotswood tearoom, continued to function under agreements with the Park Service. However, with the flood of tourists that accompanied the opening of Skyline Drive, there was a concern that the existing commercial operations would not be sufficient and the Park Service began plans to expand tourist facilities.

In December 1932, Chief Landscape Architect Thomas Vint had visited the park and had recommended that facilities for food, gasoline stations, and souvenirs should be developed at four or five places along the drive, and that overnight facilities, with more formal restaurants, be located at Skyland and Big Meadows. He also recommended that all of the concessions be placed in the hands of a single concessionaire. After internal discussion within the Park Service about whether the concessions within the park should be divided up within the three districts and after bids were advertised multiple times, it was February 1937 before a contract was finally signed with a group called Virginia Sky-Line, Inc. headed by Richmond businessman Mason Magnum. Their contract, which ran for 20 years, permitted the company to "provide, establish, maintain and operate lodges and camps for visitors, and stores, cafeterias, barber shops, bathhouses, gasoline filling stations, automobile and saddle horse transportation facilities . . . " [131] The contract called for Virginia Sky-Line to pay the Park Service a fee of $1,250 annually plus a percentage of the net profit over 6% of the invested capital. As part of their contract, Virginia Sky-Line took over operation of all of the existing commercial enterprises within in the park and despite his desire to stay on and manage Skyland for the new concessionaire, George Freeman Pollock's official long association with the Skyland development came to an end and he went into forced retirement.[132]

A year before the awarding of the contract, the Park Service had unveiled ambitious plans calling for investments of up to $1,750,000 for reconditioning Skyland, constructing facilities at Big Meadows, Hogback Mountain, Loft Mountain, Bear Wallow Springs, and Hog Wall Flats. Smaller facilities were

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[131]Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 262.

[132]He requested and received permission to occupy two buildings (Massanutten Cottage and the nearby Annex) for the duration of his own and his wife's life.

planned at Grand Gravel Springs, Sexton Shelter, Dickey Ridge, Calvary Rocks, Ivy Creek, South River, and Comer's Deadening. A series of seven "cabin colonies" was planned. Virginia Sky-Line, however, favored a more conservative approach. It first planned a central lodge and overnight cabins at Big Meadows. Soon thereafter it agreed to "roadside stations" at Big Meadows and Elkwallow, two additional buildings at Skyland, and a new lodge at Dickey Ridge. (They later agreed to construct a facility for African-Americans at Lewis Mountain.)



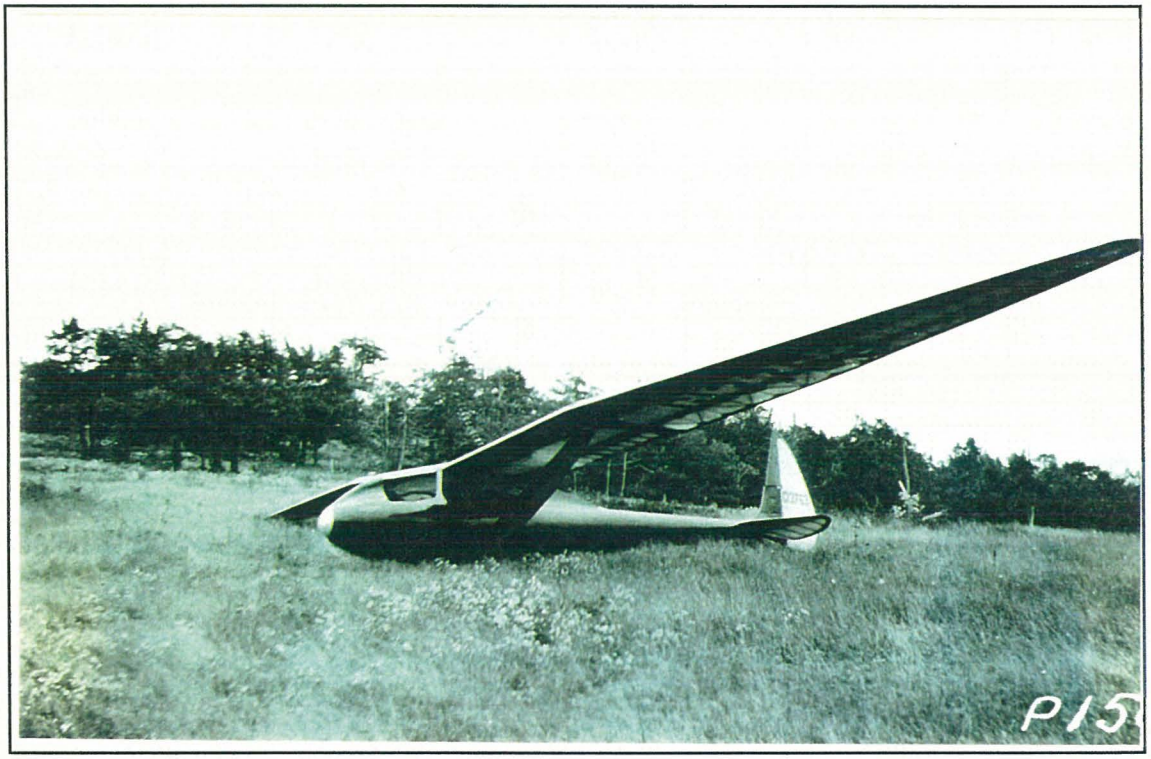
Big Meadows Wayside, n.d. (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

The first work accomplished by the concessionaire in 1937 was the "enlarging and installing of modern equipment" at the existing facilities at Skyland, Thornton Gap, and Swift Run. At Skyland, the CCC renovated many of the cabins for the concessionaire's use. By 1938, the Elkwallow and Big Meadows waysides were constructed. The Dickey Ridge facility, which included a dining room for 60 people as well as a dancing terrace, coffee shop, and service station, opened its doors in May, 1938. Cabins were constructed and in use at Big Meadows and Elkwallow by 1939. The lodge at Big Meadows, which included both a restaurant accommodating 150, and 26 guest rooms was also completed in 1939.

By September 1937, the yearly visitation reached one million, a first for any national park, and two issues in relation to the management of facilities in the park soon came to the forefront. Representatives of Virginia Sky-Line believed that more recreational facilities should be constructed within the park to keep visitors in the park for a longer stay. The Park Service, however, discouraged such development as being more consistent with urban parks. After the war years, this controversy continued, with the concessionaire requesting that it be able to construct swimming pools at Skyland

and Big Meadows. The pools were rejected for the time being, as was an airport. The other major issue that surfaced within the first few years of the operation of the Virginia Sky-Line was that of segregation. This issue is discussed in the "War and Post-War Park Administration" context statement.

Two other recreational uses that flourished in the park during this period were soaring and downhill skiing. The first glider flight in the park area was in May 1933. The Park Service not only permitted the soaring, they also designated Big Meadows as a national soaring site. CCC Camp 2 constructed a runway and temporary hangar for the soarers to use.[133]



Glider at Big Meadows, c. 1934 (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

[133]By the 1940s the park service discouraged soaring in the park. (Lambert, "Administrative History," p. 134.

ARCHITECTURE

Resources associated with this theme include most buildings and structures within the park. Buildings vary from the modest and utilitarian—such as the log "comfort stations" in picnic areas and campgrounds, to the elaborate—such as the Big Meadows lodge. Most buildings associated with the theme are in the "rustic" style, as interpreted by National Park Service designers. Other major buildings of the period are attributable to Marcellus Wright, Jr. the architect for the concessionaire, Virginia Sky-Line, Inc.

Architectural resources relating to this period in the park's history have two basic design sources. Buildings constructed for the Park Service (such as service buildings, comfort stations, shelters, and ranger stations) were, with a few minor exceptions, designed by Park Service personnel. Buildings constructed for the park concessionaire, Virginia Sky-Line, (including lodges, cabins, etc.) were designed by Richmond architect Marcellus Wright, Jr.

Park Service Buildings

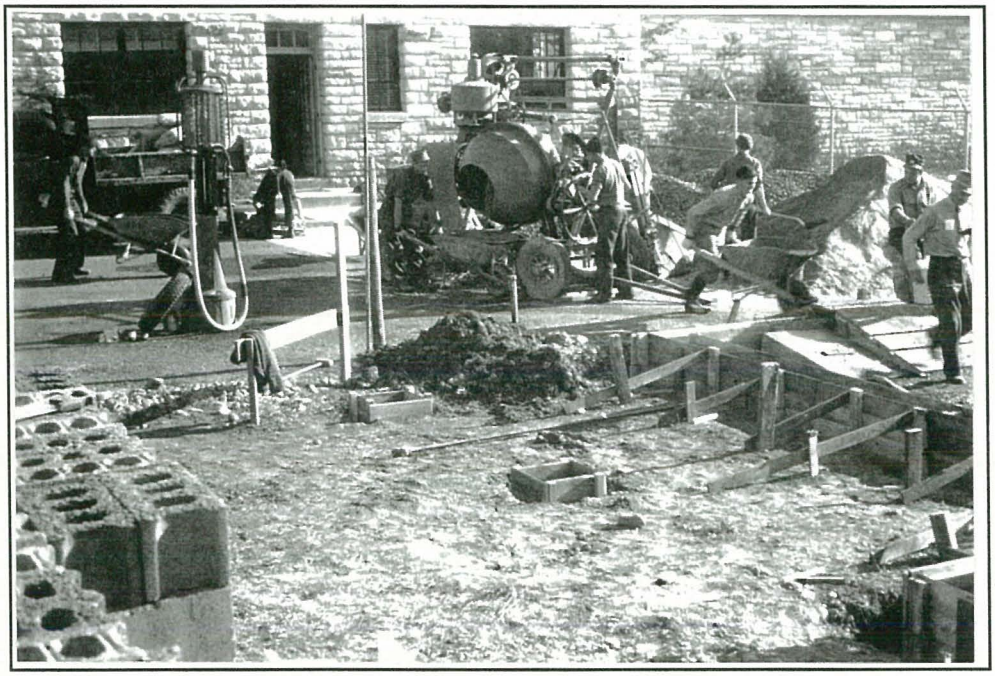
Resident landscape architect G.E. Baughan recalls that most working drawings for park buildings were drawn up at the regional headquarters.[134] Preliminary sketches for some or all of the buildings, however, originated at the park.[135] These were sent to Region I of the National Park Service where the Branch of Plans & Design developed working drawings. Plans and details related to heating, plumbing and electric lighting were furnished by the Branch of Engineering. Some final plans however, apparently were completed at the park. Baughan recalls completing plans for park comfort stations in the mid-1930s. According to the title blocks on the plans, other buildings designed by the resident landscape architects included a pumphouse, Imhoff tank, and temporary fire towers—all of which were prepared in the Luray offices. Baughan's name, as well as Harvey Benson's, appears on many of the plans for the buildings at the Headquarters maintenance area. From the regional office, during 1936-37, A. Paul Brown's initials appear on a number of drawings, most located at the Big Meadows maintenance area.[136] Other named individuals that appear to have been specifically involved

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[134]Oral interview with G.E. Baughan. Baughan was a Virginia native who graduated from the University of Virginia School of Architecture in 1934. After graduation he took a job in Luray but soon after, in August 1936, went to work for the National Park Service at Shenandoah as the "camp technician junior architect." Thereafter, he did mostly engineering work, during the war with the Army Corps of Engineers. He eventually set up his own engineering and contracting firm, in Luray, which constructed a number of buildings at the park including Byrd Visitor Center.

[135]"Final Construction Report Administration Building - 752-02-255," January 2, 1941. NARA RG 79, Finding Aid 166, Entry 81, Box 120 (at Mid-Atlantic Regional facility in Philadelphia).

[136]Brown apparently worked for the San Francisco office of the Branch of Plans and Design in the late 1920s during which time he designed buildings at Yakima Park in Mt. Rainier National Park. By the end of the 1930s he was working in the eastern region. Later, in the 1940s, he did planning for Big Bend National Park. (See McClelland, *Presenting Nature*, p. 189). Brown's initials also appear in what apparently is an early sketch for the design of Big Meadows Lodge and a drawing of a standard comfort station design for the park.



Construction at Headquarters Maintenance Area, n.d. (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

in the design of buildings are "architects Good and Higgins" (the Headquarters Administration Building).[137]

Park Service buildings of this era, like the buildings (such as those at Skyland and Camp Hoover) of the previous era, were in the "Rustic" style.[138] The elements of the style were formalized in a 1938 NPS publication entitled *Park and Recreation Structures*. Like the earlier *Park Structures and Facilities* (1935) upon which it was based, the book incorporated the design philosophy of the National Park Service as developed by Thomas Vint, Herbert Maier, and others.[139] Although the style basically served as the National Park Service's "national style," it was considered to be best suited to wilderness park areas. The aim of the style as interpreted by National Park Service designers, was to achieve "sympathy with natural surroundings and with the past" through the use of native materials in proper

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[137]"Final Construction Report Administration Building - 752-02-255," The construction report states that Good & Higgins were involved in the inspection and approval of the stone construction. No additional information has been located concerning these architects.

[138]Although the style basically served as the Park Service's "national style" it was considered to be best suited to wilderness park areas. The elements of the style were explained in a 1938 NPS publication entitled, Park and Recreation Facilities.

[139]Many cornerstones of the style of course, have their immediate source in the work of Downing and Vaux.

scale[140] and the avoidance of severely straight lines and over-sophistication.

The successful use of native materials depended on both the use of local materials and on the way in which the materials were used. Stonework and log construction were particularly emphasized. Rock work first was required to be of the proper scale. (Generally small rocks were not appropriate.) The proper construction of rock walls was set out for particular attention, the overall aim being a look of informality. To achieve this, it was recommended that larger rocks predominate at the bottom of a wall and smaller sizes predominate at the top. A mix of sizes of rocks was seen as necessary to add variety and interest. In general it was suggested that rock work not be laid in courses. For log construction, logs were selected that were "pleasingly knotted" rather than uniform. The textural surface of the log was maintained, although bark was stripped from logs to avoid insects, wood rot, and litter (when the bark fell off).

To further aid in the important concept of subordination of a structure to its environment, five principles were followed. As to the first of these—the use of existing natural screening—the structure was to be located to take advantage of extant plant material or natural features. Lacking these, screening was developed by using local plant materials. (However, "planting out"—totally hiding structures behind plantings—was avoided). Signs showing the way to a less visible building were preferable "to the shock of finding a building intruding at a focal point or visible for great distances."

According to National Park Service design theory, the second important factor in "assimilating" a structure into its environment was the use of color. The appropriate color of a building was dictated by the colors of the immediate surroundings. In general, warm browns helped "retire" a building in a wooded setting. Light driftwood grey was also recommended. Where a contrasting color was necessary (i.e., for window muntins) a light buff or stone color was endorsed. Green, although relating well to the forest colors, was avoided because it was a difficult color "to get right" and because of its tendency to fade. Brown or weathered gray roofs were seen as blending better with the earth colors and tree trunks than other colors, in particular green, which was seen as being too solid and monotonous.

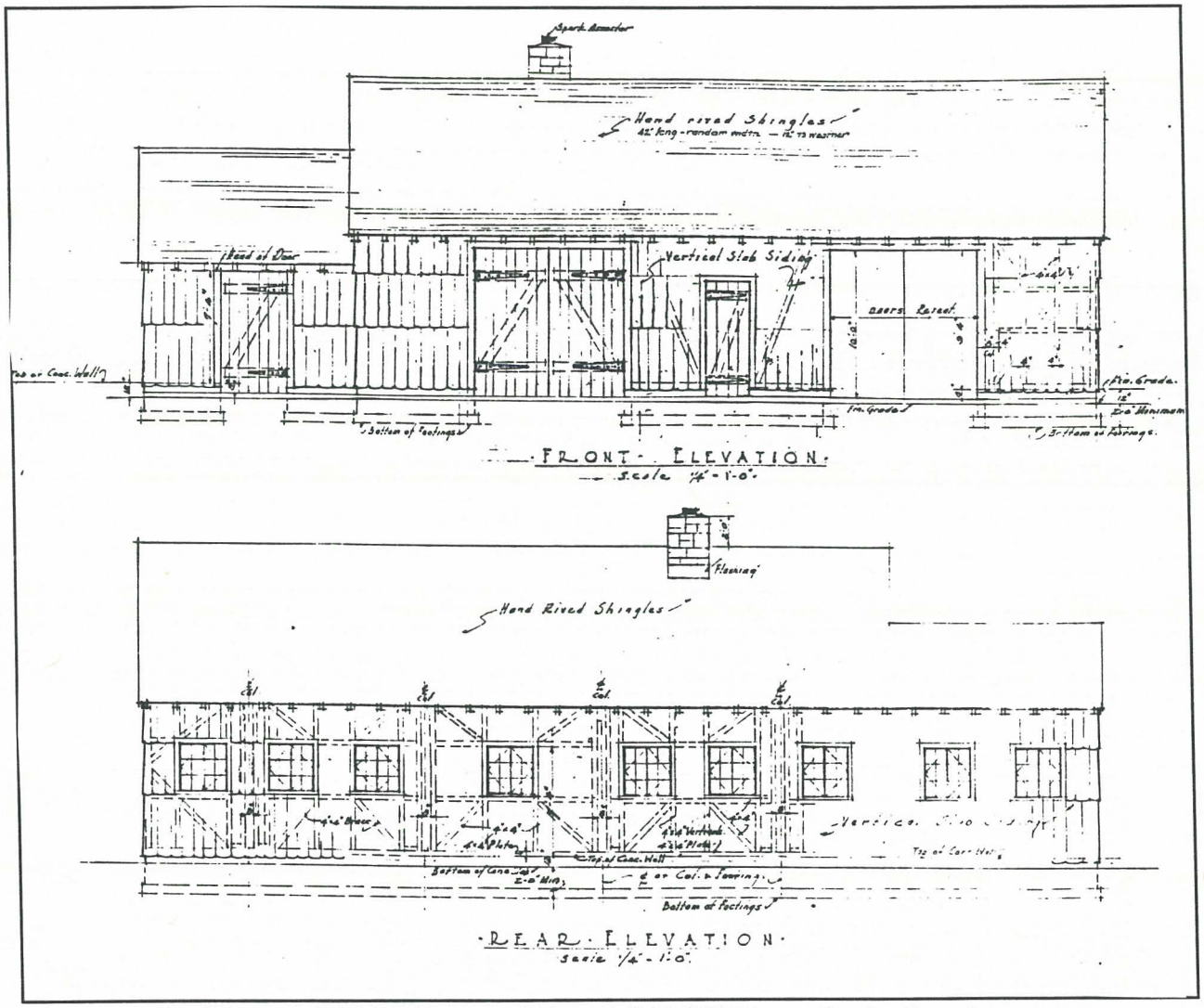
Another principle used to assimilate a building to a site was the use of foundation plantings (i.e., plantings that cover the "otherwise unhappy line of demarcation between building and ground.") Rock footings served the same purpose, as did the addition of a batter to a stone wall. The latter, if done well, gave the building the appearance of "having sprung from the soil. Park structures giving that impression are of the elect."

he other principles related to the design of the building. In contrast to urban forms, an emphasis only on the front facade of the building was to be avoided since park buildings were generally viewed from all sides. Where necessary, service functions were screened by a palisade. A final factor important in subordinating a building to its environment was a low silhouette and an overall emphasis on horizontal

[140]More specifically, structural elements, logs, timbers, and rocks should be matched to the scale of the surrounding environment.

lines. A low roof pitch (less than one-third where practical) kept the roof from dominating the structure and the setting.

The National Park Service buildings of this era at Shenandoah follow these tenets. A majority are low gabled structures of wood (including log) construction. Most are painted brown.[141] Some employ



"Blacksmith Shop" (BM-412), initialed by A. Paul Brown, 1937 (NPS-Denver Service Center)

uncoursed native stone. Another common characteristic is that in many cases, buildings within a

[141]Paint analysis (Engle, 1994-95) indicates that the buildings at the Headquarters Maintenance area were originally a medium grey/brown.

particular geographic/use "grouping" share common materials and/or design elements (i.e.,"architectural theme"). For instance, buildings of this era in the Headquarters maintenance area were mostly constructed of local sandstone and buildings at the Big Meadows maintenance area all have vertical slab siding and had wood shingle roofs (now being restored).

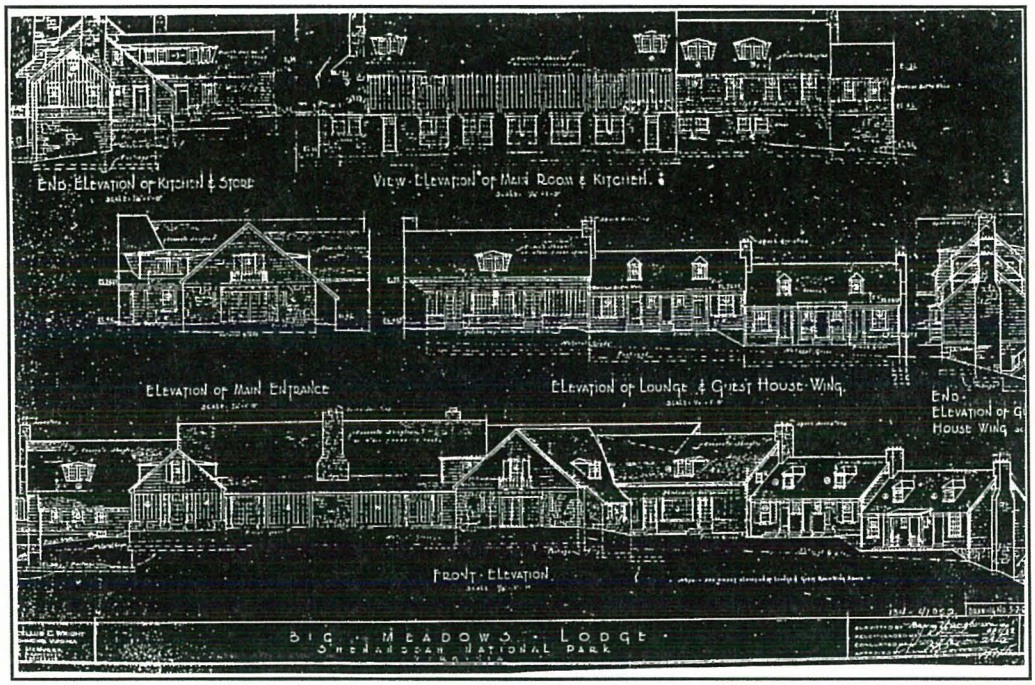
Virginia Sky-Line Buildings

Concessionaire buildings also adopted many elements of the rustic style. Facilities, including lodges, cabins, restaurants, commercial waysides and associated utility buildings, completed by the park concessionaire, Virginia Sky-Line Company prior to the war were designed by Richmond architect Marcellus Wright, Jr. Wright was born in 1907 in Henrico County, Virginia. His father, Marcellus E. Wright, Sr., also an architect, was a founding partner in what is today the Richmond architectural firm of Marcellus Wright, Cox & Smith. Like his father, Wright, Jr. attended the University of Pennsylvania, where he received a Bachelor's degree in Architecture in 1929 and a Master's in Architecture in 1930. After completing his education, he worked as a draftsman in his father's firm for a few years, then as an engineer in Richmond for the WPA and Emergency Relief Administration, then in 1935-36 he traveled to Iraq and served as the architect for the Joint Assyrian [archeological] Expedition. On his return, he became the architect for Virginia Sky-Line, a position he retained until 1940. In 1939, he brought the client with him when he returned to work with his father in the firm that then became Marcellus Wright & Son. During the war years he served as a major in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. After the war, he became a principal, then managing partner in the architectural firm founded by his father (known later as Marcellus Wright & Partners, then Marcellus Wright, Cox, Cilimberg & Ladd). He was the architect for the New State Office Building (Richmond, 1955) and his primary works include Western State Hospital (Staunton, 1946-64), and Byrd Airport (Richmond, 1948-69). He became a fellow of the American Institute of Architects in 1956. His community service in the Richmond area included work with a variety of governmental and nonprofit organizations.

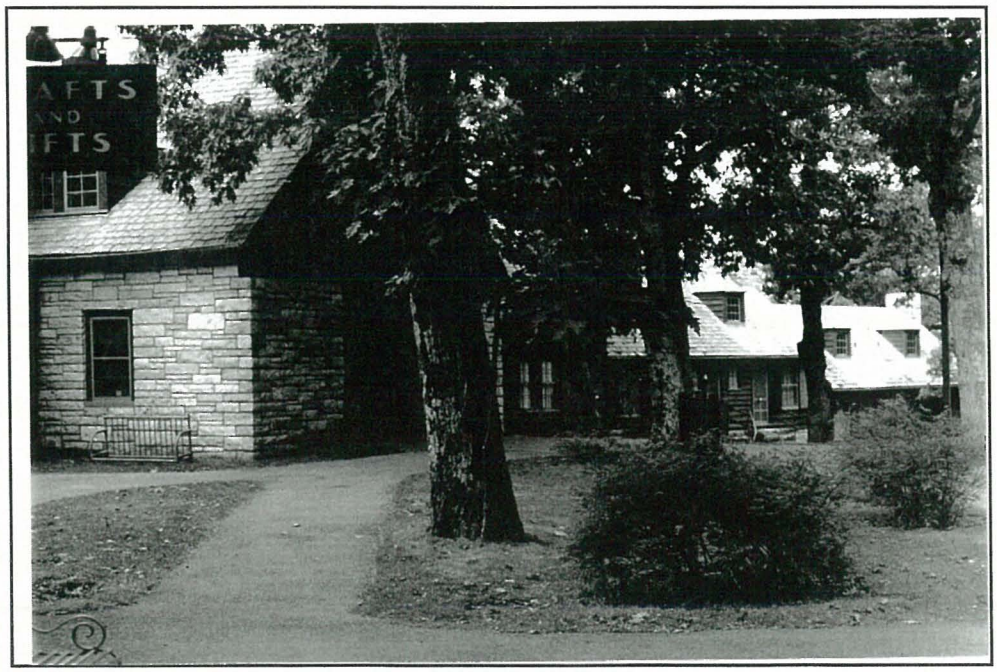
Mason Magnum, president of Virginia Sky-Line, was a personal friend of Wright and was responsible for his coming to work at Shenandoah.[142] Prior to the major design work for the buildings, Wright did travel to some of the western parks to look at models for the Shenandoah buildings, but given the quite different location and program, apparently took little from these examples. Instead, Wright studied the problem anew, and came up with design solutions that were most closely inspired by the setting, in particular, the area's topography. His major designs at Shenandoah—as seen for instance at Big Meadows Lodge—employ native materials and are marked by a small-scale domestic quality. They are generally long narrow compositions that hug the ridge (and/or the drive) and are divided into a number of component parts that easily adjust to the topography of the site. They are sited to take advantage of important views into the valley.

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[142]For information in this section about Wright and his work at Shenandoah, see generally, oral interview with Wright conducted September 25, 1995 (transcript located at Shenandoah National Park Archives). In this interview, Wright states that the first work he did at Shenandoah was the recordation of existing pre-park buildings. These drawings have not yet been identified.

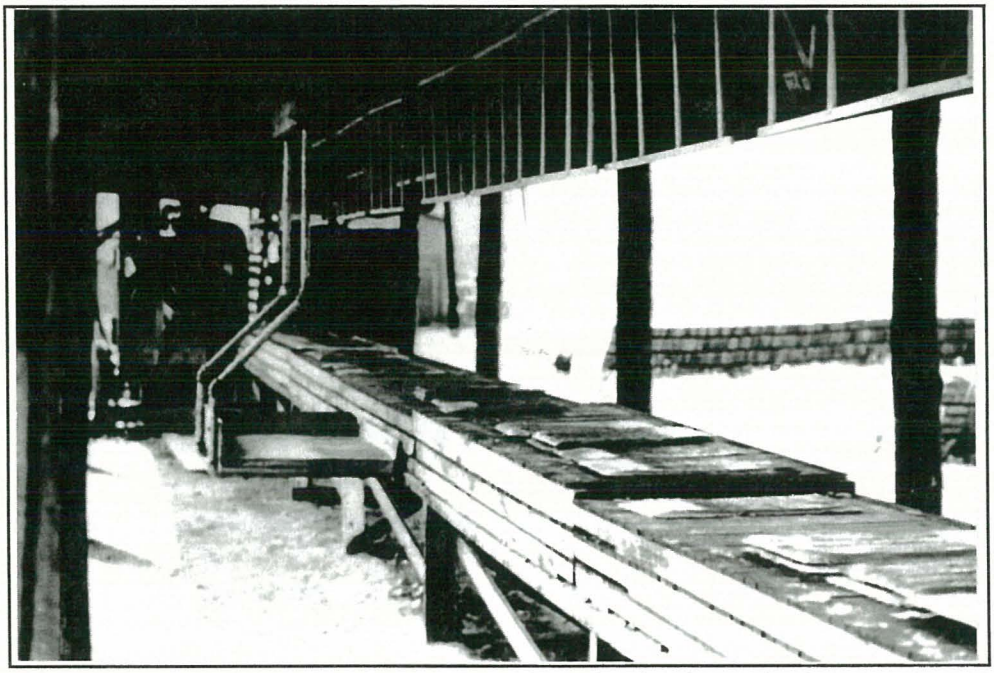


Big Meadows Lodge (BM-0114), Marcellus Wright, 1938 (NPS-Denver Service Center)



Big Meadows Lodge, 1995 (Robinson & Associates, Inc.)

In terms of materials, in addition to the native chestnut and local stone, Wright also typically employed glass blocks as accents (always near the main entrance of a building), as well as a unique material that was to come to typify roofing materials at the park, concrete shingles. As to these materials, Wright apparently heard of a local Richmond contractor who was producing the shingles, and thought that their fireproof qualities (given the distance of the site from fire stations) made their use appropriate at Shenandoah.[143] To support their weight, the buildings had to be designed with particularly heavy roof structures. Following Wright's introduction of their use, they were also employed in buildings designed by the Park Service and made by the CCC. According to Wright, his use of glass blocks was also strictly utilitarian; they served to provide light in areas where for one reason or another he did not want to have a regular window.



"CCC Concrete Shingles Mill," n.d., (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

Wright, was given a relatively free hand in both the designing of the buildings and their exact location.[144] There was an easy, cooperative working relationship between himself, Virginia Sky-Line, and the Park Service that made getting the approval of all parties an easy process. He made biweekly visits to the site to review construction progress. Between times Park Service personnel kept their eye

[143]The specifications for the Big Meadow lodge indicate that the likely supplier was the Hendricks Coal Company of Richmond, VA. Concrete shingles on National Park Service buildings were made by CCC labor.

[144]Although revision of some plans indicate that the concessionaire did revise the use of the buildings, as for instance, the addition of the barrel-vaulted ceiling at Dickey Ridge, which originally was intended to have an open ceiling.

on construction. The company apparently had its own small construction crew for smaller buildings, but contracted out larger facilities.[145] Wright's involvement at Shenandoah effectively ended around 1939 when most of the buildings were completed.[146]

[145] Benson, "The Skyline Drive," p. 8.

[146]One major unknown about Wright's buildings relates to the role of the firm of Barber & McMurry of Knoxville in the design of the Big Meadows and Dickey Ridge Lodges. Plans for both buildings show the firm as "Consulting Architects." Although the firm is still operating, no information has been located about their precise role in the design of the Shenandoah buildings. The firm was founded in 1915, and in the 1930s had a diverse practice with a particular emphasis on large domestic projects, churches, and schools. In 1936, the firm was involved in the design of the administration building for Great Smoky Mountains National Park so at least at that time the firm had an on-going relationship with the National Park Service.

RESOURCES ILLUSTRATING THE THEME

The following extant resources illustrate the theme of Initial Park-Related Development, 1935-1942. Because of the large number of resources, in some cases building groupings rather than individual buildings, have been listed.

Big Meadows
- Picnic Grounds (landscaping, comfort stations, and site furnishings)
- Campgrounds (landscaping, certain comfort stations, and site furnishings)
- Subheadquarters/Maintenance-Utility Group
- Lodge
- Cabins
- Wayside

Pinnacles Picnic Grounds (shelter, landscaping, comfort stations, and site furnishings)

South River Picnic Grounds (landscaping, comfort stations, and site furnishings)

Elkwallow
- Gift Shop/Cafeteria
- Picnic Grounds (landscaping, comfort stations, and site furnishings)

Dickey Ridge
- Picnic Grounds (landscaping, comfort stations, and site furnishings)
- Visitor Center

Lewis Mountain
- Picnic Grounds
- Campground (landscaping, comfort stations, and site furnishings)
- Cabins (landscaping and site furnishings)
- Campstore

Headquarters
- Headquarters Building
- Subheadquarters/Maintenance-Utility Group

Piney River Subheadquarters/Maintenance-Utility Group

Simmons Gap Subheadquarters/Maintenance-Utility Group

Skyland
- Stables Complex
- Employee Housing/Dorm
- Cabins (Hemlock, Ash, Dogwood, Wildwood, Maple)

Recreation Hall

Rockfish Gap Entrance Station

Skyline Drive (landscaping, site furnishing, service & fire roads)

WAR AND POST-WAR PARK ADMINISTRATION, WWII to 1950



INTRODUCTION

The war years brought a number of major changes to the park. One of the most significant was that the plentiful New Deal labor and money that had largely built the park abruptly ended. Between 1940 and 1949 no new funds were appropriated for buildings or physical improvements at the park.[147] The number of CCC participants had started to decline for a number of years before the war as an increasing number of enrollees were employed in defense-related industries. However, all CCC work programs were ordered to cease as of July 15, 1942, and enrollees were put to work closing the operations. As discussed below, park officials sought to replace some of the lost help with Civilian Public Service camps staffed by conscientious objectors.

Another major change that resulted from the war was a vast decline in the number of park visitors. The level of a million+ visitors per year achieved in 1937 soon fell. In May 1942, visitation was down by 75%, and by the middle of the war, the number of visitors was one twentieth of the level before the war.[148] Facilities at the park shut their doors one by one. By July 1942, Big Meadows Lodge and Lewis Mountain were closed, and two months later, all commercial operations had ceased. Although some visitors came to the park via bus service, pleasure driving was banned and shortages—as well as gas and tire rationing—provided further disincentives to travel to the park.

With the end of the war in 1945, travel was once again possible, and the number of visitors did gradually rise, although the level of visitorship never regained its preeminent prewar position among the national parks. Virginia Sky-Line reopened Panorama and Swift Run in September 1945 and the rest of the facilities in the spring of 1946. At this time fee collection, which had been suspended since 1942, was again instituted. By 1949, visitation had regained its prewar million-visitor level. In terms of construction at the park, the war and post-war period marked a period of quietude. It was not until the Mission 66 program was instituted that any major changes to the built environment of the park took place.

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[147]*Page News & Courier*, 5 May 1949, SHEN archives.

[148]Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 298.

MILITARY

The built resources located within the park associated with the "Military" theme include Building 406 at the Headquarters utility area, which was used by the Smithsonian Institution for storage during the war, and Building 409, constructed by the Smithsonian Institution to house a heating plant for the storage space.

During World War II, the park became involved in the war effort in a variety of ways. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers constructed roads and bridges and assembled water lines and machine gun nests in the park in preparation for the Italian campaign. They also improved the Staunton River Trail. Other federal agencies made sporadic, but frequent, use of the park for a variety of other purposes. Activities varied from class work in geodetic control activities, to mapping. In April 1944, for instance, some 3,117 men entered the park for some type of defense-related training.[149] There were also periodic requests to exploit the park's natural resources (such as manganese) for the war effort. However, none of the requests were found to meet the level of "essentialness" necessary to warrant such actions.

The war had other, indirect, effects on the park. Concerned that Washington could be a bombing target, the Smithsonian Institution shipped a substantial proportion of its collection to the park in November 1942. Items came from what are now the Natural History, American History, and Air and Space Museums.[150] There were two major categories of collections that were moved. The first was the nation's irreplaceable "national treasures." In this category were the "Star Spangled Banner" (the flag that was immortalized in Francis Scott Key's poem that, set to music, became the national anthem) and George Washington's uniform and sword. The second major category of items transferred were those needed to form the nucleus of a new national museum in the event that the Washington facilities were destroyed. In this category were thousands of natural history specimens. Also among the items shipped to the park were over 300 patent models.

Most of the Smithsonian's collections apparently were stored in the warehouse (HQ-406) at the Headquarters area.[151] There, the large storage room was altered to control the humidity. (Despite this, there were apparently problems with the deterioration of the bird collections.) Park items that were originally stored in the area were moved to HQ-401, which had been retrofitted by the Smithsonian for the purposes. (A dirt floor was replaced with a concrete one and the open bays in the front of the building were filled in.) The Smithsonian also paid for the construction of HQ-409 (now the Gas & Oil House) to house a "power plant" to heat the warehouse. The power plant could not be acquired, and

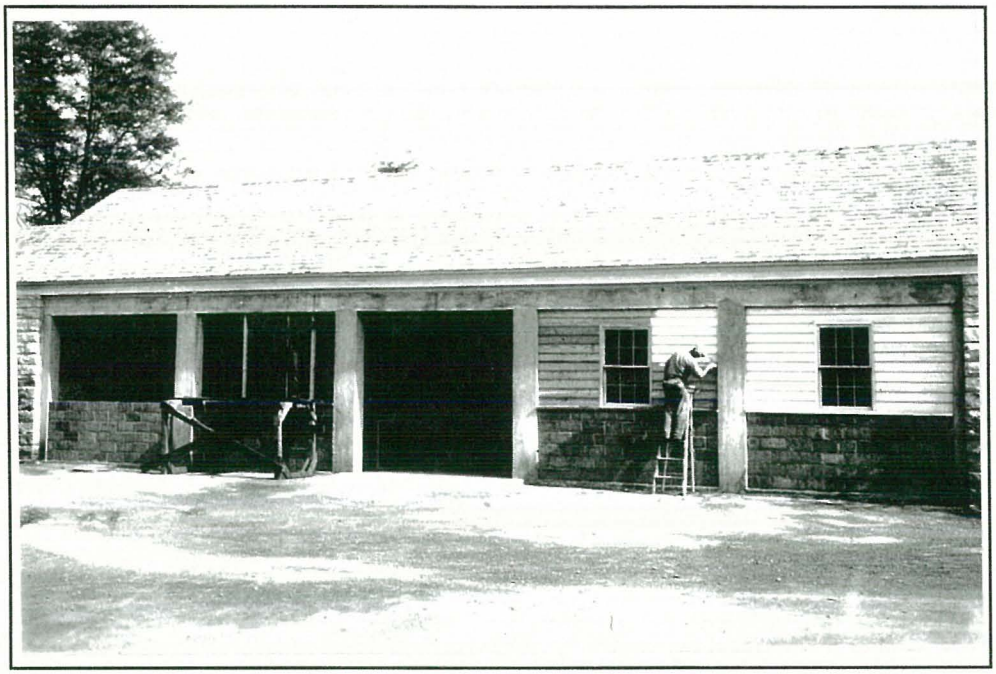
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[149]Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 296.

[150]Information relating to the Smithsonian materials came from a telephone interview with Don Kloster, a curator of the American History Museum's military collection.

[151]NARA, RG 79, Entry 62, Boxes 11 and 12, "Records Relating to CPS Camps 1941-48," (at NARA II, College Park, MD).

the building was used for storage instead.[152] The area was patrolled by four Smithsonian guards who used HQ-409 as a shelter. A Smithsonian employee, familiar with collections management also relocated to the area to oversee the collection.[153] Construction work on both of the buildings was done by Civilian Public Service workers (see below).[154] The Smithsonian's collection was returned to Washington in November 1944.



"Alteration of East Unit Equipment Storage" (HQ-401), n.d. (Shenandoah National Park Archives)

[152]An oil and gas building had long been planned for the spot where HQ-409 was located and plans for the alterations to the warehouse show that the heater building would be used in the future as a gas and oil building. The building's stone veneer was never completed.

[153]Carl Mitman was the Smithsonian employee who moved to Luray and was assigned to oversee the collection.

[154]NARA, RG 79, Entry 62, Boxes 11 and 12, "Records relating to CPS Camps 1941-48," (at NARA II, College Park, MD).

GOVERNMENT: CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS CAMPS

The only built resources located within the park associated with this theme are two buildings (one a barracks and one a storage shed) located in the Pinnacles area. These buildings, constructed as part of a CCC camp, were also used by the CPS camp.

The initiation of a Civilian Public Service (CPS) camp at Shenandoah somewhat cushioned the blow of losing CCC labor. CPS camps provided public service in civilian work as an alternative to military service for conscientious objectors (COs).

During World War I, no special provision was made for conscientious objectors, and the fact that they were imprisoned or made to serve in the military was a continuing point of controversy. In reaction to this, between the two world wars the United States for the first time officially recognized conscientious objection to military service on the basis of religious belief. With the commencement of World War II, both the Selective Service and the military believed it beneficial to establish a program for COs. They worked with the Historic Peace Churches (HPC) to create what has been called "a unique church-state partnership." The 1940 federal law establishing the draft specified only that conscientious objectors would be required to render alternative service of a nonmilitary variety. The type of service was further specified in Executive Order 8675. The order, signed on February 6, 1941, established a system of public service for COs that included Civilian Public Service camps. The first camp opened in May 1940 at Patapsco, Maryland. The Civilian Public Service camps were organized and run by individual churches, with the National Services Board for Religious Objectors acting as a middleman between the Selective Service and the churches. Although initially the plan had been to have both government and religious-run camps, President Franklin Roosevelt had objected to federal involvement in the camps and had vetoed the idea of having any government-run camps.[155]

Initially, all enrollees were assigned to a camp for a minimum six-month stint. COs were sent to the camp nearest the point of their induction (assuming this was more than 100 miles away). Individual churches ran most aspects of the camps, from providing food and uniforms to general administration. A majority of the camps were run by the Mennonites, the Church of the Brethren, and the Quakers, who represented the majority of the conscientious objectors. (Roughly 43% of the enrollees were Mennonite, 13% were Church of the Brethren, 6% were Quaker, and 38% were from other religions.) Since enrollees were not paid, the only federal monies that went into the program were for supervision of the work projects and the use of former CCC camps and certain War Department furnishings. Of the total 67 camps, most were supervised by the Forest Service (30 camps) or Soil Conservation Service (19 camps). The National Park Service supervised a total of nine camps.[156] When the CPS ended in 1947, 12,000 men had served in a total of 152 camps, units and projects.

The work performed by CPS workers was varied. Under the federal legislation establishing the draft,

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[155]He was also responsible for the fact that enrollees were not given pay of any type.

[156]Other camps were under the jurisdiction of the Farm Security Administration, the Bureau of Reclamation, the General Land Office, and the Fish and Wildlife Service.

work assigned to the COs had to be of "national" significance. It appears, however, that projects tended to be selected that were sponsored by "proven" agencies (i.e., ones that had administered similar projects) and that resulted in the seclusion of the COs from public attention.[157] Work done in the camps generally related to one of three categories of work: forestry-related work (including reforestation and fire fighting), soil conservation, and farming. After enrollees had spent time in the camps they could be transferred to one of the special service units or projects. One of the largest units in this category were the state mental hospitals. Others were U.S.D.A. dairy farming projects, and Office of Scientific Research Development and Surgeon General experiments. In the later category, over 500 CPS men served as "human guinea pigs" for a number of different medical experiments.[158]

At Shenandoah, park officials successfully pushed for a CPS camp to replace some of the lost CCC labor. The camp (CPS 45), housed at old CCC Camp 10 at Pinnacles, operated from August 1942 to June 1946. The camp had between 75 and 130 men and was operated by the Mennonite Central Committee. The duties of CPS workers at Shenandoah were similar to those of the CCC at the park, and included fire protection, construction of trails, roads, utilities, and park structures, erosion control, and planting. As of 1944, the projects that consumed the most time were road maintenance, marking boundaries, fire suppression, tree disease control, warehousing and mechanical assistance, surveys and maps, vista cutting, and procurement of firewood.[159] The latter were necessary in light of the fact that coal was not available to heat the CPS camps. Another job of the assignees was to raze existing pre-park structures. (See "Conservation" theme.)

CPS construction projects were varied. CPS workers built a fire lookout tower and a cabin at the summit of Hogback Mountain in the winter of 1942-43. Their construction of a tower at Old Rag in 1943 required them to hand carry materials more than a mile up a 45% grade to the site. In 1943, they completed the renovation of the former technical service quarters at CCC camp NP-12 at Elkwallow for use as a ranger's quarters. Around 1943, CPS workers also were involved in the construction of the oil and gas storage building at the Headquarters area that was constructed for use by the Smithsonian and made alterations in Building 401 to accommodate materials moved out of the warehouse building.

Another large category of work performed by CPS Camp 45 enrollees was farm labor. Up until 1945 (when farm labor stopped) roughly 25% of the camp's strength was used for farm tasks. In order to secure CPS labor, production of a particular crop had to be certified by the War Food Administration

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[157]Mulford Q. Sibley and Philip E. Jacob, *Conscription of Conscience*, Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1952, p. 225.

[158]Examples of the experiments conducted on assignees were research on lice and infectious hepatitis.

[159]"Vista-schnitten," the cutting of trees and underbrush to open views was apparently one of the least-favored activities of the CPS workers.

to be of national importance. Local farmers transported the assignees and paid a standard wage rate.[160]

Although many of the men in the camp were skilled, with a very few exceptions the available work was unskilled.[161] Particularly later in the war, long-term projects requiring skilled labor became problematic as Camp 45 became a distribution point for CPS workers, and most of the assignees spent little time in the camp before being moved on to other camps.

[160]Farm labor was a controversial use of CPS labor, since wages earned by the workers was returned to the federal government—where it might pay for military-related uses that were opposed by the conscientious objectors.

[161]Although figures are not available for Camp 45, in the Quakers' camps, 55% of the enrollees were professionals. Examples of skilled labor conducted at Shenandoah include survey and drafting work, as well as the work done by Herbert Zim relating to the pre-park structures.

ETHNIC HERITAGE

Resources located within the park associated with this theme are located at the Lewis Mountain area. The Lewis Mountain campground and lodge/cabin area operated as a Jim Crow facility between 1937 and 1947. Structures on the site include a camp store, cabins, a campground, and a picnic area. Most buildings at the site were designed by Marcellus Wright, Jr. (see previous context statement).

One major issue that surfaced within the first few years of the operation of the park and that lingered on throughout the 1940s was segregation. In general, in the 1930s National Parks followed local "custom" regarding segregation and in the first years of the park's operation, African-American visitors were forced to eat in employee dining rooms. Officially, however, at Shenandoah the policy was that separate facilities were allowed, "to the extent only as is necessary to conform with the generally accepted customs long established in Virginia but not to such an extent as to interfere with the complete enjoyment of the park equally by all alike."[162]

Given this policy, as early as August 1936, the park's landscape architects began to plan for separate facilities for African-Americans.[163] The result was the Lewis Mountain development, which included a campground, cabins, a lodge, and picnic area. Virginia Sky-Line, under pressure from the Park Service, somewhat reluctantly agreed to construct the lodge and cabin facilities. In June 1938, picnic and bathroom facilities were basically completed and other facilities came on line shortly thereafter.

However, this was not an easy and lasting solution to the problem. There were major differences in attitude toward segregation between Interior Department officials in Washington and Park Service and Virginia Sky-Line personnel on the site. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes was a strong supporter of integration in the park, and he clashed more than once with various National Park Service officials who favored a slower approach to dislodging Virginia's "tradition" of segregation.[164] Interior officials in Washington, including the Solicitor, advised that although segregation was legal, it was so only when facilities were equal, and that park facilities, even with the Lewis Mountain development, were not equal. The solicitor further argued that state laws regarding segregation did not apply in the park, and there was "no legal reason why it [segregation] can't be stopped."[165] As an interim measure, Pinnacles picnic ground (formerly Sexton Knoll) was made an integrated area, and separate rooms or

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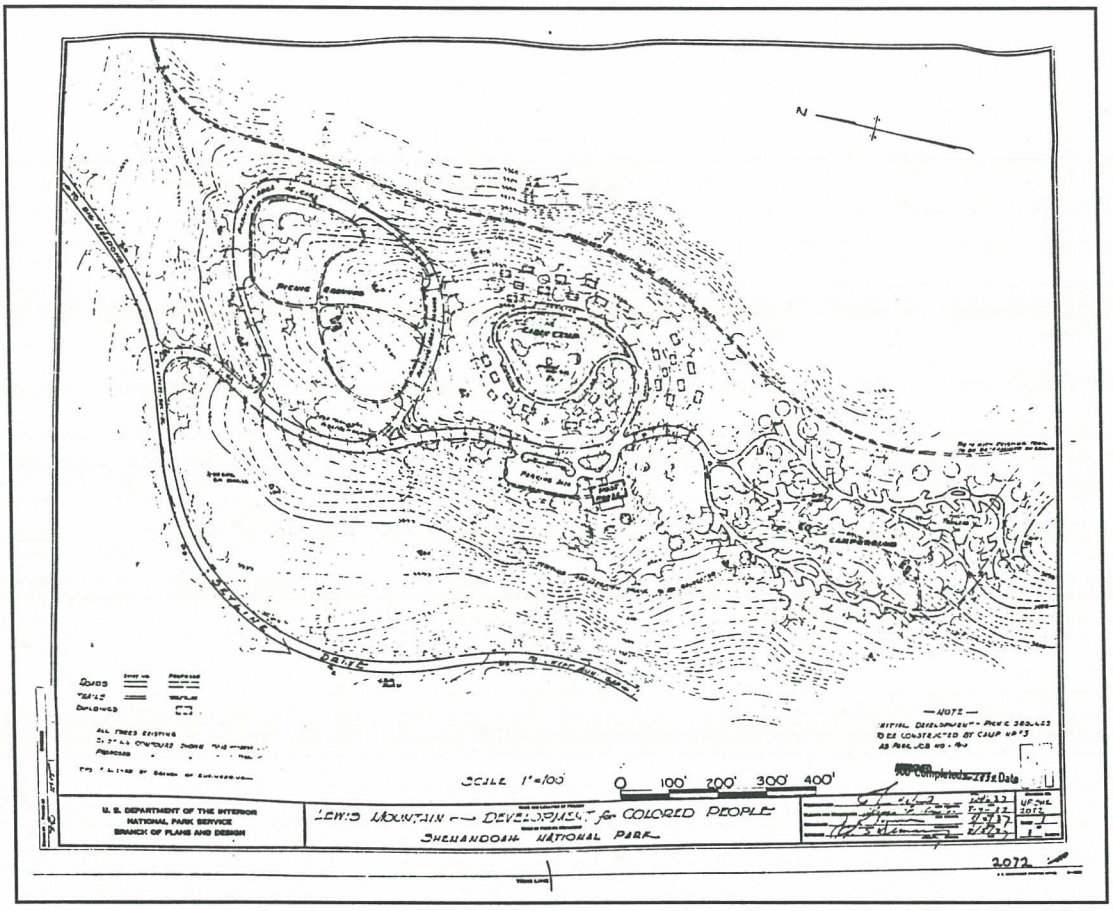
[162]Demaray to L.E. Wilson, Hampton, VA., 18 Sept. 1936, SHEN archives.

[163]Report of Harvey P. Benson, Resident Landscape Architect, August 1936, NARA, RG 30, Entry 30, (at NARA II, College Park, MD). The Lewis Mountain development first appeared in the 1938 Master Plan. In 1938 there were 10,311 African American visitors to the park. Benson, "The Skyline Drive," p. 10.

[164]Likely due in part to differences with Washington about how the issue of segregation should be handled, Park Superintendent J.R. Lassiter was transferred and demoted. Lambert, *Administrative History,* p. 279.

[165]Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 73.

alcoves within existing restaurants were made available to African-Americans. There were complaints from both whites and African-Americans concerning the state of affairs, although major confrontations never occurred in the park.



Plan of Lewis Mountain Area, 1937 (NPS-Denver Service Center)

In 1940, a directive came from Washington that no mention—written or oral—should be made of segregation in the park. A year later the official policy became that there would be no discrimination at all, although this fact would not be advertised. These directives came as the Lewis Mountain facility was being completed, and created significant confusion in the park. The final step came within six months of the end of the war, when the desegregation order became official for all national park concessionaires. Virginia Sky-Line protested on the basis that an agreement had been reached under which they would construct the facilities at Lewis Mountain and, "in return for the expenditure of funds . . . this Company was assured that the facilities at Dickey Ridge, Elkwallow, Skyland and Big

Meadows would be reserved for the exclusive use of white people."[166] The company threatened to drop the contract with the Park Service. An unofficial one-year grace period was negotiated, and within the next few years the facilities became desegregated. By the fall of 1947, the Lewis Mountain facilities were open to all and, in 1950, the park operations were reviewed and found to be desegregated.

[166][General Manager] T. McCall Frazier to Freeland, 18 February 1946, quoted in Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 303.

CONSERVATION

There are no built resources located within the park primarily associated with this theme.

The job of demolishing pre-park structures continued when conscientious objectors took over some of the work of the CCC during the war years. CPS Job 48, "razing undesirable structures," aimed to "abolish all traces of human habitation . . . and bring about . . . the restoration of a wilderness preserve." More explicitly, the project was justified as follows: [167]

> *The purpose . . . is to tear down the houses and outbuildings that were formerly [used by] park residents . . . in most cases they are so dilapidated that very little material can be salvaged, and in all cases they are an eye sore and a fire hazard.*
>
> *It is understood that no building will be torn down until the regional director has had an opportunity to review our Form No. SNP-116 entitled "Park Building Survey," which gives a picture of the house, description, the history and its present use, together with its present condition and our recommendation.*
>
> *The foundations, walls, chimneys, etc., will be taken down and the areas around the buildings will be cleaned up and, where necessary, material will be hauled in to obliterate scars.*

Eventually 1,700 man-days were spent by CPS workers in razing existing structures, and by the end of their tenure in the park only a handful of pre-park structures remained. On the other hand, one CPS assignees, Herbert Zim, was given the task of surveying existing pre-park structures and recommending which were of historical significance. His recommendations regarding the preservation of certain of the resources, however, were not followed. His work followed a pattern that was to continue for nearly 40 years in the park. Pre-park resources were the subject of periodic "surveys" that recommended that most of the buildings were in such a deteriorated condition that they should be demolished, but that certain of the buildings—usually those in better physical condition-- should be preserved. However, no money was ever allocated to the protection of these resources, so they in turn deteriorated to such an extent that they too would later be recommended for demolition.

An exception to this came with respect to Civil War gun emplacements. According to a July 1936, Report of the Landscape Architect, a revision in the plan for the Skyline Drive was made to avoid General Jackson's gun emplacements, "of which several occur in the immediate vicinity of the line."

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[167]CPS job 48, Samuel D. Lancaster, project superintendent, quoted in Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 294.

ARCHITECTURE

There are a few scattered resources throughout the park that relate to this theme, many of which are located at the Headquarters area.

In the early years of the war, a minimal amount of work was done to complete buildings that had already been started. A number of buildings in the Headquarters area were completed in the early war years, and renovation work was done on at least one of the older buildings in the Headquarters area in the early 1940s. In addition to the completion of the sandstone-covered Administration and utility buildings, three additional residences were built at Headquarters. These were small side-gable houses with wood siding that blended well with the pre-park structures on the site. These, as well as many of the utility buildings were designed by "Hop" Baughan, one of the local Park Service planners who was trained as an architect. (See previous context statement.) In general, however, no new funding was available for construction, and many materials were so scarce that construction was difficult.



Employee housing (designed by Hop Baughan)(HQ-0208), 1995 (Robinson & Associates, Inc.)

With the transfer of items from the Smithsonian to the warehouse at the Headquarters area, a simple concrete-block "Gas and Oil" building was constructed. Due to wartime shortages it was built using materials on hand. Its design is similar to a "Gas and Oil" building constructed at Big Meadows four years earlier. The building was intended to have a stone veneer similar to a number of the other nearby buildings, and, although the veneer was never added, metal masonry wall ties still grace the

exterior of the building.

After the war, with the increase in visitors, existing tourist facilities soon became strained, and the Park Service pushed Virginia Sky-Line to build additional lodging at Skyland and Big Meadows and additional concessions in the southern portion of the park. In the late 1940s cottages were built at Lewis Mountain and the first multi-unit "cottages" were constructed at Big Meadows. Both of these were sympathetic with, if not totally within, the rustic stylistic vein. They were designed by the Richmond firm of Louis Ballou and Charles C. Justice. In addition, the dining room at Skyland had burned and had to be replaced. Virginia Sky-Line, however, balked at making such a large commitment of capital so near the expiration of their contract, and a new 20-year contract was drawn up and signed in June 1952. The contract specified the concessionaire's commitment to construct a new dining room and two new hotel/motels at Skyland by the end of 1954.[168]



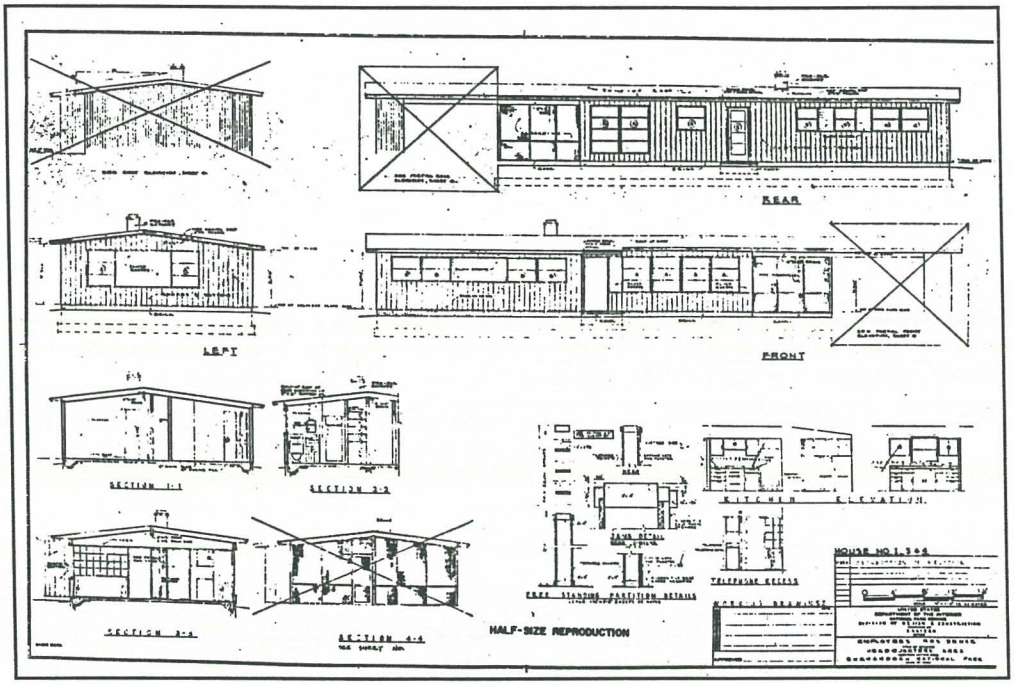
A multi-unit cottage at Big Meadows (BM-0115), 1995 (Robinson & Associates, Inc.)

Postwar design, including the dining room and multiple units at Skyland, was a departure from the rustic style that had been the rule in the park until that point. The modern styling brought protests from the National Parks Association, and the park superintendent refused to allow further buildings using a modern design vocabulary at Skyland.[169] However, the ban was not longstanding, and subsequent construction followed the trend toward modernism.

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[168]The dining room also was designed by the firm of Ballou and Justice.

[169]Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 310.



Plan of Mission 66 House, n.d. (NPS-Denver Service Center)

Of the buildings that were to follow, many were a product of the Park Service's Mission 66 planning initiative. In answer to the lack of money and development during the war and postwar period, planning began in the 1950s to have "a program which, if followed, will see the National Park system adequately developed and adequately staffed by 1966, the 50th anniversary year of the Service . . . "[170] Housing was recognized as one of the critical needs in the parks and many of the buildings constructed under the Mission 66 program both in Shenandoah and throughout the Park System were to house park employees.[171] The Park Service developed three standardized house plans to fill the need.[172] In these designs, the traditional rustic style that had become almost synonymous with National Park Service architecture gave way to cheaper and faster-to-build modern designs.[173] The standard design used in Shenandoah could be considered a typical suburban ranch-style dwelling. It was a one-story rectangular house with three bedrooms, one and one-half baths, a utility room, living and dining rooms, and a carport. Roof types and materials, window styles, and exterior finishes, all could be adjusted to fit the

[170]Department of Interior Annual Report, 1955, quoted in Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 314.

[171]Throughout the Park System, 2,000 new houses for park employees were constructed.

[172]See *Shenandoah National Park Determination of Eligibility for National Register Context Statement for Mission 66 Program*.

[173]Under Congressional limits, the house plans were restricted in size (less than 1,200 square feet) and cost (less than $18,000). The house plans were also touted as permitting rapid turnaround time to the builder once a location was selected.

particular setting without affecting the particular design. Variety could be achieved by moving the carport or entrance. There are a total of eight houses in the park constructed using the Mission 66 standardized plans: two houses at the North Entrance area and six at the Headquarters area.

RESOURCES ILLUSTRATING THE THEME

The following extant resources illustrate the theme of War and Post-War Park Administration (WWII to 1950):

Headquarters Area:
- Hop Baughn Houses & Garages (determined eligible for the National Register 2/10/1995)
- Maintenance/Utility Buildings (including Smithsonian Storage Building)(determined eligible for the National Register 2/10/1995)
- Mission 66 Houses (determined not eligible for the National Register 2/10/1995)

Pinnacles Area:
- CCC/CO Camp Buildings (Buildings 330, 2013) (determined eligible for the National Register 2/10/1995)

Lewis Mountain Area:
- Campground
- Picnic Area
- Lodge
- Cabins

North Entrance area:
- Mission 66 Houses (determined not eligible for the National Register 2/10/1995)

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