CRM

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Information for Parks, Federal Agencies, Indian Tribes, States, Local Governments, and the Private Sector

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Shenandoah

Managing Cultural Resources in a *Natural* Park



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With Appreciation

This issue of *CRM* marks the end of a 30-year career in the National Park Service for Karlota M. Koester. Kari retired on January 2 from her position of Production Manager, having spent the past year working part time at Shenandoah National Park and part time in Washington. The editors thank Kari for her years of loyal service to the *CRM* magazine and to the National Park Service.

Cover: This saw and grist mill was located within Shenandoah National Park on highway #211 near Sperryville, Virginia. Director Cammerer called for its preservation in 1936, but it was allowed to fall into disrepair. It was disassembled and its structural frame and wooden gears remain in storage at the park. Photo copied by John Amberson, courtesy Shenandoah National Park Archives.

Statements of fact and views are the responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect an opinion or endorsement on the part of the editors, the *CRM* advisors and consultants, or the National Park Service. Send articles and correspondence to the Editor, *CRM*, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, 1849 C Street, NW, Ste. 350 NC, Washington, DC 20240; 202-343-3395, fax 202-343-5260; email: <ron_greenberg@nps.gov>.

Foreword

Sixty-two years after Shenandoah National Park's dedication, we are far enough removed from its birth and have gathered enough information to examine objectively its "life." This issue of *CRM* is about Shenandoah's self examination.

The guiding philosophy for early park management was to remove the scars of previous human use and habitation from the land. Cabins, mills, and split-rail fences were demolished or left to melt into the landscape. Over the years, the forest grew prolifically, and the evidence of settlement has now substantially disappeared. So complete was the regeneration that in 1976, 79,579 acres were deemed of suitable primitive character to be included in the National Wilderness Preservation System.

Given the considerable benefit of hindsight and retrospection, we are today actively involved in many long-needed programs that help us better understand and tell the story of human use inside park boundaries. Identification, protection, and interpretation of the remaining significant cultural resources and archeological sites are now recognized as among our highest priorities.

This issue of *CRM* is an opportunity in reflection. We trust that it is an appropriate interpretation of past philosophy and that it clearly demonstrates lessons recently learned in cultural resource management. Archeology, ethnography, landscape architecture and historic architecture, history, natural resource research and policy, archives management, and interpretive issues at Shenandoah National Park are covered.

Douglas K. Morris
Superintendent
Shenandoah National Park

Bob Krumenaker

Cultural Resource Management at Shenandoah

It Didn't Come Naturally

For most of its history, Shenandoah National Park has been considered a "natural" park. Management's objective was to restore, as quickly as possible, the forest and other natural resources of this 196,000-acre preserve. If the NPS had any cultural resource management philosophy here at all, it was to deny the presence, or at least the significance, of park cultural resources. Signs of prior human use were seen as interfering with nature's reclamation of these "damaged" lands.

Harsh as the above paragraph may sound, my purpose is not to criticize my predecessors. Rather, I would like to introduce this issue of *CRM* with a brief recap of how this "natural" area has come to be recognized as a significant "cultural" area and suggest that, despite the circuitous path to the present, the distinctions between natural and cultural resources are artificial and counterproductive to good stewardship.

The 1916 Organic Act, which established the National Park Service with its oft-quoted directive to "conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein ... unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations,"[1] embodied a vision of static nature.[2] The scenic wonders of America were to be preserved, just as they were found by the first European explorers. The early parks were mostly large, spectacular, and *western* scenery. Each site was clearly "nationally significant."

Shenandoah's origins arose in the desire for an eastern park, to provide a recreational outlet for the people of the nation's capital; but perhaps more importantly, to build a constituency for the *national park system* from those politically sophisticated residents of the east who might never venture west to visit another park.

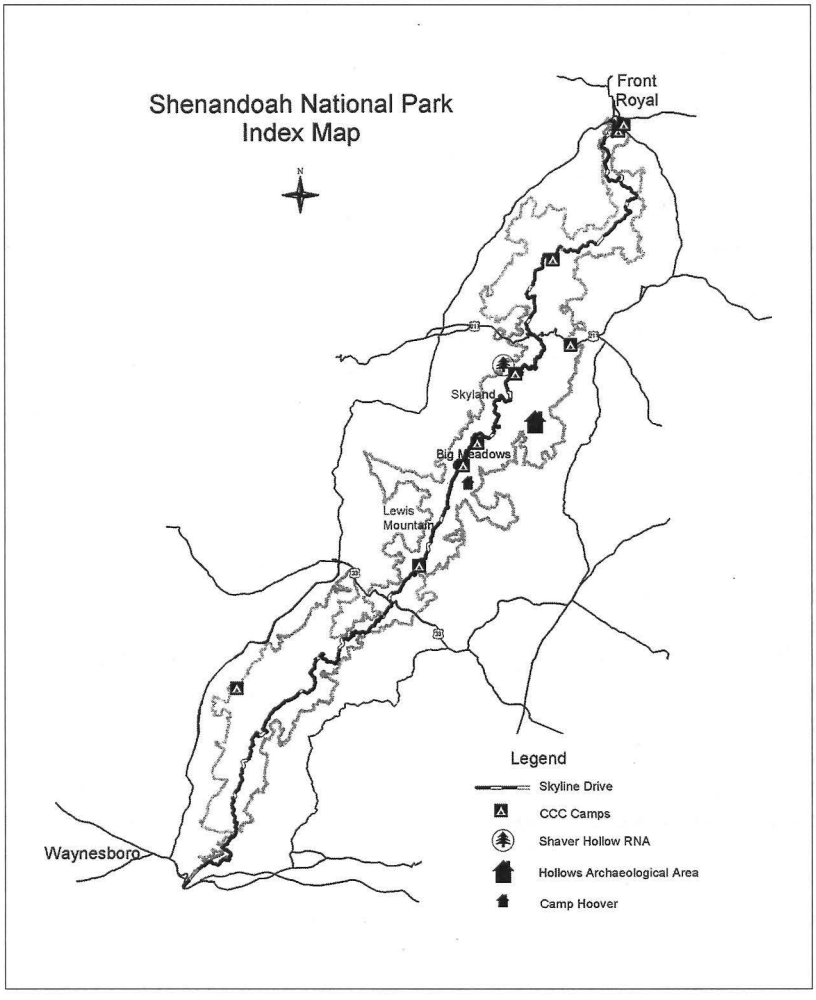
The 1926 Shenandoah establishing legislation[3] and the 1937 act mandating federal police control within the new park suggested a management strategy that focused on protection of natural resources. The 1937 Act described the park's purpose as:

> ... the protection of the property therein, especially for the protection from injury or spoilation of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities, or wonderful objects within said park, and for the protection of the animals and birds in the park from capture or destruction, and to prevent their being frightened or driven from the said park ...[4]

While the lands that made up the park were not as ravished and eroded as has been commonly told, they were heavily used lands—much either cut over or in early stages of old field succession following abandonment by families forced to leave when the economically-significant chestnut trees died[5] and/or when government took possession. It would have been hard to argue, then or now, that the park was "nationally significant" at the time—except, perhaps, for its potential.

Shenandoah has often been called a "created" park. The forests have grown back vigorously, though the species mix has changed. Wildlife has come back in abundance: deer and bear are at unprecedented numbers; and there are also turkeys, bobcats, endangered peregrine falcons, and probably cougars. The park has one of the longest periods of protection of any land in eastern North America; and in those 60-plus years, we have studied its natural values, catalogued its species, and discovered its vulnerabilities. In 1976, 40% of its lands were designated wilderness by the U.S. Congress.[6] The park has been protected, studied, and visited by so many[7] seeking "recreation and re-creation" (President Franklin D. Roosevelt's words from the 1936 park dedication ceremony at Big Meadows) that today it clearly merits the "nationally significant" label despite its humble origins.

Ironically, the reverence for Shenandoah as an icon for so many is, in itself, a *cultural* phenomenon. Wilderness and national parks are, in University of Washington environmental historian Richard White's words,[8] "social constructs" fabricated by people seeking organization and names for the world around them. These areas increase in value to society in proportion to how well they are known and loved, perhaps more than for the uniqueness or significance of the resources inside their boundaries.



The traditional view of National Park Service management, rooted in the Organic Act, was to protect the scenery. If we put out the fires and put a fence around the park, nature will take care of itself. Cultural resources, except in places like Mesa Verde and other prehistoric sites, were not generally recognized—and certainly not managed—in most parks prior to the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966.[9]

Shenandoah, interestingly, lacks a fence. We have one of the most irregular boundaries of any national park in the system. It's taken too long, but we've finally learned that our artificial park boundaries are highly permeable: by people, by wildlife, by fire, by weather, and by air masses bringing pollution that today may be the most serious threat to ecosystem preservation. A few generations after the people left these hardscrabble lands, others now want to snuggle against our boundaries.

Our view has evolved, as well. Originally, park managers focused on the scenery and objects; then it was key wildlife species, watersheds, and—in recent years—ecosystems. Today, the ecological focus is on a landscape scale, i.e., the broad patterns of species, communities, and ecological interactions on a large scale. Ironically, this connects us back in many ways to scenery. Perhaps we have come full circle, with more understanding of how the pieces fit together this time around.

Mark Sagoff, Director of the Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy at the University of Maryland, asks whether the NPS is protecting *resources* or *places*.[10] Places may have ecological, scientific, historic, or economic components (the *objects* of the Organic Act?); but their significance is in what they represent intellectually and emotionally. The value of wild places is largely cultural.

The concept of *landscape* is what joins human and natural history together, and it has become one of the integrating themes of Shenandoah's resource management program. As society gets more complex, everything becomes more homogeneous. Uniqueness is lost. We need *places* more because they (like antiques or works of art) anchor us and give us a sense of who we are.[11] We've seen that of late at Shenandoah, with the tremendous interest staff and the community have shown in our archival collection. It's not the archives themselves that are significant, but what they tell us about ourselves and our connection with the landscape. Notably, the archives (recently upgraded from attic and basement storage to a state-of-the-art facility) are now located in the same building as our natural resources inventory and monitoring offices and labs, further demonstrating our commitment to managing cultural and natural resources in an integrated fashion.

There's an inherent dilemma, however, in the desire to preserve—to prevent change—and the modern recognition that natural change is inevitable.[12] NPS management policies, in fact, instruct us to "... not seek to preserve natural systems ... as though frozen in a given point in time."[13] That dilemma is often described as a conflict. Advocates for nature, long the dominant voices at Shenandoah, argued that old buildings and foundations should be left to molder and that it's inappropriate to cut any trees along the Skyline Drive to improve the views. Some advocates for historic preservation seem to suggest that every-

thing that is old is significant and that *all* evidence of prior human use must be preserved. Management policies, however, recognize that "achievement of other park purposes may sometimes conflict with and outweigh the value of cultural resource preservation."[14]

That conflict only exists when we fail to see that a true understanding of the significance of Shenandoah National Park requires us *both* to preserve and embrace change. We must appreciate that human use and settlement of *this* place was shaped by, and a result of, the natural characteristics of the landscape—mountainous terrain, poor soils, abundant and clean water, forests for tan bark, good hunting and fishing, etc. Similarly, Shenandoah's ecosystem is anything but pristine and undisturbed: people have altered and manipulated the landscape for hundreds of years; and the resulting mix of plants, animals, soils, and chemistry is an artifact of human activities.

The challenge is to incorporate the human into our ecosystem view and to recognize the need to make deliberate, and often difficult, choices. There are times and places we should manage principally for natural resources—and times and places where cultural resources should take precedence. Our job is not to balance, but to do both. Not everything historic can be preserved; not everything natural can be protected or restored. Once we understand that, the greatest impediment to success is lack of knowledge. Shenandoah's long history of scientific inquiry has provided us with an understanding of fundamental ecological processes and components that has allowed us to take controversial, but appropriate and well-documented, stands against human-caused air pollution that is degrading park soils and aquatic systems. But our lack of knowledge of cultural resources is an obstacle; the greatest need is a comprehensive archeological survey to locate and identify the artifacts of those who have lived and used this land before us so we can make intelligent choices, rather than blind ones, especially in the backcountry and designated wilderness areas of the park. We may elect to protect or to allow to molder, but we'll do it cognizant of what we stand to lose or gain by either course.

In this issue of *CRM*, we attempt to describe the challenge of managing *cultural* resources in the context of what has long been considered a *natural* park. This issue is the product of the fortuitous confluence of three events: first, the park's hiring in 1994 of Reed Engle as its first cultural resource management specialist. Reed has been singularly responsible for the awakening of latent enthusiasm for cultural resources and has been remarkably successful at translating that into financial support. Second, the unusual agreement the park consummated in 1996 with *CRM* editor Ron Greenberg to station Production Manager Kari Koester at Shenandoah headquarters three days a week, which led to the shared and wonderful idea of doing the special issue. And lastly, the spectacularly successful Shenandoah National Park Symposium of May 1997, where talented practitioners in natural and cultural resources came together with the interested public to discuss the themes echoed in this issue. Many of the articles are outgrowths of talks given at the symposium, and I can only hope they ignite in the readers some of the ardor and sense of shared purpose that were felt by the Symposium participants.

Notes

1 Act of August 25, 1916; 39 Stat. 535. (16 U.S.C. § 1).

2 For a lengthy and interesting discussion on the intent of the Organic Act, see chapter 2 in Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

3 Establishing Act of May 22, 1926; 44 Stat. 616.

4 Act of August 19, 1937; 50 Stat. 700.

5 The non-native Chestnut blight (*Cryphonectivia parasitica*) swept through this portion of the Blue Ridge Mountains during the period 1920-1930, devastating the forests and the lives of many who depended upon them.

6 Act of October 20, 1976; PL 94-567; 90 Stat. 2692.

7 Almost two million people visit Shenandoah each year.

8 In a plenary address March 17, 1997 at the George Wright Society Biennial Conference: "Making Protection Work," Albuquerque, NM.

9 P.L. 89-665 (16 U.S.C. §470). For support of the idea that the NPS did not recognize a mandate for cultural resource protection in "natural" parks, I am grateful to NPS historian Richard West Sellars (personal communication).

10 I have drawn many of these ideas from Sagoff's May 12, 1995, address at the NPS Mid-Atlantic Region Resource Management conference, held in Annapolis, MD.

11 Sagoff, op. cit.

12 White, op. cit.

13 Chapter 4:2 in US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Management Policies* (Washington, DC: 1988).

14 *Management Policies*, op. cit., chapter 5:5.

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Reed L. Engle

Shenandoah National Park

A Historical Overview

The drive to establish a large national park in the East dates to meetings held in Washington in the first year of this century between Virginia and Tennessee congressmen. In attendance was Virginia's Henry D. Flood, uncle of future Virginia Governor (1926-1928) and Senator, Harry Flood Byrd. Although a bill to establish a park was drafted, nothing came of this early effort.[1]

The concept languished until 1923 when National Park Service Director Stephen Mather approached Calvin Coolidge's Secretary of the Interior, the former Colorado psychiatrist Hubert Work, with a request to establish a national park in the southern Appalachians. Work asked Congress to authorize an unpaid Southern Appalachian National Park Committee (SANPC), which resolution passed on February 24, 1924. The five-member Committee was immediately appointed by Work.[2] By spring, the Committee had developed and published a broadly distributed questionnaire inviting public input into suggested sites for the new park area.

The timing of the establishment of the SANPC could not have been more advantageous for Shenandoah Valley boosters. In early January 1924, businessmen in Harrisonburg, Virginia, had put out the call for a convention to be held on January 15, "for the purpose of rallying all the resources of the Valley together in a program that would tell the world of the scenic, historical, industrial, and other values of the famous Shenandoah Valley."[3] Almost 1,000 delegates, representing 13 Valley counties, attended the convention. A regional Chamber of Commerce, henceforth known as Shenandoah Valley, Incorporated, was established; and a 30-man Board of Directors, composed of the most influential businessmen, bankers, and politicians, was elected. The first Board meeting, held on February 25, 1924 (the day after the SANPC was authorized by Congress), passed a resolution calling for the creation of a new national park in the Shenandoah Valley on lands owned by the Forest Service and private parties, but to the west of the future Shenandoah National Park.

By June 1924, George Freeman Pollock, founder and manager of Skyland, the 19th-century resort located in the heart of the future park; Harold Allen, Criminal Investigator for the Department of Justice; and George H. Judd, owner



The Southern Appalachian National Park Committee was authorized by Congress in 1924 to review and propose sites for the first large national park east of the Mississippi River. The Committee, seen here leaving from Skyland on their visit arranged by Shenandoah Valley Inc., recommended new parks in the Great Smoky Mountains and the Blue Ridge Mountains embracing Skyland.

of Judd & Detweiler Publishing Company (both property owners at Skyland), filled out a SANPC questionnaire advocating the creation of a national park along the Blue Ridge spine with a central focus of Skyland. By September, Pollock's group had formed its own Northern Virginia Park Association, sharing two officers with Shenandoah Valley Inc. By this time, the earlier group had joined in advocacy of the Skyland-centered park.

Between September and December of 1924, the members of SANPC visited the proposed park sites individually and in groups. The business boosters from the Valley and Skyland had been busy in preparation:

> We have already ridden several hundred miles over the area, we have seven towers built upon high points, several trails blazed the whole length of the Blue Ridge ... and we have the whole country-side aware to the fact that the Commissioners [sic] are coming ....[4]

Shenandoah Valley Inc. spent over $10,000 in its campaign to sell the Blue Ridge site; and in December, the Committee presented its report to the Secretary of the Interior. The report recognized that the Great Smoky Mountains were the most picturesque of the visited areas, but concluded that the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia had the greater advantage of accessibility to the 40,000,000 visitors within a day's drive of the area. They noted that

> The greatest single feature, however, is a possible skyline drive along the mountain top, following a continuous ridge and looking down westerly on the Shenandoah Valley ... and commanding a view [to the east] of the Piedmont Plain .... Few scenic drives in the world could surpass it.[5]

Politics being politics, Congress passed legislation on February 21, 1925, allocating $20,000 for the survey and evaluation of proposed parks in the Great Smoky Mountains, Mammoth Cave (Kentucky legislators would not support the bill without this inclusion), and the northern Blue Ridge Mountains. The SANPC became an official Commission. The authorization envisioned Shenandoah as a park with a minimum of 521,000 acres, a figure soon reduced to 400,000, and with a stipulation that "Virginia purchase the land and present it to the federal government for such purpose."[6] Up to that time, Congress had created parks only on government land or on land donated for park establishment—it was not about to break precedent.

On July 7, 1925, the Shenandoah National Park Association, Incorporated, was formed in Charlottesville for the sole purpose of collecting funds and donated land for the proposed park. The organization formed by the Virginia Chamber of Commerce and Shenandoah Valley Inc. set a goal to raise $2,500,000, a figure estimated to be the cost of purchasing 400,000 acres at $6.00/acre. By April 1926, $1,249,154 had been pledged; and the SANPC felt confident enough to recommend that Congress authorize Shenandoah National Park. The bill passed on May 14 and was signed by Calvin Coolidge on May 22, 1926. Shenandoah would become a reality when Virginia donated a minimum of 327,000 acres in fee simple to the federal government.[7]

Governor Harry F. Byrd established the Virginia Conservation and Development Commission in April 1926 to take over the management of funds collected for the park. The new Commission was headed by William Carson, Byrd's former campaign manager, and had a mandate to survey, appraise, and purchase the estimated 4,000 properties within the authorized boundary. As time passed, landowner resistance mounted, and actual property values became more evident or inflated due to government purchase. Carson convinced the Commonwealth legislature to enact a blanket condemnation law. The legislation was passed in Virginia in December 1927 and survived Commonwealth Supreme Court challenges in October 1929, but was not finally resolved until the United States Supreme Court refused to hear the case in December 1935. On December 26, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes officially accepted the legally cleared deeds.

Because of the unresolved legal status of the park land, National Park Service planning and development of Shenandoah from 1931-1935 was confined to the 100' Skyline Drive right-of-way purchased from willing landowners happy to see modern road access to their adjacent properties, to the more than 6,000 acres at Skyland and Whiteoak Canyon owned by booster George Pollock, and to the lands purchased by the Commonwealth at Big Meadows.

From 1931-33, President Herbert Hoover (intimately familiar with the park area because of his fishing camp on the Rapidan River within the park boundary) supported the expenditure of significant sums of drought relief and public works funds to build the initial 32 miles of Skyline Drive from his Camp Rapidan to Big Meadows, to Skyland, and to Thornton Gap (Virginia Route #211). After FDR's inauguration in 1933 and the establishment of six Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps in Shenandoah by year's end, construction and development exploded—primarily as highly visible public relations efforts to bolster Roosevelt's campaign to fight the negative psychological impacts of the Great Depression.

The historian will search in vain in public and private archives in an attempt to find an indi-



Melancthon and Carrie Cliser ran a successful gas station and store on highway #211 near Thornton Gap (now the Panorama entrance station on the Skyline Drive). As early as 1929, Cliser fought the condemnation of land for the creation of Shenandoah, citing the Constitution *and* Magna Carta *as the basis for individual property ownership.*

cation that there was an official master plan, an overriding philosophy, behind the development of Shenandoah in the years 1926-36. The Commonwealth of Virginia and private business interests sought to have a national park because of the economic stimulus it would provide; George Pollock naively thought that he would retain his Skyland;[8] and many of the commercial lodging and mineral-rights owners of park land thought that they would share in a harvest of greatly inflated land values. Few seemed to have given serious thought to the 400-500 mountain families who had no desire to move from their homes.

The actual number of residents in Shenandoah will never be known precisely because many moved before December 1935. Herbert Hoover's Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur had expressed the Washington policy that park residents would not be disturbed unless they were in the direct path of development. Then on February 1, 1934, the new Director of the National Park Service, Arno Cammerer, stated that "all inhabitants of the park lands whether landowners, tenants, or squatters, would have to leave ...."[9] At first, Washington attempted to dump the entire problem on Virginia officials. A flood of letters to the White House, in part instigated by extensive coverage of the issue by the Baltimore *Sun,* soon brought reaction; and the Department of Agriculture Resettlement Administration purchased 6,291 acres in seven locations bordering the proposed park to establish resettlement homestead communities. By the spring of 1938, 42 elderly residents had been given life estates, 175 families had been moved to resettlement communities, several families had been physically evicted and their houses burned, and the majority of the mountain residents had left on their own.

Visitor service facilities also seemed to be an afterthought in the new park. Although the CCC developed trails, picnic areas, overlooks, and Skyline Drive features, the water and sewer systems tied to comfort stations and drinking fountains and other development remained unplanned when the park was officially established. The Service—which only had experience with the development of the western parks where the railroads had the primary role in the development of accommodations—followed that precedent in a 1936 advertisement for a concessioner. A contract was awarded in February 1937 to the Virginia Sky-Line Company Inc., a consortium of Richmond businessmen, which immediately began plans for the design and development of the lodges, cabin camps, gas stations, riding stables, and other recreational facilities that today comprise the majority of the buildings listed on the National Register of Historic Places within the park. At the insistence of the new concessioner, George Pollock ceased to manage Skyland. The park Master Plans for the years 1937-42 were driven to a large extent by the needs and desires of the Virginia Sky-Line Company.

In 1935, with park establishment pending, Director Cammerer gave thought to the many buildings being removed by the Commonwealth for salvage lumber that was being used to construct outbuildings in the resettlement communities. He sent Edward Steere, Washington Office junior historian, to survey park structures. Steere's 88-page

"The Shenandoah National Park, Its Possibility as an Historical Development" was produced in January 1936.[10] Steere recommended the preservation of over 40 buildings, including a saw mill, a grist mill, and several log homes in Corbin and Nicholson Hollows. Cammerer strongly endorsed the report, in spite of Superintendent Lassiter's protests that "there was nothing culturally significant in the mountains,"[11] and directed the Superintendent to preserve the structures as they were vacated.[12] The Director's action established unequivocally that Shenandoah was not intended solely to be a "natural" park. Yet for the Service of the 1930s, building preservation and restoration was an infant art. Time passed, Lassiter left, World War II began, and labor and budgets went the way of the CCC. Buildings decayed—and with the rot went the chance to interpret the full spectrum of physical fabric representing 200 years of permanent occupation of the Blue Ridge.

Scientific natural resource management also was non-existent. Quasi-scientific vegetative surveys did not begin in Shenandoah until 1937, long after the CCC began planting tens of thousands of specimens of "decadent"[13] species. Fraser fir, red spruce, Canadian yew, table mountain pine, and fragrant sumac were started from park seed purchased from commercial nurseries or imported from other parks. Deer, trout, turkey, and possibly black bear were introduced to Shenandoah to help establish "a wild game preserve."[14] Extensive efforts were made by the CCC to remove dead wood, obliterate exotics, control pine bark blister rust, and, generally, to beautify and reestablish "nature." Site-specific records of the 12 years of natural resource activities from 1931-42 are scant, making modern assessment of "natural communities" difficult.

Shenandoah National Park today approaches 200,000 acres. Forty percent of the area is Congressionally-designated wilderness. Hiking in some wilderness areas of the park, a visitor can easily feel alone—the first to brush past the mountain laurel, to spook a flock of turkey, or to stop and examine the trailing Arbutus in the thick humus and duff of the forest floor. But then the same visitor stops at a row of fieldstones, unmarked but linearly precise—mute testimony to a cultural past.

Much remains to be learned about this intimately interwoven legacy.

Notes

1 Simmons, Dennis Elwood, "The Creation of Shenandoah National Park and the Skyline Drive, 1924-1936," (unpublished dissertation, Corcoran Department of History, University of Virginia, 1978), p.1

2 Benchoff, H.J., "Report to Arno B. Cammerer, Director, NPS, Washington, DC, August 20, 1934," (Shenandoah Valley Inc.), p. 3. The composition of the selected Committee is of interest. The Chairman was the Honorable Henry W. Temple, congressman from Pennsylvania. He was assisted by Col. Glenn S. Smith, topographic engineer, U.S.G.S., Major W.A. Welch, general manager of the Palisades Interstate Parkway, William C. Gregg of the National Arts Club of N.Y.C., and Harlan Kelsey of the Appalachian Mountain Club of Salem, Massachusetts, the foremost advocate of a national Appalachian Trail (who would soon express strong objections to the development of the Skyline Drive).

3 Benchoff, loc. cit.

4 Quoted from a letter of Dan P. Wine, secretary of Shenandoah Valley Inc. and editor of Harry F. Byrd's *Harrisonburg Daily News-Record,* November 6, 1924, in Benchoff, op.cit., p.9

5 "Report of the Southern Appalachian National Park Committee," Zerkel Papers, SNPA

6 Benchoff, op. cit., p. 10

7 The minimal acreage requirement later was adjusted downward to 160,000 acres. Harold Ickes accepted 176,429 acres on December 26, 1935.

8 Pollock wrote to all former Skyland guests and present property owners on October 15, 1925, requesting that they contribute to the Shenandoah National Park Association. He stated that although "[i]t is true you will have to share the joys of this lovely retreat with many others ... [there is] enough for all for many years to come." Copy of letter in Zerkel files, SNPA.

9 Cammerer quoted in the *Harrisonburg Daily News-Record,* February 1, 1934, Zerkel files, SNPA. The paper, owned by Senator Harry Byrd, initiated an editorial campaign against the decision, which was picked up by the national press.

10 Copy in SNPA, Box I, N.P.S. file #103

11 Lassiter, J.R. to Verne E. Chatelain, December 27, 1935, loc. cit.

12 Cammerer to Lassiter, January 7, 1936, loc. cit.

13 The phrase is Lassiter's and refers to those that we would today call "Rare, Threatened, or Endangered."

14 Sixteen deer were donated by the Mount Vernon Ladies Association and released near Skyland in 1934. George Pollock discussed this and other "preserve" efforts in the 1934 "Skyland, Virginia" advertising brochure. SNPA.

Reed L. Engle is Cultural Resource Specialist in the Division of Natural and Cultural Resources, Shenandoah National Park. He served as guest editor of this issue of CRM.

Photos copied by John Amberson, courtesy Shenandoah National Park Archives.

Karen A. Michaud

Shenandoah National Park
A Sense of Place

Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part, and must address itself to the whole man rather than any phase.

Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage*

Shenandoah was established as a national park to bring the concept of *national park*, in the western sense, to the large population centers of the East. Not having natural phenomena like geysers or mile-deep canyons as a focusing wonder of nature, the park was promoted for its spectacular views from mountaintops, across park lands, to rural landscapes beyond the park boundaries. A modern roadway system permitted the burgeoning urban middle class with "a car in every garage" to visit this natural world of second- and third-growth forest and enjoy the Skyline Drive, invigorating walks, and amenable, if rustic, services.

For much of Shenandoah National Park's history, the story of the park was provided by park naturalists who created inspirational programs about the glories of nature as it reclaimed areas that were once called home by some 4,000 former residents. However, some of the park media—nature trails and interpretive signs—that depicted the story of former mountain residents were strongly influenced by the demeaning and slanted reports of Miriam Sizer, educator and social worker, in 1929-30, and later by Mandel Sherman in his *Hollow Folk* (1933). Social mores of the time accepted as valid and complete these writers' depictions of the mountain residents as backwoods and hillbilly. Then, buried by the fast-paced social upheavals of the progressing 20th century, the true story remained dormant as the park tried to deal with the pressures of environmental threats.



On September 27, 1997 over 30 veterans of 10 Civilian Conservation Corps camps affiliated with the Skyline Drive and Shenandoah National Park (1933-1942) helped to dedicate the bronze plaque honoring the placement of the Skyline Drive Historic District into the National Register of Historic Places. Photo by Nick Longworth, Shenandoah Volunteer-in-Parks.

For many years, even the best intentioned attempts to present a balanced view of the former park residents promoted generalizations which sustained the demeaning image—or worse, a defensiveness about past actions. One such interpretive wayside—which has since been removed—attempted to paint the residents of a particular hollow as diverse citizens:

> Some mountain families lived in miserable shacks; others had neat, comfortable homes. Some lacked the barest necessities; others had small luxuries .... Some areas were known for being outside the law; others had the reputation of being law abiding. Some mountain people were illiterate and virtually unaware of the outside world; others read the local papers and wrote articulate letters-to-the-editor.

While aiming to present a balanced picture, this wayside offered two photographs of rather untended log and frame cabins and only one of a more "middle class," two-story frame house with stone chimney and fenced yard. As a result, viewers were moved more toward the concept of the mountain people as hillbillies—a concept that the wayside exhibit was supposed to dismiss.

Other park media, such as the film *The Gift*, shown at Byrd Visitor Center, also left viewers with the sense of the less-than-desirable hillbilly, not so much in what was said as in the way the material was presented. The film narration was supported by music and still life portraits which left the viewer with an impression of a destitute people unwilling or unable to better their lives.

However, the printed media was responsible for the largest dissemination of this image of poor, destitute, and unintelligent people. Books as well as hundreds of articles in newspapers and magazines maintained the myth that these folk had abused the land, laid barren the mountaintops, and destroyed the soil by bad farming practices. Very often the photographs accompanying the articles showed homes that to modern eyes seem like rundown shacks, with or without barefooted children and surly adults.

Today, in a new age, a truer story of the mountain people is beginning to emerge. Shenandoah National Park passed its 50th anniversaries of authorization and establishment (1976, 1985) during a period of an emerging new social consciousness. Social historians began studying the lives of people who were not the

famous or the powerful. This new focus encouraged a respect for all elements of American society. Interest in genealogy soared. New national parks memorialized social movements and cultural stories as well as famous individuals and events. Educational institutions incorporated this new social history and also encouraged a new sensitivity to discrimination perpetuated through use of language. In this climate, personnel in Shenandoah National Park realized that the standard stories and photographs of the mountain residents had largely been created by those who had a bias: the social workers and census takers who were sent to take stock of, and set value on, the homes and properties for the purpose of purchase, by condemnation if necessary.

Interpreters have made some changes in the past several years. They have replaced the patronizing and loaded language about the mountain people in all printed media that are sent to the park for editing. So far this has amounted to over 200 publications on the open market. The park also has received a grant to rewrite the script of *The Gift* with the help of the Children of Shenandoah, an organization of descendants of former park residents and interested academics.

At the same time that the most egregious errors and demeaning language are being replaced, researchers continue to look for the true stories of the former mountain residents and the condition of the land during the decades before the national park's establishment. Valid and reliable research is slow in coming, and a great deal of work lies ahead. The impulse to take small bits of information and leap to other generalizations must be constantly fought. As research progresses, the park, through concessioner and cooperating association, produces articles that integrate these new findings within the context of an urban and rural society in Virginia in the early-20th century.

In addition to having valid information, the park needed to focus on themes that are based upon its resources. Interpreters at Shenandoah National Park took a hard look again at the park's enabling legislation and the significance this park has acquired within the last 60 years. The story of this park is a fascinating one when the social, economic, technological, and environmental forces of the 20th century are brought into play. Opportunities to study, understand, and appreciate the decisions we make today have parallels in the decisions that were made in the 1920s and 1930s. The previous practice, which demeaned and negated the values and lifestyle of the former mountain residents, should give us fair warning about generalizations that attempt to give credence to differing sets of values.

Most important of all, the park's interpretive themes are an integration of both the natural and cultural resources in the park, and these themes are told in a context that allows visitors to appreciate this national park as a perpetual place for learning and enjoying. For example, the creation of the park and the resulting displacement of mountain residents were influenced by the human endeavors of business, economics, transportation, and the growth of cities. In addition, natural disasters such as chestnut blight and drought had enormous influence on the movement of residents and the development of social relief activities and agencies.

Additionally, the building of a national park by thousands of unemployed CCC boys during the depression of the 1930s provided the natural landscapes. And the amenities, built by the park concessioner, drew the newly mobile urbanites back to the simplicity of nature. Skyline Drive Historic District, which has recently been added to the National Register of Historic Places, helps us to explore the development of the social concepts of leisure and nature.

At the same time, the natural resources of the park—its forests and streams, peaks and hollows, and abundant wildlife—continue to provide spiritual renewal and recreational opportunities to 2 million visitors a year. More recently, the park as a green space has become an important indicator of area and East Coast environmental health. The natural resources have been, and are, assaulted by nonnative species, such as the gypsy moth and the woolly adelgid, that threaten major loss or even extermination of certain species of trees. Park specialists measure air pollution levels and document the damage to plants, water quality, and water wildlife. Also, the park has successfully, if precariously, reintroduced peregrine falcons. The current resource management decisions, both within the park and within the greater communities that share this ecosystem, will influence the natural and cultural stories of the area.

Today, the major interpretive themes demand the telling of all of these stories. As they seek to incorporate the true and more complete cultural history into the park's themes, interpreters today are trying to achieve the goal of all interpretation: to present valid information in its accurate context and to encourage visitors' discovery of concepts within their own values, ideas, and meanings. Thus, the interpretation of Shenandoah National Park seeks to facilitate each visitor's search for his and her "sense of place."

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Linda Flint McClelland

Skyline Drive Historic District
A Meeting Place of Culture and Nature



Plaque commemorating the listing of Skyline Drive Historic District in the National Register of Historic Places. Photo by Karlota Koester.

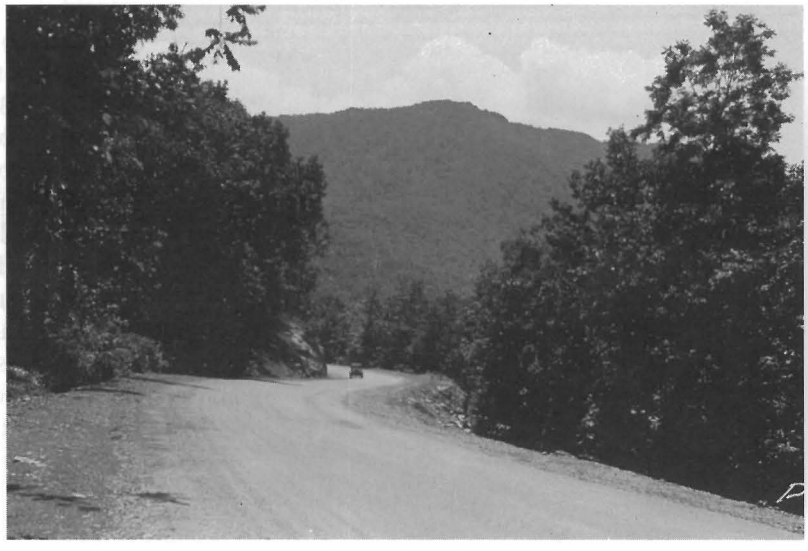
The Skyline Drive Historic District, which was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on April 29, 1997, encompasses the 105-mile ridgetop roadway from Front Royal to Rockfish Gap and its adjoining overlooks, wayside stations, picnic areas, and developed areas. The roadway includes the original 97 miles of Skyline Drive, built between 1931 and 1939, and the northernmost 8 miles of the Blue Ridge Parkway, which were built in 1936-37 and transferred to Shenandoah in 1961. Significant features include the road's curvilinear alignment and adjacent slopes, 69 scenic overlooks, numerous crossings of the Appalachian Trail and remnant mountain roads, 6 picnic grounds built by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) between Dickey Ridge and South River, park headquarters at Luray, remains of the CCC camp at Piney River, and the lodges and other visitor facilities at Dickey Ridge and Big Meadows. Two additional developed areas, Skyland and Lewis Mountain, have been determined eligible and will be added to the listing in the near future.

The Skyline Drive Historic District is one of an increasing number of National Register properties to illustrate the history of America's landscape as the meeting place of nature and culture. One of the most complete and extensive landscapes shaped by the CCC in the program's nine-year history, it comes under the multiple property listing for Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks.[2] The district meets National Register criteria A and C and possesses historical significance in several ways: (1) for its association with important events in the history of American conservation and recreation; (2) as an outstanding work of naturalistic landscape design and park planning; and (3) as a showcase for the economic relief programs of the New Deal, particularly the work of the CCC.

In the 1920s, national parks engendered great local pride; and states in the East were eager to have their finest scenery become national treasures. Automobile touring was just beginning to be embraced as a favorite American pastime, offering new opportunities for regional tourism and outdoor recreation. Concerns for vanishing natural resources and the need for regional cooperation and planning to protect them were beginning to emerge in the East, and the Appalachian Mountains were viewed as one of the few remaining strongholds of natural wealth. To many, Northern Virginia's Blue Ridge Mountains offered an ideal location for a national park. Forests, shrubs, flowers, streams, cascades, and prominent peaks abounded; opportunities for fishing and camping and wildlife protection were numerous; and the area was within a day's drive of 40 million people.

Shenandoah National Park was authorized in May 1926; by 1931, the drive was envisioned as an important link in an eastern network of park-to-park highways that extended from the nation's capital to Mammoth Cave in Kentucky. In 1933, plans were in place to extend Skyline Drive north to Front Royal and south to Jarman Gap and to build a 500-mile parkway that would connect it to Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

Under the administration of President Herbert Hoover (an avid angler who had built his own fishing retreat in the area), construction began near Skyland in 1931 with funding from the Emergency



When Skyline Drive was completed in 1939, park landscape architect Harvey Benson described the mountain motorway: "Macadamized and smooth with easy gradient and wide sweeping curves, the Drive unfolds to view innumerable panoramas of lofty peaks, forested ravines and the patchwork patterns of valley farms."[1]



Known as Roosevelt's "Tree Army," the CCC transplanted and planted native trees, shrubs, and other plants along Skyline Drive. The CCC planted the roadsides, picnic grounds, and islands that screened the overlooks from the drive and maintained nurseries at the Front Royal entrance and Big Meadows.

Construction Act of 1931. The design and construction of Skyline Drive and Mary's Rock Tunnel were carried out through the National Park Service's 1926 interbureau agreement with the Bureau of Public Roads and reflected the highest engineering standards. The first section, between Thornton Gap and Hawksbill Peak, opened October 22, 1932. Construction continued through the 1930s with the impetus provided by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal programs. The entire central section opened in 1934, the northern section in 1936, and the southern section in 1939.

The road's design and construction adhered to the 1918 statement of policy that called for "particular attention" in the "construction of roads, trails, buildings, and other improvements" to the "harmonizing of these improvements with the landscape." Principles for scenery preservation and naturalistic landscape design, which had been developed for western park roads, were adapted to the gentler topography of the southern Appalachians and the creation of a park landscape designed especially for automobile touring. Distinguishing design characteristics include the graceful curvilinear alignment; the rounded, flattened, and planted slopes of native trees and shrubs that blended the road with the surrounding topography and enhanced the drive's scenic beauty; the development of picturesque parking overlooks at frequent intervals to present a sequence of panoramic views and provided access to the Appalachian Trail and spur trails leading to waterfalls, springs, scenic viewpoints, and virgin stands of trees; and waysides and developed areas placed at regular intervals along the drive to provide facilities for picnicking, camping, and other visitor services.

Skyline Drive had many builders. The landscape architects of the National Park Service selected the best route for scenery and panoramic vistas. The engineers and contractors of the Bureau of Public Roads designed the mountain road to lay lightly on the land and attain the highest engineering standards. Marcellus Wright Jr., a Richmond architect, designed the lodges, cabins, and wayside stations for the park concessionaire, using native materials and rustic principles of design. Laborers, many unemployed farm workers, built guardwalls of native stone for daily wages. By far the largest group to shape this rich legacy were the several thousand (more than 6,500) 18-to-25-year-old enrollees of the CCC who, from May of 1933 to July 1942, spent six months to two years in one or more of Shenandoah's 10 CCC camps learning and practicing the skills of landscape conservation, trail-building, and rustic construction.



Hazel Mountain Overlook featured a dramatic outcropping of granodiorite. CCC enrollees removed soil from the base of the outcropping to exaggerate its picturesque character and built a guardwall and steps of native stone to create an inviting viewpoint from which park visitors could enjoy the panorama of dark hollows and farmlands below.

Because of its proximity to Washington, DC, and its embodiment of the New Deal, Skyline Drive quickly became a showcase for the work of the CCC, which was authorized by

the Federal Unemployment Relief Act of March 31, 1933. The park's camps were among the first in the nation to be organized in May 1933. President Roosevelt visited the camps at Skyland and Big Meadows in August 1933. In the national broadcast of the park's dedication at Big Meadows in July 1936, FDR took the opportunity to praise the monumental achievement of the CCC, thus not only recognizing their hand in the making of Skyline Drive but also promoting his own desire to continue the CCC program and even make it a permanent federal agency.

Outstanding woodsmanship and workmanship make the Skyline Drive Historic District one of the finest examples of naturalistic landscape design and park planning in the nation. The CCC followed design principles that had been formulated by the landscape architects of the National Park Service the previous decade, often reviving the 19th-century practices of landscape gardener Andrew Jackson Downing and park builder Frederick Law Olmsted. Under the supervision of landscape architects and landscape foremen, some of whom were known as "LEMS" and knew the mountains, woods, and local building practices, CCC enrollees carried out a variety of tasks. They flattened and rounded the slopes along the newly constructed roadway, planting the slopes with native mountain laurel and filling the interstices of rock cuts with Virginia creeper. They cleared dead chestnut from the woodlands and former pastures to prevent forest fires and improve the park's scenic beauty. They fashioned rustic guardwalls, naturalistic stone stairways, rock gardens, and dry-laid retaining walls from moss and lichen-covered boulders as they built overlooks, picnic areas, and trails. With chestnut from the former fields and woodlands hewn into logs or sawn into planks, they fashioned picnic shelters, entrance stations, comfort stations, maintenance shops, guard rails, and even water fountains.

The legacy of the CCC endures today at Shenandoah National Park in both the built resources and the regenerating forests that draw motorists from their automobiles to experience the out-of-doors. National Register listing is just the beginning of the park's commitment to stewardship, which—through research, interpretation, and wise resource management—will ensure that the park remains the meeting place of culture and nature and that the legacy of the CCC continues to inspire generations yet to come.

Notes

1 Harvey P. Benson, "The Skyline Drive: A Brief History of a Mountaintop Motorway," *The Regional Review* 4(2): 3.

2 Documentation for the Skyline Drive Historic District was compiled by the Institute for the History of Technology and Industrial Archaeology at West Virginia University; Robinson Associates of Washington, DC, and NPS's Denver Service Center.

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Photos copied by John Amberson, courtesy Shenandoah National Park Archives.



CCC planting trees.

Shaun Eyring

Judd Gardens
Between Culture and Nature

Judd Gardens is a rare surviving example of an early-20th-century rustic cottage garden of the Appalachian Highlands. It is located on the northern edge of Skyland, a former 19th- and early-20th-century mountain resort just off the Skyline Drive in Shenandoah National Park. The design of Judd Gardens responded to natural land forms, used native materials such as wood, plants, and stone, and created views to important geological features like Stony Man Mountain. To this was added showy ornamental plants and popular exotics from around the world, an irrigation system, and organized planting beds that reflected the horticultural and design preferences of the era. For many years, Judd Gardens was a showplace that was an important part of the Skyland experience.



Skyland Resort postcard c1930 showing landscape in early successional growth.

Abandoned in the early 1960s and overgrown by the late 1980s, this garden has generated extensive discussion from resource managers responsible for its upkeep. The 1983 General Management Plan for the park identifies protecting National Register eligible cultural resources as important; it also states that vegetation will continue to revert to native species through natural succession.[1] This conflict has created some confusion over how to manage Judd Gardens. First, the garden is a potentially significant cultural landscape. Because, however, it is overgrown and many of its features are decaying or gone, the question of whether it retains integrity has long been argued. Second, as a remnant cultural landscape in the process of being reclaimed by a natural landscape, it has nurtured opposing viewpoints over whether natural succession should simply continue. This article will describe the process that the park, assisted by the Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, followed to resolve these issues. This included evaluating Judd Gardens according to National Register criteria and planning a management strategy for the garden that balanced park natural, cultural, and maintenance values.

Historic Context

Judd Gardens was a project of the George H. Judd family that extended over many years, from the purchase of the property in 1910 until the death of George's wife, Marianna, in 1958. George H. Judd had been an early guest at Skyland, a resort community that George Pollock and his associates began developing in the mountains west of Warrington, Virginia, in 1887. This community served as a rural mountain retreat away from the summer heat and business life of Washington, DC, and other East Coast urban areas. Here, residents could become immersed in nature. This reflected a broader trend in the late-19th-century, and the Skyland example was mirrored at other inland sites such as the Catskills, Saratoga Springs, and Yellow Springs. The Judds and many of their neighbors at Skyland were part of an affluent Washington business community. Founders of several publishing companies, the Judds were most well-known as printers of *National Geographic*.[2]

George Judd purchased two lots on the northern edge of the Skyland community and, in 1910, commissioned Victor Mindeleff, a well-known Washington architect who perfected the cottage style, to design and supervise construction of Sentinel Lodge, the Judds' primary residence there. Over the next 11 years, Judd purchased several adjacent properties, including Tryst in the Winds cottage, Arrowhead cabin, and Double Eagle cabin. He also acquired acreage on what was called the "north view" lots. The Judds walled portions of this property and began creating what has come to be called Judd Gardens.[3]

The Judds, like many other cottage owners, developed their grounds within a rustic and picturesque landscape vocabulary. In the 1930s, Skyland—and all of the area now known as Shenandoah National Park—was in early stages of

successional growth. This openness facilitated the possibility of showy gardens dependent on sunlight to flourish; Skyland became known for its colorful and bountiful flowers. The Judds, however, developed a garden that was a unique blend of showy and naturalistic styles. The northern five-acre portion of the garden was considered virgin woods and was retained. Acres closer to the cottages reflected Mrs. Judd's love of ornamental plants and flowers, and this area was planted in a series of rock beds that appeared to develop as naturalistic gardens. A series of stone steps were built into the steep slopes that led to the Judd cottages.

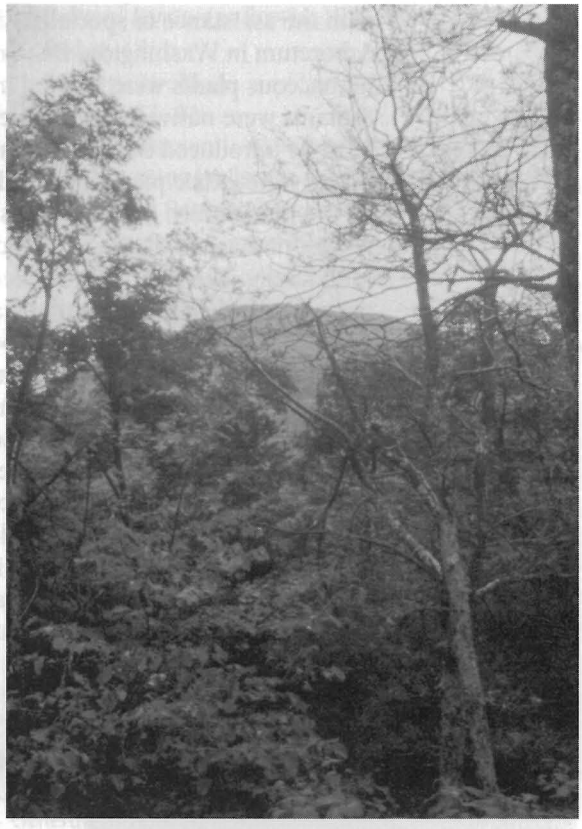
In addition to extensive planting, native stone was used to build walls, and local wood was formed into rustic garden furniture, fencing, and gates. Planting was used in a controlled way to create vistas of important geological features. At its peak, Judd Gardens was an important part of the Skyland experience. Located adjacent to the old Skyland road to Luray, it was the first camp feature encountered and guests would pass it en route to nearby bathing facilities and Stony Man Mountain.[4]

View northeast from Sentinel Lodge, c1930.



Right, view toward Stony Man Mountain, 1988. Photo courtesy Land and Community Associates.

On August 5, 1928, George Judd died under a white pine in his garden. With the creation of Shenandoah National Park in 1936, his wife Marianna Judd was allowed to retain the use of the property until her death in 1958. It appears that she continued to garden in much the same manner that she had gardened in the years before her husband's death. Within two years of Mrs. Judd's death, Tryst of the Winds and Sentinel Lodge were removed and the maintenance of Judd Gardens ceased. By the late 1980s, the condition of the gardens confused park visitors looking for the gardens that were described in some early park brochures. Rather than finding a garden, they encountered an apparent wilderness.[5] A closer look, however, revealed a garden framework within a flourishing botanical and horticultural legacy. Gone were the cottages that once looked out onto the garden, but stone walls and steps still divided the landscape and ascended its Appalachian slopes. Obscured views of Stony Man Mountain and open areas reflected the garden spaces of the Judd era. Plantings, both native and exotic, still flowered in designed combinations.



Judd Gardens below Sentinel Lodge showing stone walls and rock- pile flower gardens, 1938.



Evaluating the Garden According to National Register Criteria

The condition of the garden combined with a prevailing perception of Shenandoah National Park as a predominantly wilderness landscape led some managers to favor releasing the garden to natural succession; others believed the garden to be a critical, character-defining feature of a poten-

tial Skyland Historic District. This debate led to a formal evaluation of the garden. In 1988, Land and Community Associates of Charlottesville, Virginia, accomplished landscape architects and preservation planners, were hired to complete a cultural landscape report for the garden. The purpose of this project was two-fold: 1) to evaluate the garden according to National Register criteria and 2) to provide an appropriate management strategy based on the findings of the evaluation. This strategy could range from releasing the garden to restoring the garden to its former splendor.

Using an established process for evaluating cultural landscapes,[6] Land and Community Associates (LCA) examined the garden methodically, looking at natural features, views and vistas, vegetation, structures, circulation, and small scale features. By analyzing these landscape characteristics, LCA discovered that much more of the garden was intact than met the eye. Original garden paths, views to key geological points, combined plantings of native and exotic species, stone walls and stairs, and garden furnishing remnants were all mapped and described. The vegetation was inventoried with the assistance of specialists from the National Arboretum in Washington, DC. Trees, shrubs, and herbaceous plants were divided into classes. Class A plants were native species believed to pre-date or to be introduced by the Judd family. Class B plants were exotic plants believed to be introduced by the Judd family. Class C plants were those plants, native and exotic, believed to post-date the Judd family. This exercise revealed an underlying organization to the garden that was not immediately evident. The spacing and species of plant material, the location of walls and steps, and the network of paths suggested that the garden consisted of many smaller rooms, each with its own character. Overall, results of research and field work indicated that there were seven garden "rooms" created between 1911 and 1922.

Stone wall and planting bed, 1995. Photo by the author.

View from old Skyland road to Judd Gardens, note Blue Spruces and stone wall, 1989. Photo courtesy Land and Community Associates.



The character of these spaces ranged from a rock garden, to an open lawn, to a naturally forested area with paths for strolling.[7]

The question of historic integrity plagued all of those who worked on the project. Looking at the garden individually, it was questionable whether there was enough material present to convey its significance as a rustic Appalachian garden. Looking at the garden within the context of Skyland as a whole, it was clear that the garden was a very important surviving piece of this rustic vacation resort. After much discussion and debate, LCA's recommendation was that the Judd Gardens within Skyland possessed historic significance and integrity for its association with the development of late-19th and early-20th-century outdoor recreation and resort communities in the United States.[8] Therefore, the garden was considered a contributing resource to the potential Skyland Historic District.[9]



Creating a Management Plan

Once this recommendation had been made, LCA began, in conjunction with the park and the Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, to develop a plan that would provide an effective and realistic management framework and would complement the park's resources and priorities. It was agreed that there should be some garden management, but a low cost, low intervention approach that respected the garden structure while incorporating maintenance and natural resources management concerns.

It was clear that the Judds worked hard to maintain a garden that was a unique blend of native landscape and pleasing exotic elements. But after 20 years of neglect, the balance at Judd Gardens had been upset. Once natural and cultural features combined to form the organization of this garden; now natural succession, erosion, and decay appeared to dominate. The fundamental principle guiding the management plan, therefore, was not to restore the garden but rather to retrieve some of the former balance between culture and nature. Within this preservation/rehabilitation concept, the following recommendations were made:

- undertake a complete arboreal survey of all Class A and B plant materials throughout the garden;
- develop a cyclic pruning regime to Class A and B plants to remove deadwood and provide light to shaded understory plants;
- remove all fallen dead plant material;
- name tag all Class A and B plant material with a suitable, weather-resistant tag and key to basemaps;
- remove Class C vegetation as needed, with an eye for reestablishing the character of the garden rooms;
- inspect and evaluate all character-defining, constructed cultural landscape features such as stone walls, paths, timber fences, and rustic benches and stabilize in a manner consistent with their original construction; and
- develop cyclic maintenance regime once features are stabilized.

In conjunction with the maintenance and natural resources program in the park and the Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, the following recommendations were made:

- remove all invasive exotics, even those introduced by the Judd family (including Japanese Knotweed and Oriental Bittersweet);
- monitor hemlocks for Woolly Adelgid;
- monitor oaks for Gypsy Moth; and
- monitor pines for Pine Bark Beetle.

Morris Arboretum arborist, Bill Graham, examines a Class A tree in the Judd Gardens. Photo by the author.



Implementing a Plan

Through the National Park Service Cultural Cyclic Maintenance Program, the park received modest funding to begin this low intervention approach to reclaiming and maintaining the general character of the garden. In 1994, the Morris Arboretum and the Mid-Atlantic Regional Office worked with the park to complete a historic vegetation inventory and maintenance plan. This plan provided a framework for maintaining key plantings within each of the garden rooms. Each tree and shrub associated with the Judd family was inventoried and evaluated. Recommendations were made for pruning, cabling, and pest management. These recommendations were compiled into a report with each tree keyed to an AutoCAD basemap. During the summer of 1997, each of the trees and shrubs inventoried was tagged with numbers that corresponded to the basemaps. With funding available for fiscal year 1998, the park will begin to implement some of the recommendations from both the Historic Vegetation Inventory and the Cultural Landscape Report.

Summary

The Judd Gardens project has been a valuable exercise in clarifying where a designed garden fits within a park whose policies favor the natural landscape. The management plan for the garden represents a low impact approach that combines the need for preserving significant cultural resources with current environmental and maintenance values. A new kind of balance between culture and nature is being reached for Judd Gardens.

Notes

1 *General Management Plan, Shenandoah National Park.* National Park Service, 1983, pp. 62, 66.

2 Land & Community Associates. *Judd Gardens Cultural Landscape Report,* 1993, pp.1-3.

3 Ibid, p. 18.

4 Ibid, pp. 21- 22.

5 Ibid, pp. 22- 23.

6 Land & Community Associates evaluated Judd Gardens using landscape characteristics described in National Register Bulletins #18 *(How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes)* and #30 *(Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes).*

7 Land & Community Associates, p. 21.

8 Land & Community Associates, p. 23.

9 The Skyline Drive National Historic District has recently been entered onto the National Register. It is expected that Skyland along with Judd Gardens, when the documentation is complete, will be included as part of this district.

Sources

Birnbaum, Charles A, and Tallant, Sandra L., ed. *Balancing Natural and Cultural Issues in the Preservation of Historic Landscapes,* George Wright Society, 1996.

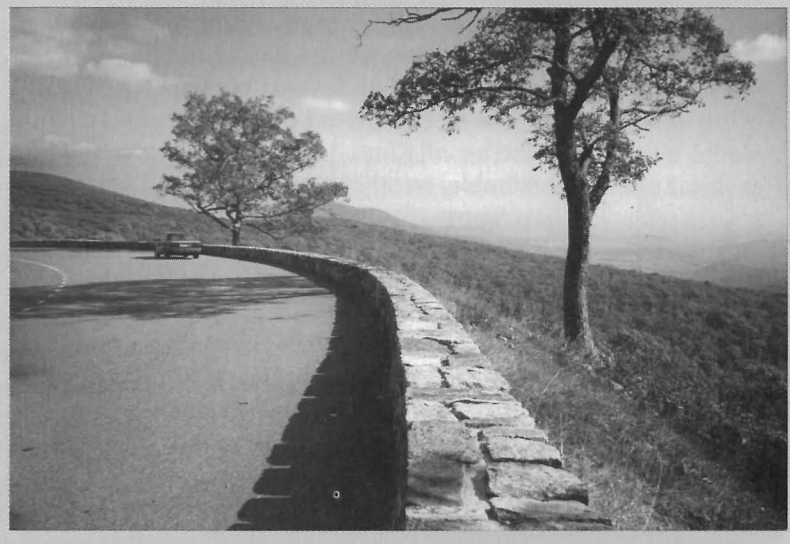
Judd Gardens Historic Vegetation Inventory and Management Plan, National Park Service, 1995.

General Management Plan, Shenandoah National Park. National Park Service, 1983.

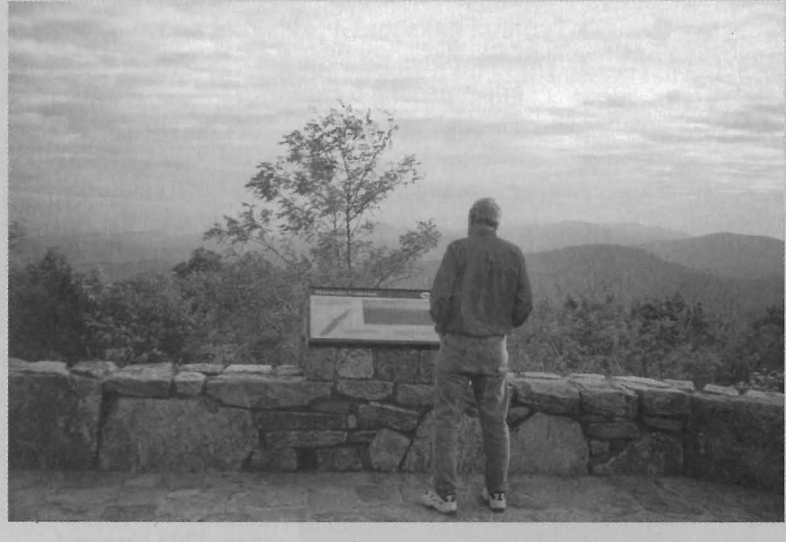
Land & Community Associates. *Judd Gardens Cultural Landscape Report,* 1993.

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One of the primary outcomes identified in Shenandoah's Strategic Management Plan is the restoration of the vistas around which Skyline Drive and the park's 69 overlooks were developed. The park's Cultural and Natural Resource Division, district maintenance, and trails crews began a five-year program in October 1997, primarily funded by the Fee Demonstration Program, to turn back the results of 20 years of deferred maintenance. Integrated Pest Management, extensive landscape and field research, and just plain hard labor are yielding impressive results and visitor appreciation. The park is looking into the possibility of long-term maintenance of the overlooks through prescribed fire.



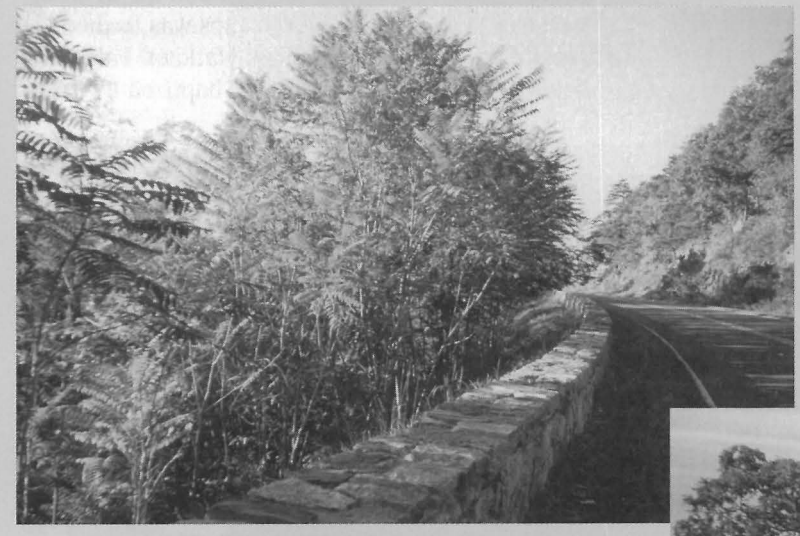
Wherever possible, specimen trees have been retained at overlooks and, when documented trees are missing, are being replanted.

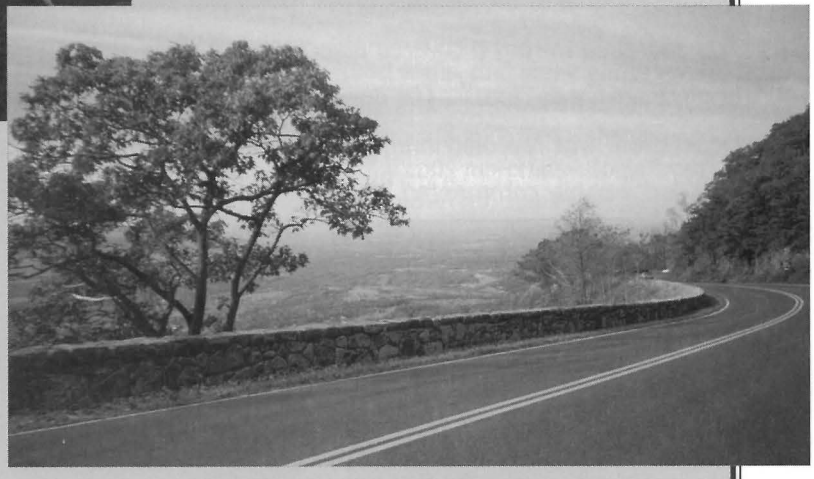




Range View Overlook (mile post 17.1) before and after clearance. The interpretive wayside discussed a vista almost entirely blocked by second growth vegetation.

Photos on this page by Mary Lowe.





Long vista adjacent to milepost 6.0 on Skyline Drive before and after clearance. Ailanthus altissima, *an exotic, was the dominant second growth species.*





The photographs show "The Point" Overlook (milepost 55.6 on the Skyline Drive) before and after clearance.

Photos on this page by John F. Mitchell.

Reed L. Engle

Shenandoah Not Without the CCC[1]

During the President's brief stop at Camp Nira [Shenandoah NP CCC Camp #3], he was treated to a brief pageant entitled The burial of old man depression and fear and the return of happy days. ... *two C.C.C. members, one with a banner "C.C.C." and the other with the symbol "NIRA" [National Industrial Recovery Act], marched toward a covered object labeled "fear." As the torch-bearers set fire to "fear" ... The covering destroyed, [and] "Old Man Depression" was revealed in effigy. This too was fired and the President happily commented, "that's right, burn him up." ... The bugler played "Happy Days Are Here Again" as the President ... applauded.*[2]

This article appeared just five months after Franklin Delano Roosevelt took office during the depths of the Great Depression and three months after the first two Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps located in the national parks were established at Skyland (N.P.-1) and Big Meadows (N.P.-2). Although Shenandoah National Park's official establishment was over two years in the future, Washington saw the future park's proximity and virginity as the ideal setting for the demonstration of Roosevelt's depression cures.

The President took a whirlwind tour through the Shenandoah Valley and along the developing Skyline Drive to bolster confidence in his public works programs. Followed by "three newsreel photographers and a corps of newspaper cameramen,"[3] Roosevelt ensured that the uplifting image of Shenandoah's CCC camps was flashed around the world. Shenandoah National Park, long before it was born, was officially baptized by the CCC.



The construction of the Stony Man/Hughes River overlook located just north of Skyland dates to 1934-1935. Note the extensive cut slope in the foreground, retained by a drylaid stone retaining wall only partially built.

Between May 11, 1933, and March 31, 1942, 10 CCC camps were established within, or on leased land adjacent to, Shenandoah. At any one time, more than 1,000 boys and young men lived in camps supervised by the Army and worked on projects directed by the Service and the Bureau of Public Roads.

Until the park was established officially on December 26, 1935, the bulk of CCC activity took place on the narrow 100 foot right-of-way of the Skyline Drive, in the few areas of purchased or donated land transferred to the federal government by the Commonwealth of Virginia, or on leased lands. Thus, the earliest park development was concentrated at the available 6,400-acre 19th-century resort Skyland, at the lands adjacent to Herbert Hoover's Rapidan River fishing camp, and at Big Meadows, where the Commonwealth had purchased most of the existing land. The earliest CCC projects were concerned with building trails, fire roads and towers, log comfort stations, construction projects associated with the Skyline Drive, and picnic grounds within this narrow corridor.

By the close of 1934—and after the settlement of a Supreme Court suit challenging the constitutionality of Virginia's blanket condemnation of lands to create the park—the Commonwealth took title to the 176,429 acres that would be accepted by the federal government once Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes was satisfied that the park would be cleared of residents. However, from this time on, by letter of authority from Virginia, the Service initiated CCC projects throughout the future park area. These projects fall into the broad categories of facilities development, roads and trails construction, and landscape architecture and engineering.

To accomplish these objectives, by 1935 the CCC had in place a sawmill that produced the materials to construct park buildings (most often from chestnut cut from trees killed over a decade earlier by the blight), a shingle mill to produce the characteristic hand-made concrete tiles simulating wood shingles used on many of Shenandoah's buildings, a blacksmith shop turning out hinges, latches, sign brackets, and tools, and a sign shop producing the hand-routed chestnut signboards emulating the standards established for the western parks. Plant nurseries were established at the camps at Front Royal and Big Meadows to grow



Much of the early CCC work consisted of "flattening" slopes adjacent to the Skyline Drive. Under direct supervision of Harvey Benson, park Landscape Architect, many of the early design details—limited by the 100' right-of-way—were corrected.



Roosevelt's "Tree Army" quarried the stone and assisted the LEMs (locally employed men) in constructing the stone guard walls, stone headwalls, and stone gutters along the length of Skyline Drive.

seeds collected from trees within the park and to "heel-in" plants purchased from commercial nurseries or obtained from other parks—materials to be used to revegetate areas disturbed by construction.

Supervised by Harvey Benson, landscape architect for the Skyline Drive and subsequently for Shenandoah National Park, the CCC boys went back to correct initial design failings of the 100 foot right-of-way of the Skyline Drive. Cut and fill slopes were flattened; horizontal and vertical curves were adjusted; overlooks, not possible in the earlier design, were constructed; guardrails, guard walls, and stone gutters were built; and all disturbed areas were landscaped with trees, shrubs, and herbaceous materials—some from park nurseries, some from commercial sources, and many transplanted from other developed areas.

Recent research suggests that no area within immediate view of the Skyline Drive, in fact, is natural. The CCC "improved" the Skyline Drive corridor by removing dead chestnuts, thinning the understory and removing deadwood for fire control, removing the vectors for pine bark blister

CCC Projects

Facilities Development

- All initial park utilities including septic systems, water lines, wells, electrical and telephone systems, and the construction of spring boxes
- Six picnic grounds with parking for 757 cars, 107 fireplaces, 370 picnic tables, 30 water fountains, and six comfort stations
- Park maintenance facilities at both Luray and Big Meadows
- Roads, parking areas, and landscaping at the concession areas at Skyland, Elkwallow, Thornton Gap, and Dickey Ridge

Roads and Trails

- Dozens of miles of fire roads to service wooden fire towers
- Relocation of almost the entire 96-mile length of the Appalachian Trail due to Skyline Drive construction disturbance; 22 trail shelters and huts constructed by, or with assistance from, the CCC
- Hundreds of miles of bridle and pedestrian trails

Landscape Architecture and Engineering

- Correction of erosion created by the construction of Skyline Drive by using over 100,000 worker days to "flatten"slopes, install facines to stabilize slopes, and plant 300,000 trees and shrubs—a majority grown in park nurseries—along the Drive
- Dozens of miles of stone-lined gutters and approximately 1,113 carefully detailed stone head walls of six designs to channel runoff from paved surfaces or to direct the flow from springs and seeps on slopes uphill from the Skyline Drive
- More than 11 miles of chestnut log guard rails on the Drive, and miles more at picnic areas and campgrounds
- 43 miles of stone guardwall [assisted by locally employed men (LEMs)]
- Most of the 69 overlooks on the Skyline Drive
- Creation of drive-by vistas for which the Drive was famed, either by selective clearing of existing vegetation or by framing views with newly planted trees and shrubs



Life on the mountain was not easy for the CCC enrollees. They contended with rattlesnakes, regimentation, summer heat and humidity, and (as shown in this photo taken at Big Meadows camp NP-3 during the winter of 1933-1934) frigid cold.

rust, attempting to eliminate *Ailanthus altissima* (a largely futile eight-year campaign) and trying to reestablish "relic" and/or "vestigial" plants (in some cases today's rare, threatened, and endangered species). These efforts all were part of Benson's careful creation of "natural" vistas and varied topographic features along the length of the Drive and within the developing visitor use areas.

The impact of CCC projects within Shenandoah on the then extant natural and cultural resources may be gauged in review of the projects undertaken by a single camp during the autumn and winter of 1934-1935:

> Reduction of fire hazards Pinnacle Mtn. 300 acres ... roadside cleanup Skyline Drive 3 miles, campground clearing [of trees and shrubs] Sexton [Pinnacles] 40 acres, horse trail Pinnacle[s] to Marys Rock 3 miles,
>
> Trailside cleanup same 3 miles; landscaping, fine grading Skyline drive 200 cubic yards, sodding 2 acres, moving and plant trees Skyline drive 1,000 trees and shrubs; telephone line Thornton Gap to Stony Man 7 miles, other campground facilities and park area signs, boundary, etc. ....[4]

After the official establishment of the park in 1935, CCC activities were expanded to include the entire acreage. Except on the few dozen properties where residents were given life estates, the charge of the CCC boys was to remove all evidence of human occupation (in spite of official policy that some of these homes were to be preserved and restored for interpretation). Houses and outbuildings were dismantled for salvage materials for resettlement community structures or were burned, fences were removed, gardens and orchards were obliterated, and the work areas were replanted, seeded, or sodded. Many known 20th-century occupation sites in Shenandoah are invisible today due to the CCC's mandate to return the land to its "natural state."

Serious examination of the efforts of the Civilian Conservation Corps within Shenandoah National Park challenge us to reevaluate our traditional definition and understanding of natural processes and "natural" parks.

Notes

1 Benson, Harvey P., Shenandoah's Resident Landscape Architect from 1935-1942, noted in "The Skyline Drive, A Brief History of a Mountaintop Motorway," *The Regional Review*, Vol IV, No.2, 1940, that "Much of this work by the Service ... never could have been accomplished without ... the Civilian Conservation Corps."

2 Unidentified newspaper clipping, August ___, 1933, Zerkel file, #4143, 10F5, Shenandoah National Park Archives (hereinafter SNPA)

3 Ibid.

4 Period reports of E.C.W. camps, 4th period, October 1, 1934-March 31, 1935, SNPA, summarized by Darwin Lambert in file notes, folder "Roosevelt & CCC, p.2

Reed Engle has spent the last few years at Shenandoah working with the Washington Office, the Philadelphia Support Office, the Northeast Museum Services Center, and the Valley Forge Center for Archeology to inventory and evaluate Shenandoah's cultural resources. In the past year, the Skyline Drive has been entered on the National Register, a Historic Resource Study completed, and SAIP-funded archeological survey of three hollows implemented.

Photos copied by John Amberson, courtesy Shenandoah National Park Archives.



The CCC experience, however, did include education and recreation. This photo shows enrollees learned to dance, possibly prior to one of the many well-chaperoned dances in near-by Luray, Front Royal, or Elkton. Many of the boys married local girls and settled down near the park.

Tom Blount

Shaver Hollow Research Natural Area

A Case Study for the Protection of Natural and Cultural Resources

Shaver Hollow, a steep 700-acre watershed on the west side of Shenandoah National Park, is drained by the North Fork of Dry Run. The land and forests are typical of much of the park and show evidence of past land use, such as log drags and logging roads. The drainage is bordered on the south by the Crusher Ridge trail, which was once a historic road used for travel and to haul tanbark. After some improvements by a contractor in 1931, equipment and personnel were hauled up and down the mountain for development of the Skyline Drive. Today, other than a single foot trail that winds between research sites, no public accessible trails cross the area.

Shaver Hollow was the first designated Research Natural Area in the National Park Service located in an eastern deciduous forest. The site was designated in August 1985 by NPS Director William Penn Mott. A Research Natural Area or RNA by definition (NPS-77) is "a physical or biological unit established within a typical example of an ecological community type, preferably one having been little disturbed in the past, and in which current natural processes are allowed to continue." A RNA in a park is designated by the National Park Service and is not based on any specific law. The intent is to set the area aside permanently to be managed exclusively for approved non-manipulative research. Shaver Hollow was considered an important area for the study of acid deposition and potential resource effects; and although heavily impacted by humans in the past, it has since recovered to a completely forested watershed.

Shaver Hollow was recommended and selected as a RNA because the area (1) represented typical forest communities and fauna of the park, (2) was inaccessible to the public due to lack of public access at the boundary and lack of developed trails inside the watershed, (3) had power for instrumentation from a powerline extending through the area, and (4) was located where "the signs of the past have largely faded from the scene." Based on previous cursory archeological investigations in the park, no major pre-historic archeological sites were found in the area (Dave Haskell, personal communication). Also, due to the steepness and shallow soils of Shaver Hollow, culturally significant sites were considered unlikely. Since Shenandoah was recovering ecologically from the past disturbances and the visually recognizable signs of cultural habitation were diminishing, the area met the resource criteria for establishment of a Research Natural Area. Although not the same standard of pristine as found in the west, this definition of minimum disturbance is in line with the establishment of legally-designated Wilderness in the eastern parks by the Wilderness Act.

Research efforts in Shaver Hollow were intense during the following 11 years after it was designated a RNA. Geology, soils, vegetation, atmospheric inputs, water quality, and fauna were measured and monitored through the University of Virginia and, to a lesser extent, by the park through various funding sources. Many of the research results led to graduate theses and published articles which have become critical cornerstones in developing an air quality protection strategy for the park and the National Park Service. All research efforts were done under the supervision of the park's resource management specialist with an effort to avoid manipulation of the resources. This included the establishment of three metal towers which extended above the tree canopy for the use of measuring atmospheric inputs and weather at three different elevations and a trail which connected the towers. Although the research was done scientifically and carefully, no cultural resource compliance was prepared. Did the lack of visual signs of previous human habitation or the lack of archeological sites based on previous cursory archeological efforts imply that careful placement and implementation of research activities provided the necessary protection for cultural resources?

In the fall of 1995, Lisa Chang, a graduate student from the University of Virginia, requested a research permit to study nutrient cycling in the soils of Shaver Hollow. As a result of the increased awareness of cultural resource issues in the park since the arrival of the park's cultural resource specialist, a plan was initiated to integrate both cultural and natural resource concerns before approv-

ing the necessary research permits. Dave Orr, chief, Division of Archeology and Historic Architecture, Valley Forge National Historic Park, met with park staff to discuss the concerns and review the site in an attempt to determine the limits of acceptable work that could be accomplished within the watershed without impacting the cultural resources.

After discussing the nature of the research done in Shaver Hollow, reviewing the maps of the watershed, and hiking briefly through the area, Orr, in consultation with the Virginia State Historic Preservation Office archeologist, Ethel Eaton, determined that the area of cultural resource concern was minimal and specific to areas at the top of the watershed and the lower center of the watershed where slopes were 5%* or less. Based on this determination, we developed a set of guidelines which will allow us to continue ongoing research and approve or disapprove new research without the need for detailed archeological surveys. The guidelines consist of: avoidance of ground disturbing activities in areas with less than 5% slope; staying out of old road beds; minimizing holes to less than 3" in diameter; and dispersing holes 30' apart. Any work that would be requested on areas less than 5% slope would be reviewed for cultural resource conflicts and, if necessary, preceded by an archeological survey.

A Geographic Information System map is being developed using slope percentages which will outline areas of concern. By using this map and the guidelines, we will be able to plan future research and monitoring activities in Shaver Hollow with a greater confidence that culturally significant resource areas are being adequately protected. This effort not only insures better protection of all resources but is extremely valuable in educating the research community to be more sensitive to cultural resource areas which may not be apparent. Because of the ongoing research focus in the RNA, the park also determined that the next high priority area for archeological survey would be the Shaver Hollow watershed. This model, which integrates natural and cultural resource planning, will be extended to other areas where intense research efforts will be planned in the future.

* This percentage is specific to the topography of Shaver Hollow. In other park areas, 15% is the guideline for survey decisions.

Tom Blount is the chief of the Biological Resources Branch, Division of Natural and Cultural Resources, Shenandoah National Park.

Dan Hurlbert

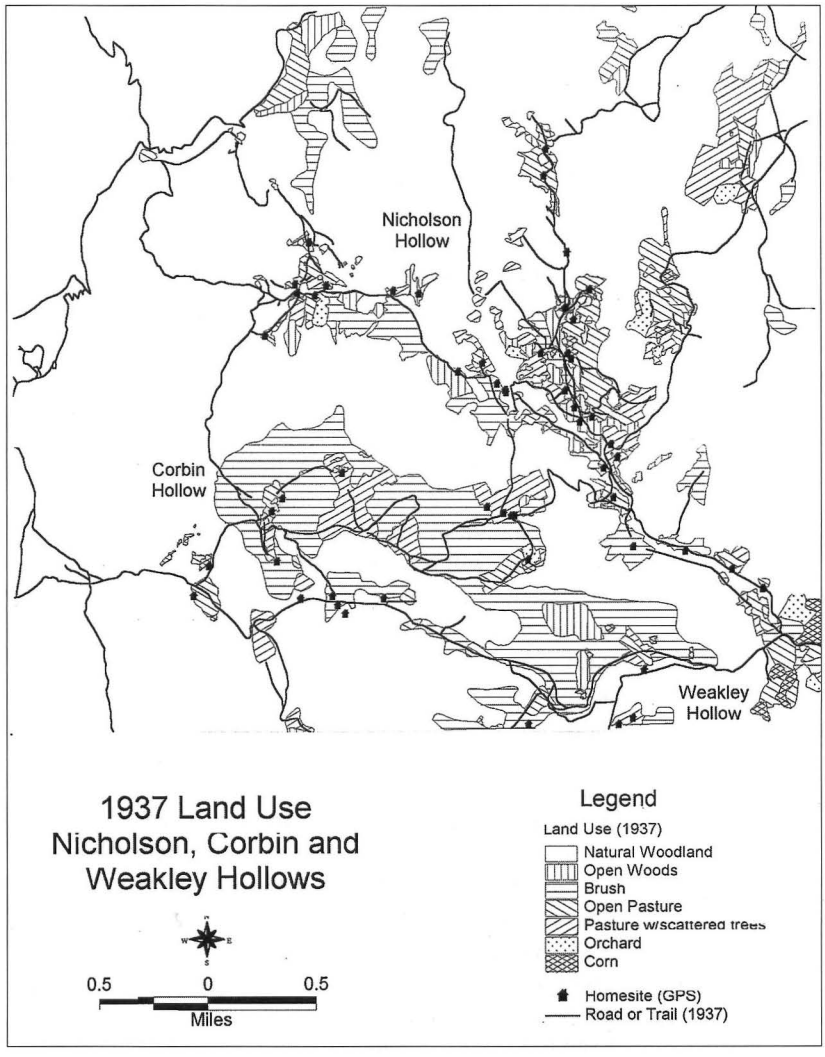
GIS as a Preservation Tool at Shenandoah

Managing the protection and preservation of archeological resources is an important theme reflected in Shenandoah National Park's General Management Plan (USDOI, 1983), Wildland Fire Management Plan (USDOI, 1993), Mission Goals Statement (USDOI, 1996), and Backcountry and Wilderness Management Plan (USDOI, 1997). Although each addresses different levels of concern in its management objectives, all agree that these resources are at risk from both natural and unnatural causes. These same concerns are recognized throughout the park's surrounding communities, whose citizens have requested that old homesites somehow be identified (USDOI, 1995).

Supporting the park's interdisciplinary need to protect cultural resources requires understanding where these resources are located. A Geographic Information System (GIS) is an integrated mapping system which uses input and analysis of spatial features from many different sources to create efficient, accurate, and consistent map products. The GIS program at Shenandoah maintains an extensive database of information supporting all management disciplines, including natural and cultural resource management, fire management, visitor protection, backcountry management, pest management, and facilities management. Using this data, geo-relational models can be constructed by superimposing attributes that describe forest quality, ecological value, wildlife

habitats, and historical and recreational sites.

Using GIS and information from trail system networks, campsite inventories, and backcountry management area boundaries, resource managers can quickly evaluate which sites with archeological or paleontological significance are at risk to aggressive users. Management might consider restricted camping and increased education in culturally sensitive areas. Using GIS, fire managers can examine fire history, forest quality, and fuel load in areas identified as culturally sensitive and plan less aggressive fire suppression tactics. However, before we can thoroughly examine these and other relationships, the spatial and non-spatial data must be entered into GIS and its associated relational database management system (RDBMS).



Initially, the GIS program at Shenandoah National Park became involved with cultural resource studies in the Corbin, Weakley, and Nicholson Hollows to document accurately the locations of historic homesites before these relics of past civilization deteriorated beyond recognition. This initial work has evolved beyond simply gathering coordinate field data toward a full GIS integration of 1937 landuse maps (Reed and Reeder, 1980), USGS quadrangle maps (1929), aerial photography (National Archives, 1937), and surficial archeology site data.

Methods

Global Positioning System (GPS) technology allows investigators to accurately locate, record, and transfer study site locations from the field to the desktop GIS for analysis. GPS technology takes advantage of an earth orbiting constellation of 24 satellites managed by the Department of Defense. Using proprietary mathematical algorithms, a GPS receiver receives signals broadcast from the satellite constellation and, with appropriate processing, calculates to a high degree of accuracy locations on the surface of the earth. All of the GPS data files collected during the project were processed, using Trimble Pathfinder software running on a PC workstation with a Pentium 120 processor. Processed files were then transferred to a Sparc 20 workstation for subsequent Arc/Info, GIS layer development.

Historic homesites in the Nicholson, Corbin, and Weakley Hollows were first identified from USGS quadrangle maps (1929), court records, and aerial photography (National Archives, 1937). Using this information, 77 sites were located on the ground by investigators prior to GPS field activity. At each location, a grid was laid out in preparation for surficial archeological mapping. A bearing shot off a corner stake provided the base line for developing a site grid. Each stake location was then mapped using a Trimble Pro-XL, GPS unit. Each cell in its respective site grid was assigned a unique identifier. This identifier provides the link between data stored in the RDBMS, "what was mapped" and its spatial counterpart, "where it was mapped." This allows researchers to reconstruct in GIS the locations of relic data collected within each site grid cell and analyze the relationships between sites in the study area.

To further enhance our knowledge of this area, a 1:12,000 scale landuse map was provided by Ben Morgan of the USGS. The landuse interpre-

tation was based on a set of 1937 aerial photographs from the National Archives (Reed and Reeder, 1980). The features were digitized by the Shenandoah GIS lab and converted into discrete map layers. These layers include roads, buildings, fences, and landuse classification. Roads were further classified as automobile, wagon, foot, or horse trails. Buildings were classified as house, outbuilding, abandoned but standing in 1937, and the ruin of a building in 1937. Land uses were classified as natural woodland, open woods, brush, open pasture, pasture with scattered trees and shrubs, and orchard.

Further Studies

This winter's (1997-98) field activity will include maps with the previous season's (1996-97) homesite data overlayed with 1937 landuse. All data layers will be carried into the field on a laptop computer. Hardware and software upgrades will further enhance field study efforts. The laptop is equipped with Trimble's Aspen software. Aspen software is the interface between the GPS receiver, upgraded to a Trimble Pro-XR receiver, and the laptop PC. This allows investigators to view in real-time their location on background maps. This integration of technologies provides the capability to navigate to homesites that to date remain elusive and to document further the historic mountain culture.

A Kodak DC50 (resolution of 756 X 504 pixels) zoom and an Olympus D-300L (resolution of 1024 X 768 pixels) digital camera will each be used to photodocument stone masonry at selected sites. Digital images are stored as a record in the database and linked to GPS points in ArcView, a PC-based GIS application. ArcView allows viewing of GIS map layers and associated imagery as well as database query and analysis capability. This will allow investigators the opportunity to "revisit" a site from their desktop.

Discussions also include using a theodolite mapping system to accurately measure elevation along with GPS coordinates. Digital elevation models from this data will be developed to document evidence of slope terracing, an intensive farming practice common up many of the hollows as settlement increased in the rich bottomlands.

Cultural resource investigations in Shenandoah National Park are used to document locations with cultural significance. An extensive database of information is being generated by these investigations. This data integrated into the park's GIS will provide detailed information for cultural resource studies and assist other resource managers in their planning and decisions. Understanding where these fragile resources are located might in the end be their only salvation. Fire managers, backcountry managers, law enforcement rangers, and maintenance managers can be sensitized to this important aspect of our heritage and willingly modify their programs toward protection, preservation, and education.

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The **Shenandoah Valley Battlefields National Historic District Commission** is underway! Interior Secretary Bruce Babbit named 19 members to the commission in late September. The commission will now begin its work to develop a plan for protecting and interpreting the historic, cultural, and natural resources associated with the Civil War battlefields and campaigns in the Valley. For further information, contact Sandy Rives, Shenandoah National Park, 804-985-7293.

D.E.W. Godwin

Unfolding Cultural Resources at Shenandoah

Shenandoah National Park is well known for its scenic beauty and serene places which are perfect for quiet contemplation. The park preserves another valuable resource, however, which is perhaps less familiar. Within the boundaries of Shenandoah National Park there are items which can unlock the mysteries of the park's past and help in the continuing effort to protect and preserve the timeless beauty of the Blue Ridge section of the Appalachian Mountains. These keys to the park's past and future take many forms, were created by many individuals and organizations, and were produced over a period of time ranging from the early-19th-century to the current day. These items are none other than the many hundreds of linear feet of archival materials held by the park. As is the case with all National Park Service sites, Shenandoah National Park holds invaluable yet little-known resources in the form of letters, manuscripts, photographs, plans and drawings, maps, newspapers, reports, and other documentary artifacts. This article will outline the various documentary resources at Shenandoah National Park and discuss the recent efforts to manage and provide greater access to those materials.

There is inherent value in any archives: documentary records are the stuff of which history is made. Historians use documents to peer into past events, people, and societies. At Shenandoah National Park, the value of documentary artifacts is as genuine as at any institution whose mission is to preserve our natural and cultural resources. Documentary materials at Shenandoah National Park include primary resources reflective of the cultural activities of the Blue Ridge segment of the Appalachian Mountains with emphasis on the farming and rural communities which developed on the mountains. Shenandoah National Park archival materials also document the efforts of the individuals and government agencies responsible for the establishment of the park, in part by moving into the area at the beginning of the 20th century and relocating the mountain inhabitants. The archives illuminate as well the process of administering the park from its inception to the current day.

The archival materials at Shenandoah National Park, as at all National Park Service sites, fall into two broad categories: 1) Official National Park Service Records, which comprise the official record of the National Park Service and are managed according to NPS-19, *Records Management Guideline*, and 2) Museum Archival and Manuscript Collections (non-official records), which, as stated in NPS-28, *Cultural Resource Management Guideline*, Release No. 4 (September 1994), include "... all types of documentary records that contribute substantially to the understanding, interpretation, and management of other park resources (cultural and natural) as well as being important resources in their own right." This latter category is managed as part of the museum collection, including accessioning, processing, rehousing, describing, cataloging, and providing access for research. Museum Archival and Manuscript Collections (non-official records) are further divided into personal papers, organizational archives (acquired archives), and resource management records. Shenandoah National Park's museum archives fall into all of these categories.

The personal papers at Shenandoah National Park include small groups of documents which illustrate the lives of mountain families primarily during their latter years within what is now park boundaries. These materials include letters, photographs, newspaper articles, and other documents which remain unprocessed and uncataloged. The most complete and significant collection of personal papers are the *L. Ferdinand Zerkel Papers, 1818-1960*. This collection comprises approximately 12.0 linear feet and documents the activities of Mr. Zerkel, a Luray, Virginia, businessman who was instrumental in the formation of Shenandoah National Park. The collection includes scrapbooks; loose-leaf binders of donation records and newspaper clippings; typed, handwritten, and carbon copies of letters; reports; pamphlets; drawings/blueprints; maps; photographs; clippings and newspapers; and electrostatic copies. Included also are the receipts from the auction sale of objects from Zerkel's Luray Museum. Zerkel's papers fall into the following categories: I. Correspondence, II. Subject Files, III. Clippings and Newspapers, IV. Scrapbooks, V. Photographs and Negatives, VI. Books, VII. Receipts, and VIII. Oversize Items. The Zerkel papers were donated to the park in July 1962 pursuant to the provisions of his will. From the beginning, the Zerkel papers have been recognized as one of the park's most valuable resources, as evidenced in an August 1962 letter from the park superintendent to the Zerkel children which states: "Your father and mother donated to the National Park Service a collection of historical documents, maps, papers, and photographs relating to the early history and establishment of the Shenandoah National Park. These historical documents will be invaluable to the Park, and I am sure will serve as our best source material on the early days of this

area." Zerkel's papers currently are unprocessed and cataloged.

Of compelling significance are the various collections of organizational archives at Shenandoah National Park. Currently identified collections fall into three groups: materials relating to Christian ministry at the park, records of Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) activities, and original land acquisition documents. The Christian ministry materials, which currently are unprocessed and uncataloged, include correspondence, financial records, programs, and newspaper clippings documenting a movement in the 1960s to provide Christian ministry and outreach in a national park setting. The organization is known as A Christian Ministry in the National Parks. The documents relating to CCC activities are currently unprocessed and uncataloged and range in date from the mid-1930s to the mid-1980s. The park holds plans and drawings, photographs, correspondence, and general files documenting the CCC's activities at Shenandoah National Park and continues to receive donations from former CCC workers. These files are a particularly rich source of information on the early development of the park.

One of the largest and most valuable collections at Shenandoah National Park are the *State Commission on Conservation and Development Land Records, 1869-1995*. These land acquisition files encompass an estimated 50.0 linear feet and document the process by which land was acquired by Shenandoah National Park. Although Congress authorized the establishment of Shenandoah National Park in 1926, the legislative body stipulated that land be acquired by donation without expenditure of any federal funds. During the next 10 years some private citizens donated land to the government. The bulk of the land, however, was purchased by Virginia through the State Commission on Conservation and Development, either from willing sellers or by condemnation and purchase. This land was then donated to the federal government. *The State Commission on Conservation and Development Land Records, 1869-1995* were processed and cataloged during a FY96 project funded through the Backlog Cataloging Program and carried out by staff of Shenandoah National Park and the Northeast Museum Services Center (comprised of National Park Service staff and catalogers from the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities working through a cooperative agreement with the National Park Service). Staff from the Northeast Museum Services Center organized the files into five series: I. Tract Files by County, II. Boundary Survey Files, III. Notices to Vacate, IV. Computation Sheets for Boundary Surveys, and V. Oversize Storage; cataloged the collection into the Automated National Catalog System; and created a finding aid which includes a description of the collection, a collection listing, a tract number index, and a landowner index.

Shenandoah National Park also holds a rich collection of records which were produced by park employees and which provide evidence of various aspects of the planning, development, and history of the park. A large number of files are classified as "Resource Management Records" and consequently are managed as part of the park's museum collection. These files document efforts of the park to manage its cultural and natural resources and are continually used by park staff in the ongoing management of the park. Of particular interest are photograph albums which depict persons, events, sites, and structures associated with Shenandoah National Park; the park's drawings and master plans relating to the development of the park; records produced from geological, wildlife, meteorological, and archeological studies; research on various topics such as Shenandoah National Park place names; and oral histories. Most of the park's resource management records remain unprocessed and uncataloged.

Although most of Shenandoah National Park's archival collections are unprocessed and uncataloged, there has been progress in recent years. The land acquisition files, as described above, were cataloged during a FY96 project funded out of the Backlog Cataloging Program. The park has continued to receive support from this program. During the current fiscal year, the Zerkel papers and a portion of the park's resource management records will be processed and cataloged. In future years, the remainder of the collections will be processed, with the ultimate goal that each collection will have a catalog card and finding aid, the entire collection will be described in a general guide to all the archival materials at the park, and all of this data will be presented to the public through the World Wide Web or by a similar method. With each step in this process, the park comes closer to providing the public with access to invaluable resources which illuminate the creation of one of our most beautiful national parks.

Diane Godwin works at the Northeast Museum Services Center whose mission is to support and strengthen park management and programs that preserve and protect natural and cultural resource collections in national parks and that make those collections accessible for research, education, and public enjoyment. The Center's address is Charlestown Navy Yard, Building I, Charlestown, MA 02129; phone: 617-242-5613. Since June 1997, Mrs. Godwin has been Acting Director of the Center.

For more information on the park's collections, contact Reed Engle at 540-999-3495.

Audrey Horning

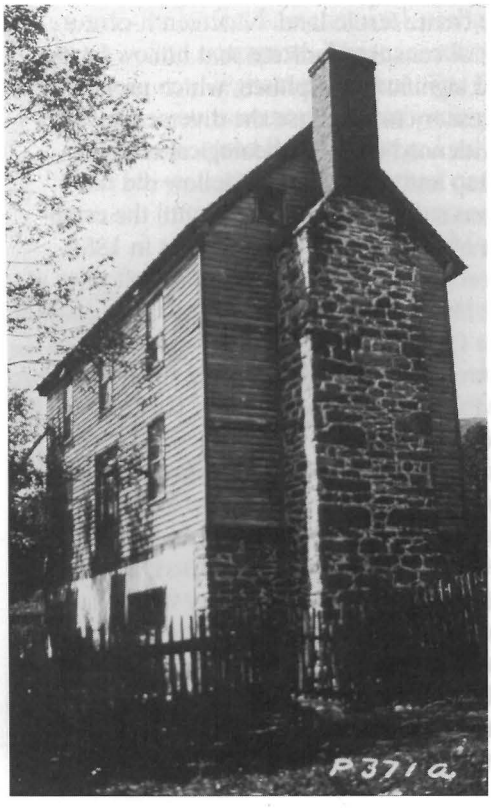
"Almost Untouched"

Recognizing, Recording, and Preserving the Archeological Heritage of a Natural Park

The precipitousness of the range ... has saved for us through centuries of civilization more than 600 square miles of almost untouched native forest within 90 miles of the nation's capital.

While promoters of Virginia's Shenandoah National Park extolled the virtues of a virgin mountain landscape, they faced the sobering reality that the park area was home to at least 500 families. Examining how a populated region could be promoted as pristine wilderness and how its residents and their physical traces were "erased" is critical to any understanding of the nature of present-day Shenandoah National Park and the difficulties of evaluating and protecting its archeological resources.

One solution to the promoter's dilemma evolved from the recent history of the Southern mountains. Following the Civil War, upland resources promised the industrial salvation of the war-ravaged South. Entrepreneurs flocked to the hills, preceded by a cadre of fiction writers known as local colorists. As the writers penned amusing stories about the backward nature of the hillfolk, described as "strange and peculiar people," existing "in a colonial era," industrialists seized upon the potential of these characterizations in the dawning progressive era. However, romantically portrayed as "children of nature," mountaineers still stood in the way of progress. Their removal meant their salvation. Their removal allowed development.



Haywood Nicholson home, Weakley Hollow (destroyed). Photo courtesy Shenandoah NP.

A half century later, a Chicago sociologist and a Washington journalist teamed up to write a book about the Blue Ridge during the fight to "develop" the scenic resources of the Shenandoah National Park area. According to the book, *Hollow Folk*, the Blue Ridge was peopled by "families of unlettered folk " who were "much closer to the animal level than the population at large." The authors were able to conclude their exposé on a hopeful note: "For a century the hollow folk have lived almost without contact with law or government. But soon the strong arm of the federal government will fall upon them...the mountaineers must abandon their cabins." And so they did. Over 3,000 individual land tracts were purchased or condemned to create Shenandoah National Park, officially dedicated in 1936.

Once the families left, Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees dismantled their homes, farms, stores, churches, schools, and mills. As a nod to the park's human history, several log structures in the vicinity of Nicholson Hollow, a broad hollow cut by the Hughes River on the eastern slopes of the Blue Ridge, were retained. Yet, removing frame, brick, and stone structures from the landscape only denied the complexity of architectural forms once present, just as the retention of small cabins over large homes (several hollow farmhouses contained up to nine rooms) enhanced popular images of mountain hardship.

Because Shenandoah was destined to be managed as a "natural" park, the surviving log structures were not maintained. Instead, the declining traces of historic occupation have been celebrated. "Where else," asked one writer, "has the supposedly inevitable trend of civilization, toward more and more consumption of earth's resources, been so completely reversed by democratic decision on so large an area?" But how can a region be "returned" to its "natural" state in 60 years? Furthermore, what is its "natural" state? For Shenandoah, the aim has been to return the land to its condition before European settlement. Beyond the environmentally questionable nature of this decision, the notion that the land was pristine wilderness 200 years ago denies the impact of Native American occupation and suggests that such prehistoric activity was not really "cultural."



Image of Corbin Hollow poverty Photo courtesy Shenandoah NP.

Today's "natural" landscape is as much a cultural creation as were the farms of the 1930s, the base camps and stone quarries of 10,000 years ago, and the dichotomy between the "cultural" and "natural." The past belief in the separation of the cultural and the natural has placed the park's archeological resources at great risk.

In 1995, a National Park Service project, designed to catalog and assess cultural resources in Nicholson Hollow and adjacent Corbin and Weakley Hollows was begun in cooperation with the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. In addition to possessing standing architecture, the three hollows formed the core of the communities described in *Hollow Folk*. Examining the physical traces of these communities would test the book's presentation of 20th-century mountain life, provide an opportunity to investigate the depth of historic settlement, evaluate the extent of Native American activity, and serve as a starting place to understand the nature of cultural resources throughout the park.



Toy ray gun found on a Corbin Hollow site. Photo by Andrew Edwards.

In the 1930s, the three hollows were home to at least 460 persons who were predominantly descended from 18th-century settlers of English, Scots-Irish, Welsh, German, and French Huguenot background. While no family in these hollows in the 20th century claimed African extraction, slavery and free black communities did exist in the Blue Ridge. In fact, physical and documentary sources identify one foundation in Nicholson Hollow as an 1820s slave quarter.

Archeological evidence suggests that Weakley Hollow, a long valley separating the geologically-distinct Old Rag mountain from the Blue Ridge, was settled by the 1770s. It had grown into the village of Old Rag, complete with a post office, two stores, two churches, and a school by the 20th century. Residents during the previous century had capitalized upon their proximity to a through road by operating commercial sawmills, gristmills, and distilleries—all part of the hollow's archeological heritage.

Documentary and archeological sources indicate that nearby Nicholson Hollow was settled in the 1790s, with the fertile bottomland along the Hughes River inviting intensive farming. As settlement density increased, farmers engaged in extensive landscape engineering, clearing and terracing slopes to create fertile land. Nineteenth-century agricultural censuses indicate that hollow farmers produced significant surpluses, which provided the cash necessary to purchase the diverse consumer goods evidenced in the archeological record.

Steep and rocky Corbin Hollow did not evolve into a distinct community until the establishment of the nearby Skyland resort in 1886. Families relied upon wage labor and craft sales at Skyland, leaving themselves wide open for disaster when the Depression struck and the cameras of park promoters began clicking. The poverty in Corbin Hollow spoke for the entire park. Stark photographs circulated through the media, and politicians were dragged to the hollow to gawk at the dismal condition of the natives. Yet, the recently-examined material record indicates that even in Corbin Hollow, popular descriptions of mountain isolation and degeneracy were overblown. Typical assemblages range from decorative tablewares, pharmaceutical bottles, and automobile parts to mail order toys, furniture, shoes, and even fragments of 78 rpm records. Far higher percentages of commercial food containers



Surviving log structure with trail blaze. Photo by the author.

are recovered from Corbin Hollow sites than on Nicholson or Weakley Hollow sites, indicative of wage-labor subsistence. Not only did Blue Ridge residents actively participate in the national consumer culture, they made choices regarding their subsistence and economic lives—choices and decisions that changed over time and were tempered and shaped, but not determined by, the natural environment.

Seventy-seven sites have been located in the three hollows, covering approximately 2,500 acres. The high density of multi-component sites along hiking trails warns against backcountry development throughout the park. In a mountainous environment, sites characterized by relatively level land near a water source were and are repeatedly used. Today's perfect campsite was yesterday's perfect homesite and, earlier, someone else's perfect campsite. These locations are found even at the highest elevations. The Blue Ridge—punctuated by numerous gaps affording transportation, characterized by well-watered valleys and hollows, and possessed of a variety of natural resources—has always attracted human populations. As a result, Shenandoah National Park contains an unrecognized wealth of archeological sites—sites that are under threat.

Damage to archeological sites in Nicholson, Corbin, and Weakley Hollows is readily apparent. Generations of hikers have disturbed or pocketed historic 'souvenirs.' Others have carved their initials into surviving log structures, built fires inside houses, or robbed foundations to construct campfire circles. Trail crews have dismantled stone walls to construct waterbars, and one overzealous overseer blazed a standing log house. Repeated use of some campsites has abraded the ground surface to the extent that stratified deposits have been compromised, and prehistoric resources damaged.

Other threats to cultural resources are "natural." Severe weather, including one hurricane and two catastrophic floods, has riddled the park with downed trees, creating a widespread fire hazard. Any conflagration in the Nicholson Hollow region would destroy the precious traces of vernacular log architecture, while subsurface deposits could be destroyed by fire breaks. Falling trees themselves have toppled unsupported stone chimneys, already choked by vines, and crushed log structures. Implementation of sensible fire management and a backcountry camping policy requires the immediate recognition and assessment of the park's cultural resources.

Shenandoah National Park is not a testament to humankind's power to restore nature. Instead, the park should be a laboratory in which to study the interconnectedness of human culture and the natural world. The Blue Ridge environment has long both constrained and been constrained by human activity. The recognition, preservation, and analysis of the park's extensive and varied cultural resources in combination with continued research into its biological and geological diversity would greatly enhance the park's appeal to visitors by addressing the struggle to define the relationship of modern society to the natural world.

Audrey Horning is research archeologist with the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.



View of a Weakley Hollow henhouse before it was crushed by a falling tree in Autumn 1996. Photo by the author.

Reed L. Engle

Shenandoah
Laboratory for Change

On November 30, 1932, Arno B. Cammerer, then Deputy Director of the National Park Service, added a hand-written note to Director Albright on a typed memorandum about the development of concession facilities in the proposed Shenandoah National Park: "Provision for colored guests." Three years before Shenandoah was officially established, the groundwork for an official policy of "separate, but equal" accommodations was being established.

From 1933-36 no concession facilities were developed on Skyline Drive since Congressional authority had not been given, although the 19th-century Skyland resort continued to be operated by George Freeman Pollock, the Spotswood Tea Room at Swift Run Gap by Ralph Mins, and the Panorama Restaurant at Thornton Gap by Williams and Cheatham. An initial effort at facilities development by a consortium of businessmen known as Virginia Hosts Inc. went through several evolutions only to wither. In October 1936, a Richmond group headed by Mason Manghum, Virginia Sky-Line Co., expressed interest in concessions operations; and its proposal rapidly was accepted by the government in bids opened on January 15, 1937.

By the following summer, Virginia Sky-Line Company had laid out preliminary plans for the development of facilities that included a new lodge at Dickey Ridge, two large public buildings at Skyland, a gas station, visitor cabins and a lodge at Big Meadows, and a campground, smaller lodge, and cabins at Lewis Mountain—"a development for colored people."

As these plans were being formulated, Harold L. Ickes, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior, wrote in his diary:

> ... my stand on the Negro question is well known. I have been in the advance of every other member of the Cabinet, and the Negroes recognize this .... It begins to look as if real justice and opportunity for the Negro at long last might begin to come to him at the hands of the Democratic party, which Negroes have scorned ... until they swung over to Roosevelt in large numbers in 1932....

Ickes' beliefs, however, were far more progressive than the stated policies of the National Park Service in 1936:

> The program of development of facilities ... for the accommodation and convenience of the visiting public contemplates ... separate facilities for white and colored people to the extent only as is necessary to conform with the generally accepted customs long established in Virginia .... To render the most satisfactory service to white and colored visitors it is generally recognized that separate rest rooms, cabin colonies and picnic ground facilities should be provided.

Shenandoah's first superintendent, J. Ralph Lassiter, former Chief Engineer for park development and a Virginia native, followed the Service policy, noting in early 1937 that a "proposed colored picnic grounds at Lewis Mountain" was in the Park master plan. By mid-summer, however, he was prodded by the Washington office:

> There is a growing demand for picnic areas for colored people .... Two bus loads are going up tomorrow and they have to be fitted into camping placed for white people. This is not a good condition ....

It was soon decided that the concessionaire would develop the picnic area, campground, cabins, and restaurant at Lewis Mountain, a departure from precedent at other areas in which the CCC had constructed the picnic and campground facilities to be managed by the National Park Service.

By June 1938, the Superintendent reported that the picnic area had been graded, fireplaces soon were to be built, and the comfort station was almost complete. Virginia Sky-Line Company was reviewing preliminary architectural drawings by Marcellus Wright for the new lodge and cabins.

As the Superintendent attempted to satisfy and expedite the existing Service policy, the Department of the Interior solicitor suggested to the Secretary that "segregation of the races as now practiced" at Shenandoah is an "infringement of constitutional principles" because it was not equal, although separate.

Superintendent Lassiter defended the "equality" of the evolving Lewis Mountain development, and after a review of facilities at Shenandoah requested by Director Cammerer (with input by Senator Harry Byrd), it was decided by the Secretary that state laws and local segregationist policies would be "generally" followed, but that one large picnic area in Shenandoah would be integrated. Pinnacles picnic ground was selected for the Park's initial effort in 1939.

Portions of the Lewis Mountain facilities opened in the summer season of 1939, and the first cabins and lodge were in service in the sum-

mer of 1940. However, Virginia Sky-Line Company remained unsupportive of the development and had written Lassiter that the Lewis Mountain operation would probably operate at a loss causing other (i.e., white) facilities to "bear an unreasonable [financial] burden."

The Deputy Director supported the Virginia Sky-Line Company position, stating:

> I myself have felt right along that there was not sufficient demand for negroes for this particular type of accommodations to make it pay, but I understand that the Secretary [of the Interior] has insisted on the installation and that this is why they are progressing. Next year if it does not pay, we can take up the question of closing it or making it available for white occupancy. I think ... [staff] had better advertise this, sending copies to Howard University.

This widely circulated memorandum may well have been the final blow to Cammerer's career. In June, Ickes quietly offered the Directorship to Newton Drury, who accepted, shortly before Cammerer officially "resigned" as Director and became Regional Director at Richmond.

Superintendent Lassiter suffered a heart attack on December 26, 1939, and was not back at work until the late spring of 1940. He possibly did not comprehend the significance of the directive from Washington that was received in the Park during his absence, stating that "no mention will be made of segregation on the map [given to visitors] or in the Park literature." In August, he unguardedly wrote to the Director:

> I think the best policy to pursue is definite segregation, either by separate areas or by setting aside a portion of each area for Negroes. Of course, neither of these suggestions will meet with the approval of that group of Negroes ... who ... must have their millennium [sic] at once ....

In September 1940, Lassiter was called to Washington to explain why park rangers continued to give out maps and brochures identifying Lewis Mountain as the campground and lodge "for colored visitors." Soon thereafter, Lassiter received transfer orders to the superintendency at Great Smoky Mountains National Park, a transfer that was indefinitely postponed due to political pressure. But within a year, Lassiter had been exiled to Santa Fe, New Mexico, as regional engineer with a cut in grade and a 10% loss in salary.

During World War II, gasoline was rationed, visitation plummeted, and park concession facilities closed. Virginia Sky-Line Company did not begin to reopen facilities until September 1945. In December, a general bulletin to all National Park Service concessionaires was issued by Washington, calling attention to the *Federal Register,* December 8, 1945, page 14866, mandating full desegregation of all facilities in national parks. Virginia Sky-Line Company's manager protested to Superintendent Freeland:

> In March 1939, a few days after the present officers acquired controlling stock [of Virginia Sky-Line Co.] ... a conference was held ... at which there was present the majority of the [NPS] Director's Staff .... In return for the expenditure of funds necessary to carry out these plans [for facilities development], 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 ... and as evidence of the Park Service's intentions ... the Lewis Mountain development has always carried the designation, "for the exclusive use of negroes." ... Instead of improving racial relations, [it] would be distinct disservice to the negroes desiring to visit the Park.

Washington accepted the reality of Virginia Sky-Line Company's threat to give up its contract with the Service if the proposed regulation was imposed, and an internal Service memorandum noted that "General Manager [of Virginia Sky-Line] ... has been, or soon will be, given assurance, *through Senator Byrd* [italics added], that the Company may continue its operations this summer without any change in its plans with respect to taking care of Negro visitors."

Frazier, the general manager of Virginia Sky-Line Company, resigned the following year; and in October 1947, Lewis Mountain and the main dining room at Panorama were integrated by the new manager. Gradually, the concessionaire and the superintendent worked to assure fully integrated facilities, a task accomplished in the summer of 1950, more than a decade before similar results were realized elsewhere in the Commonwealth.

Note: This article, in slightly different form, first appeared in Shenandoah National Park's *Resource Management Newsletter,* January 1996.



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Science, Myth, Culture
Shenandoah Symposium Brings Together Natural and Cultural Resources

For two days in May 1997, there were only *resources* at Shenandoah National Park. Not natural resources, not cultural resources. Eighty-three people gathered May 7 and 8 at Skyland in the heart of the park to share perceptions and perspectives at the 10th Shenandoah Symposium, whose theme, *Science, Myth, Culture,* embodied the spirit of inquiry and inclusiveness about resources reflected throughout this issue of *CRM*.

These (more or less) semi-annual gatherings began in 1976 and originally focused on bringing together the scientists doing natural resources research to share technical results. In recent years, the agenda has broadened to include cultural resources and has encouraged presentations geared to well-educated, but non-technical, audiences. This year's attendees were equally mixed between park staff and members of the community at large.

Energy levels on the first day were high as the stage was set with "big picture" talks and discussion. NPS Chief Historian Dwight Pitcaithley led off with the keynote address elaborating on the conference theme—that Shenandoah is a park of significant human and natural elements, but many misconceptions, and that it is time to bring the elements together. Subsequent talks that first day looked at the Shenandoah landscape from many viewpoints: geologic, land use and vegetation history, and threats to landscape integrity from air pollution and exotic species. We then turned to an examination of the human history of Shenandoah and the way we have presented that story. By the end of the first day, there was a sense of shared ownership of the park among all present, regardless of background. Barriers had fallen between biologists and historians.

Day two began with an examination of specific resource issues in the park: the Skyline Drive (Linda McClelland's article elsewhere in this issue is an outgrowth of that talk); the CCC; unique biota of the Blue Ridge; the loss of the American Chestnut and other species in the last hundred years; and landscape/ecosystem restoration efforts underway and contemplated. Members of the park's Science Review Board then brought the pieces back together by leading a discussion on perceptions and choices in resource management. We are, to a large extent, what we define ourselves to be; and we can only move forward in our stewardship if we define what we want to be.

The conference ended with outgoing Superintendent Bill Wade's parting comments—his "swan song" in many ways since he retired the following week. He expressed his hope that Shenandoah future managers would do three things in particular: (1) continue to support, and enhance the natural resources inventory and monitoring program; (2) continue to improve the understanding and acceptance of the importance of cultural resources in the park; and (3) further educate the public to the importance and irreplaceability of the value of the natural and cultural resources of Shenandoah National Park.

The next symposium is planned for the spring of 1999.

Bob Krumenaker

CRM

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