United States
Department of
Agriculture

Forest
Service

FS-380

Mountaineers and Rangers

A History of Federal Forest Management in the Southern Appalachians 1900-81

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April 1983

Foreword

In 1978 the former Head of the Forest Service's History Section, David A. Clary, conceived the idea of doing a history of the impact of Federal natural resource management on the peoples of the Southern Appalachians. The contract was awarded July 25 that year under competitive bidding to Maximus, Inc., in McLean, Va.

We believe this study to be an important addition to the literature on the Forest Service and the Southern Appalachians. It is only the second scholarly publication to take a regional approach to Forest Service history, and it is the first to explicitly examine how Forest Service programs have affected local populations. We hope that it will stimulate other individuals, both in and outside the Forest Service, to write similarly significant histories.

Photographs and maps, mostly from official Forest Service sources, have been included to illustrate points covered in the text. Readers may order those from the National Archives collection by number from the Still Pictures Branch, Audiovisual Archives Division, National Archives, General Services Administration (GSA), Washington, DC 20408. Ask for GSA From 6797 with the latest valid price list; prices change each year on October 1. An advance payment made out to the Cashier, National Archives, GSA, must accompany each order. Requests for prints of photographs still held by the Forest Service, other photos, and for map photos should be sent to the History Section, Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, P.O. Box 2417, Washington, DC 20013; notification of the appropriate charge will be made, and the advance payment made out to Forest Service, USDA, must then be sent to us.

The source of each print is given in the description beneath each photograph, where it appears in the text. The designation "NA:95G" means it is an official Forest Service photograph, and the negative is held in the National Archives collection; the number following is the number of that photo. The designation "Forest Service photo" means the negative with the number following is still retained by the Forest Service in Washington, DC.

Sources of data for this study, including tables, are fully provided in the reference notes following each chapter and in the 11 lists in the Bibliography. The authors wish to thank personnel of the National Archives, Washington, DC; the Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Md.; the Lands and the Recreation Staffs of the Forest Service in Washington, DC, and Atlanta, Ga.; the various National Forests in the Appalachians; the Southeast Regional Office and the Supervisor of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, National Park Service; and the Appalachian Regional Commission, as well as the many other persons interviewed personally and by telephone, for their cooperation and special assistance which added greatly to the completeness of this report.

Dennis M. Roth, Head
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A Summary

Tracing the history of the impact of Federal land acquisition and land management on the peoples of the Southern Appalachians has not been a simple or direct exercise. The task was difficult, largely because the people most affected have been almost silent. Reflecting the inexpressiveness of their culture, they have rarely written their reactions.[1] Indeed, as Ronald Eller affirms, "no satisfactory history of the [Southern Appalachian] region has ever been written."[2] Perhaps the best work on the Southern mountaineer, John C. Campbell's 1921 classic *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* is not by a native; he was educated in the Northeast and came from Indiana to observe and educate the mountaineer. In spite of its thoroughness and sensitivity, the book conveys an outsider's perspective. Similarly, the foregoing narrative of Federal land activity is told mainly through the remarks and writings of the Federal agents who came to the Southern Appalachians to purchase and manage the land, or by other outside analysts and observers, plus supporting data. The reactions of the mountaineer to massive Federal landowership and changing land uses have necessarily been largely inferred.

Federal land acquisition in the Southern Appalachians began shortly after the Weeks Act, authorizing the purchase of forest land by the Federal Government from other owners for the establishment of National Forests, was passed by Congress in March 1911. The Weeks Act represented an extension of Federal land management policies. In the western United States, nearly all National Forests had been reserved from the public domain, the lands held by the Federal Government for disposal under the land laws. In the East, however, there was little remaining public domain by the time of the 1891 act. All but a few have been created by Federal purchase of lands that had been held for generations in private ownership. Between 1911 and 1982, over 23 million acres were so acquired for National Forests east of the 100th meridian. Almost 4 million of these acres were in the Southern Appalachian mountains.[3]

First Reserves in the East

In response to appeals by leading local conservationists, the Southern Appalachians, stretching from southwestern Virginia to northern Georgia, and the White Mountains of New Hampshire were the first areas in the East to be identified by the Federal Government, and the affected State governments, as needing protection from destructive lumbering. Thus the two areas became the first to have large tracts converted to National Forests. Federal land agents—geologists, foresters, surveyors, and appraisers—were sent to the Southern Appalachians to carry out this mandate. They were impressed by the physical beauty and abundant resources of the region.[4]

Under the authority of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, the Weeks Act justified Federal purchase of forest lands for one stated objective: to protect lands on the headwaters of navigable streams from deforestation, fire, and erosion, so that streamflow could be protected. Behind this legislative rationale, however, was a complex history of land management controversies that accompanied the birth of forestry in America. Gifford Pinchot, who, before he became Chief of the Forest Service, had fathered America's first experiment in practical, conservative forestry at Biltmore, near Asheville, N.C., was an instrumental advocate of Federal land acquisition in the Southern mountains. The movement for a National Park in the Southern Appalachian Great Smoky Mountains, which had developed during the 1890's and grew into a broad movement for forest reserves in the East, provided further momentum for the establishment of National Forests in the region. The Weeks Act implied that Federal ownership was the best—perhaps the only—way to restore the cutover and burned Southern Appalachian slopes and to preserve the mountain region for future generations to enjoy and use.

By the time Federal land agents arrived in the Southern Appalachians, the region had already been discovered by outside investors, timber and coal barons, missionaries, local-color writers, and scientists, and had been defined as being unique and distinct from the rest of the United States. Exploitation of its natural resources, especially coal and timber, was well along. In 1900, the area was characterized by an economy of self-sufficient small farms settled in the mountain river bottoms and hollows, isolated from each other by steep, parallel ridges. The culture of the region appeared strange to outsiders: sometimes quaint, sometimes frightening. It was strongly Scotch-Irish in ethnic background, and reminiscent of pioneer America. The absence of large towns, the lack of formal schooling, the homogeneous population, the widespread distillation of corn liquor, the fierce independence, and the apparent lawlessness that prevailed were a few indicators of the region's "otherness."[5] Furthermore, the mountaineer seemed oblivious to the riches amidst which he had settled: coal and timber, both in high demand by the industrializing cities of the North.

Rail Opens Area to Industry

After 1880, with extensive railroad construction, the Southern Appalachian region began to change in fundamental and enduring ways, as absentee landownership became the single most important facet of the region's political economy. Investors from Europe and the Northeast purchased vast tracts of Southern Appalachian land, for its coal, its timber, or simply for the increasing value of the land itself. Often when they could not buy the land, they bought rights to the resources beneath or upon it. In certain portions of the Southern mountains—for example, the hardwood-rich Great Smokies and coal-rich slopes of eastern Kentucky—absentee landowners came to control the vast majority of the exploitable resources. Many mountaineers were displaced, moving into small towns within and adjacent to the region; some remained on the land as tenants or squatters. The self-sufficient farming economy and mountain culture were altered, as industrialization and small-scale urbanization became increasing features of the landscape.[6] Furthermore, once the land was acquired by outsiders, the mountaineer essentially lost it for good. Much of the land was eventually transferred to the Federal Government, and the Southern Appalachian farmer did not—indeed, could not—buy it back.

National Forests Are Assembled

As Shands and Healy have written, "the national forests of the East, in the main, were assembled from land that nobody wanted."[7] From the beginning, the Government purchased only from willing sellers, who either volunteered their land for sale or, approached by Government agents, were able to reach agreeable settlements with the Forest Service. In the early years, most of the acreage acquired in the Southern Appalachians was from large timber and landholding companies, such as Gennett, Ritter, Little River, and Champion, which found a ready market for their culled, cutover, or inaccessible tracts, and transferred their absentee ownership to the Federal Government. Some of the largest and most finely timbered acreage was acquired first; for example, in Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia, nearly 30 percent of the acreage so obtained was virgin timber.[8] Hundreds of small landholders of the region sold willingly as well, in plots of from 5 acres to nearly 1,000 acres, and a patchwork pattern of Federal and private landownership began to emerge within the gross National Forest boundaries. The first eastern National Forest, the Pisgah, was established in 1916 in North Carolina. By 1920, five more Southern Appalachian forests had been proclaimed.

The impact of these federally managed units was negligible at first; land owned mostly by absentee corporations had simply been transferred to another absentee owner, and little changed. Gradually, however, the process of Federal land acquisition accelerated the decline of the farming economy that had begun in the late 19th century. As more and more family farms were abandoned to National Forests status, the acreage that could potentially be settled or developed by private interests dwindled. The population growth of the mountain counties slowed. The irreversible interruption of previous settlement patterns had begun, and in Henry Shapiro's words, the notion of the southern mountains as "essentially uninhabitable" was "institutionalized."[9]

Fight Against Burning Is Slow

The arrival of Forest Service land managers was accompanied by the agency's campaign against burning the woods. The traditional folk practice of using fire—to clear brush, vines, and weeds, and to destroy insects, vermin, and snakes before spring planting and after harvest—was in clear conflict with this policy. Rangers assigned to the mountains in the early years considered their most difficult management task to be changing this native habit. The acculturation process was slow, never entirely successful. Although seasonal burning declined considerably, deliberate fires became a recurring symbol of resentment and protest. In the fall of 1980, nearly 50 years after the National Forest was established, fires spreading over 100,000 acres of the Daniel Boone were attributed to arsonists "seeking revenge on the government."[10]

Although large-scale Federal land acquisition helped to accelerate outmigration from the mountain recesses to nearby towns and cities, National Forests provided some employment for those who remained. Timber sales favored small lumber mill operators, who were sustained, although marginally, on National Forest timber. The Forest Service fire warden system relied on a team of local men who reported, and helped combat, forest fires in each ranger district. Ranger assistants, lookouts, and work crews were also recruited locally.

The number of local men so employed was not large at first, but increased significantly during the Depression years through the Civilian Conservation Corps. (In 1937, the peak year of the CCC, almost 9,000 young men were enrolled in Southern Appalachian National Forest CCC camps, the majority of them from the region.)[11] Many local experienced men were hired to help train them. Thus, the CCC helped to integrate the people of the small mountain towns with the goals and value system of Forest Service personnel. In addition, it accomplished much for the forests, in the way of reforestation, erosion control, and the construction of trails, campgrounds, fire roads, and fire towers.

The active participation of the Federal Government in the lives of the southern mountaineers came on a scale much larger than ever before with the New Deal of the 1930's. During Franklin D. Roosevelt's first administration, Federal funds were provided to relocate families on submarginal farms, and appropriations were enormously expanded for Federal land acquisition. The National Forests of the region were enlarged and consolidated through the addition of hundreds of small tracts. Impoverished family farms were purchased, often for as little as $3 per acre. During the Depression, such prices were standard, and acceptance of a Federal bailout, commonplace. However, 30 and 40 years later, when land prices had increased tenfold, even a hundredfold, the second-generation mountaineer expressed bitterness at the pittance paid.[12]

Two Parks Require Condemnation

During the Depression, two major Federal parks were established in the region: the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the Blue Ridge Parkway. Each, promised by promoters as a sure tourist attraction, was generally locally supported and well received. However, because the acquisition of all land within certain prescribed park boundaries was required, the power of condemnation to obtain needed parcels from those unwilling to sell was exercised for the first time in the southern mountains. Although some timber companies and many small landholders were willing to sell, many were not. Litigation over land values, such as that over the nearly 93,000-acre Champion Fibre Co. tract, was time-consuming and costly.[13] Although land prices paid for the Appalachian

National Parks were often higher than comparable land in the National Forests, the use of the power of eminent domain to create the parks resulted in great misunderstanding and bitterness, which continued for generations. The same can be said of the land acquisition by the Tennessee Valley Authority to construct dams and reservoirs on the mountain tributaries of the Tennessee River.

World War II brought a temporary economic boom to the Southern Appalachians, as had World War I. The coal and timber reserves were again in demand; however, the slump that followed the war accelerated regional outmigration and increased the region's dependency. The Southern Appalachians lost population to urban areas of the Piedmont and North, and experienced a marked drop both in the number of farms and farm acreage. Most land in the region's core remained under Federal or absentee corporate control; farms were generally poor, and employment opportunities were few and unvaried. Low income, poor health, and inadequate schooling and housing were typical, and were particularly acute in the coal counties of eastern Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, and far southwestern Virginia.

Three Periods of Federal Activity

Federal involvement in the financial welfare of the Southern Appalachian region has come in three distinct phases: the earliest, between 1911 and 1920, when the first National Forests were established; the second, during the New Deal of the 1930's, and most recently, during the 1960's, when Appalachia was again rediscovered and millions of Federal dollars spent for development. With the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson, programs such as Job Corps, Volunteers in Service To America (VISTA), and the Work Experiences and Training Program—flourished briefly, bringing temporary employment, training, and education to the region. Some Job Corps camps are still there. The Appalachian Regional Commission, created in 1965, was responsible for distributing billions of Federal dollars for regional development. Later came the Youth Conservation Corps and the Young Adult Conservation Corps. In 1980, after the expenditure of nearly $50 million in the core counties of the Southern Appalachians—for highway construction, vocational education, and health facilities—the lasting effect on the region's economy was still unclear. Although outmigration from the area had clearly slowed between 1965 and 1980, the standard indicators of income, education, and health showed little, if any, improvement relative to those for the Nation as a whole.[14]

Also related to Federal efforts to revitalize the region was the establishment of the Redbird Purchase Unit, an extension of the Daniel Boone National Forest, in eastern Kentucky. Like much of the acreage acquired for the first Southern Appalachian forests, the land in the Redbird was depleted, and its forests heavily culled. Its inhabitants were among Appalachia's most destitute. However, most of the Redbird tracts were acquired from the coal and timber companies that had held the bulk of the land. Thus, as a local relief measure, the purchase unit was of dubious immediate benefit.

Recreation Becomes Major Force

During the 1960's, the Southern Appalachians became a major focus for the recreational development legislation of the decade. A national sense of urgency about preserving open space was expressed through several Congressional actions that directly affected the region. The Land and Water Conservation Fund, administered by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, was established for purchasing Federal recreational lands and providing grants to the States for recreational development. Through the Fund, nearly $45 million were appropriated between 1965 and 1980 for National Forest land acquisition.[15] The Fund was the chief source of land purchase money for the Appalachian Trail, Wild and Scenic Rivers, National Recreational Areas, and forest wilderness areas. The urgency of the perceived need for these special recreational reserves forced a change in policy. For the first time, condemnation was used to acquire desired land that owners refused to sell. After 1965, single-purpose (recreational) needs were increasingly cited to justify condemnation, which the Forest Service had previously felt was not necessary to accomplish multiple-use objectives.

The new emphasis on recreation in the southern mountains helped to foster another Appalachian land investment boom. Vacationers, retirees, developers, and speculators began to buy many of the mountain acres still in local hands. With greater absentee landownership came an inflation of land values, and many mountaineers were no longer able to afford the family farm, or to consider buying a new one. Increasing numbers of tourists were drawn to the region, but the spurt of growth in the regional recreation industry was temporary, and the economic benefits of tourism that were often promised by developers and politicians were not widely realized. Nevertheless, the recreation attractions helped to slow, and often reverse, the trend of outmigration that had characterized the region for decades.

For the Southern Appalachian mountaineer, the 1970's were a time of uneasy adjustment to further change. People from outside the region were arriving in greater numbers, bringing a value system and attitude toward the land that were often alien to those of the mountaineers. The Forest Service was insistent as never before on acquiring selected lands. As property values soared, the amount of money returned to the counties from National Forest proceeds seemed paltry, considering the often large percentage of Federal acreage involved. The more development that occurred, the more its potential seemed restricted by Government landownership. L.E. Perry, of McCreary County, expressed a bitter attitude more extreme than most: "there is little room for expansion . . . [The Forest Service], by its very nature . . . [is] a bureaucracy with a miserly grip on a large part of the land area."[16]

Natives Resist More Wilderness

Wilderness areas were added to the National Forests of the East in 1975. In 1977, when the Forest Service asked the public's reaction to established new wilderness areas in the Southern Appalachian forests, the response was often vehemently negative. Many oldtime mountaineers felt betrayed. The relationship they had maintained with the Forest Service for decades had been based on their trust of individual rangers, gained through experience, and the sense that the Forest Service was sympathetic to their economic and social needs.[17] But for an often patronizing attitude and an unrelenting prohibition of fire, Federal foresters had allowed the mountaineer to use the woods essentially as he always had —to hunt, fish, and gather forest products—and had provided him employment if it was feasible. Wilderness designation, however, precluded lumbering and roads, and thus restricted most traditional forest uses. The mountaineer reacted strongly against it. As had happened only a few years before when condemnation was used to acquire recreational lands, the Southern Appalachian people organized to express themselves: specifically, to protest formally the designation of certain remote forest lands to be roadless areas.

They were not alone in registering protest to Federal land acquisition and management policies. The Carter Administration's large additions to roadless areas for wilderness consideration (RARE II) inspired widespread national reaction. Then, by 1980, continued Government acquisition of private land was being strongly challenged by citizens groups and legislators. A December 1979 report by Congress' General Accounting Office, investigating Federal land acquisition policies, contended that the Government had often acquired lands that were not really needed, but had been obtained simply because funds had been available.[18] Need, of course, is a relative and subjective term. From the Forest Service perspective, nearly all lands within the boundaries of a National Forest could be considered suitable or desirable; and if funds were available and sellers willing, lands had been acquired. The GAO report recommended that alternatives to acquisition be explored, and that potential land purchases be more carefully evaluated in terms of demonstrable Federal need. Actually, the Forest Service had been acquiring considerable land by exchange for more than 55 years.

Between 1900 and 1975, the Southern Appalachian people lost control of much of their land to "those who . . . were more powerful or more shrewd or more wealthy."[19] The steepest, most remote, and heavily forested mountain slopes were early acquired by timber and coal companies; subsequently much of this land—and thousands of acres more—were sold to the Federal Government for restoration and preservation. From the end of the 19th century until 1980, the region has effectively been a colony within the American economic system.[20] As land acquisition proceeded, the mountain people moved from the innermost parts of the region to urban areas on the fringe. Farming virtually died out as a viable means of gainful employment, but the manufacturing that moved into the area was itself often marginal, most of it controlled by large, nonlocal corporations. Although, over the decades, with the spread of television and the construction of the interstate highway system, the Southern Appalachian mountaineer gradually has been drawn into the social and cultural framework of 20th century urban-industrial America, in certain fundamental ways the Southern Appalachian region has remained the same.[21] The population of the region's core doubled from about 1.1 million in 1900 to nearly 2.2 million in 1975, but the population of the Nation as a whole tripled over the same period.[22] In spite of recent trends in inmigration, the region has remained sparsely populated and nonmetropolitan. It has also remained poor.

Federal Impacts Hard to Assess

Because the southern mountain region changed in various ways from many causes during the 20th century, it has often been difficult to isolate impacts specifically attributable to Federal landownership. The GAO report just cited identified several results of Federal land purchases, notably the escalation of prices of adjacent land, the erosion of local tax bases, the stifling of economic activity, and the preclusion of farming.[23] All of these have been identified and discussed as they pertain to Southern Appalachian history. Yet an assessment of the Federal impact on the region is more complex—because there have been beneficial effects as well, and because the Federal Government is by no means the only absentee landholder. Indeed, the impacts of Federal land acquisition and management must fairly be related to those of other types of absentee ownership. As this report has shown, many of the negative effects of absentee land control—such as outmigration, low income, and restricted employment—have been considerably more pronounced in the coal counties of the Southern Appalachians than in the mountain counties that are largely National Forest.

With a perspective on national forestry goals and priorities, the Forest Service has sometimes placed local needs and concerns second. Often what was perceived to be best for the Nation has been harmful to local needs, goals, and values. As the 1979 GAO report stated:

> Conflicts between Federal land managers and local landowners are probably unavoidable. The Federal land manager is directed to manage lands in the national interest for specified purposes. Local interests, on the other hand, want to use the land in ways that maximize local benefits. The extent of the conflict depends on local perceptions and expectations of economic gain or loss from the presence of a national area.[24]

Often, as illustrated by the case of Mount Rogers and the RARE II phenomenon, it has been a matter of mis- or non-communication that has fired the conflict. Only since the mid-1960's through its Inform and Involve Program, have the Forest Service and the local people formally exchanged perspectives on policies of land management in advance of actions.

Finally, one has to speculate what would have happened to the region had the Federal Government not created Natonal Forests there. Relative to the coal companies, land companies, and other self-interested developers, who still control large tracts of the region's land, the Federal Government has generally been less damaging both to the people and the environment. Even a group which often felt adversely affected by the decisions of Federal land managers has given them a a large meausre of praise. The Citizens for Southwest Virginia, one of the most outspoken citizens groups in the region, has placed the contribution of Federal land acquisition and management in perspective, as follows:

> There was a time when it appeared that Mt. Rogers would suffer the fate experienced by much of the rest of the land in the southern mountains. In the early part of this century, timbering operations devastated the region's forests and left the land in a state which, according to one local resident, "looked like the surface of the moon." The Forest Service was instrumental in reviving the land and bringing it back, if not to its original state, at least to a state where it was once again a valuable and productive resource. The early work of the Forest Service in the Mt. Rogers area (and in the eastern forests generally) is an example of one of the few government programs that has been an almost unqualified success. More than any other institution, perhaps, the Forest Service deserves credit for the survival of the region as an area of recreational and conservation potential.[25]

Reference Notes

1. See, for example, Norman A. Polansky, Robert D. Borgman, and Christine DeSaix, *Roots of Futility* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, Inc., 1972), pp. 76-80. "Verbal inaccessibility" and inexpressiveness are identified as distinctive elements of the Appalachian subculture.

2. Ronald D. Eller, "Toward A New History of The Appalachian South," *Appalachian Journal* 5 (Autumn 1977): 75.

3. William E. Shands and Robert G. Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted* (Washington: The Conservation Foundation, 1977) p. 3.

4. See especially *Message From the President of the United States, Transmitting a Report of the Secretary of Agriculture in Relation to the Forests, Rivers, and Mountains of the Southern Appalachian Region* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902).

5. Shapiro, *Appalachia On Our Mind*, is the classic work on the history of outsiders' perceptions of Appalachia and the development of the mountaineer stereotype.

6. Ronald D. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: The Modernization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930," Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1979.

7. Shands and Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted*, p. 1.

8. *The National Forests and Purchase Units of Region Eight*, USDA, Forest Service, Region 8, manuscript, Atlanta, Ga., January 1, 1955, p. 3.

9. Shapiro, *Appalachia On Our Mind*, p. 187.

10. "Arsonists Blamed for Fires In Appalachian Parklands," *Washington Post*, November 16, 1980.

11. National Archives, Record Group 35, CCC Station and Strength Reports, 1933-42.

12. See, for example, Eliot Wigginton, "Introduction," *Foxfire 5* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1979), p. 12.

13. Carlos C. Campbell, *Birth of a National Park in the Great Smoky Mountains* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), pp. 80-95.

14. *Appalachia—A Reference Book*; See also, Comptroller General, *Report to the Congress, Should the Appalachian Regional Commission Be Used as a Model For the Nation?*

15. Data from Heritage, Conservation, and Recreation Service, USDI.

16. Perry, *McCreary Conquest*, p. 224.

17. Jack E. Weller, in *Yesterday's People, Life in Contemporary Appalachia* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), wrote of the mountaineer, "He conceives of government processes in terms of personal relationships, much like those in his reference group. He sees the actions of government not in terms of general order or of law but in terms of the personal whims of each official. Thus, government agencies are closely identified with the persons who run them."

18. Comptroller General of the United States, *Report to the Congress: The Federal Drive to Acquire Private Lands Should Be Reassessed* (U.S. Government General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C., December 14, 1979), p. 9.

19. Wigginton, *Foxfire 5*, p. 12.

20. See Helen Matthews Lewis, Linda Johnson, and Donald Askins, eds., *Colonialism in Modern America: The Appalachian Case* (Boone, N.C.: The Appalachian Consortium Press, 1978; and Edgar Bingham, "Appalachia: Underdeveloped, Overdeveloped, or Wrongly Developed?", *The Virginia Geographer* VII (Winter 1972): 9-12.

21. See "The Passing of Provincialism," in Thomas R. Ford, ed., *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1962); John B. Stephenson, *Shiloh: A Mountain Community* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968); and Harry K. Schwartzweller, James S. Brown, and J. J. Mangalam, *Mountain Families in Transition* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978), Chapter 11.

22. Population changes from 1900-1975 computed for 80 core counties of the region. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902); Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book 1977* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978).

23. Comptroller General, *The Federal Drive To Acquire Private Lands Should Be Reassessed*, p. 9.

24. *The Federal Drive*, p. 11.

25. Citizens for Southwest Virginia, Troutdale, *Response*, 1978, p. 22.

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Introduction

At the end of the 19th century, when much of America was experiencing strong urban-industrial growth, the Southern Appalachian region of eastern Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, southwestern Virginia, western North Carolina, and northern Georgia was sparsely populated, nonindustrial, and very largely rural. After the mid-18th century the mountains had been settled by westward-moving pioneers in a pattern of widely scattered clusters of small farmsteads — first along the wider river bottoms, and later into the coves and up the ridges. Towns were few, small, widely separated, and connected only by narrow, rutted dirt roads. Most mountaineers lived self-sufficiently, growing corn and raising hogs, isolated from each other and the outside world by the region's many parallel ridges.

Until 1880 the rich resources had been barely touched. Steep mountainsides were covered with unusually heavy and varied hardwood forests and underlain with thick seams of coal and other minerals. Water rushed abundantly down and through the mountains on its way west to the Tennessee and Ohio Rivers, east to the Atlantic Ocean, and south to the Gulf of Mexico. Then, however, railroads penetrated the mountains, and with them came tourists, journalists, missionaries, scientists, investors, businessmen, and industrialists who found a society and economy at once pristine and primitive. By 1900 these outsiders had described and publicized the region, purchased much of the land, and were beginning to extract its resources; they had also tried to educate, reform and transform the southern mountaineers.

In 1911 the Federal Government came to the Southern Appalachians to purchase and manage vast tracts of mountain land as National Forests. The Weeks Act, passed in March of that year, authorized the Federal purchase of "forested, cut-over or denuded" lands on the headwaters of and vital to the flow of navigable streams. Land acquisition under the Weeks Act focused at first principally on forests of the southern mountains. Several thousand acres were acquired within a few years. In June 1924 this Act was amended and broadened by the Clarke-McNary Act to allow purchase of timber lands unrelated to navigable streams.[1] The creation of these National Forests helped to define Appalachia as a discrete region.

In the 70 years since 1911, the Federal Government has acquired over 4 million acres of land in the Southern Appalachians, principally for National Forests supervised by the Forest Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, by far the largest single land manager in the region. Federal lands are managed for a variety of public purposes that often differ from profit-oriented private land management practices. Therefore, the effects of this massive series of purchases on the people of the region have been considerable, though subtle and gradual for the most part during the first 50 years.

Since 1960, changes in the region have accelerated, and although mountain residents are still largely wary spectators and often victims of events, they are no longer silent; their response has quickened and sharpened. They have learned to join together to at least modify some of the changes being imposed by modern society.

Boundaries of the Region

As it is for any cultural region, defining the boundaries precisely is arbitrary and subjective. The region encompasses the southern half of the great multiple Appalachian Mountain chain that runs from Alabama to Maine, but its exact boundaries have varied according to the differing purposes of various studies. Often considered besides terrain are political boundaries and socioeconomic and cultural factors.

Three definitions have gained prominence.[2] John Campbell, in his 1921 classic, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland,* included all of West Virginia, the western highlands of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, easternmost Kentucky and Tennessee, northernmost Georgia, and northeastern Alabama: 256 counties in 9 States. His principal criterion was physiography.[3]

In 1960 Thomas R. Ford, in *The Southern Appalachian Region,* outlined an area of 189 counties, 25 percent smaller area than Campbell's. Ford excluded westernmost Maryland, South Carolina, and West Virginia, and included less of Virginia, Alabama, and Tennessee. He based his region on "State Economic Areas", a concept developed in 1950 by the U.S. Bureau of the Census and the U.S. Department of Agriculture in order to group counties with similiar economic bases.[4]

The Appalachian Regional Commission has provided a more recent definition. This 169-county "Southern Appalachia" stretched down to include a corner of Mississippi and almost half of Alabama, but excluded West Virginia and eastern Kentucky, putting both in a new category, "Central Appalachia". The principal criterion is weak or lagging economic development.[5]

All three definitions include a mountainous "core": far southwestern Virginia, far western North Carolina, easternmost Tennessee, and northernmost Georgia. These sections, although the most rugged and least accessible, are not all the weakest economically.

There is some doubt whether any of the above three broad regions, or even the "core", constitute a true cultural region. Geographer Wilbur Zelinsky says two features identify a cultural region: (1) how its distinctiveness is manifested (physically and behaviorally), and (2) how its people consciously behave.[6] Scholars generally have treated the Southern Appalachians as a cohesive cultural entity. Although Campbell and Ford acknowledged that the region was not culturally homogeneous, both emphasized its distinctiveness. However, others have insisted that the region is too culturally diverse to be regarded as a unit and that it is not a functional social and economic area.[7] Indeed, some have questioned whether its people show a genuine regional selfconsciousness or whether the region's cultural distinctiveness is not simply a reaction to outside forces.[8]

This study covers counties with large Federal land purchases, including the crest of the Blue Ridge Mountains where the Blue Ridge Parkway was built, as well as the Great Smoky Mountains of Tennessee and North Carolina that are now largely enclosed in the National Park of that name, and part of the Cumberland Plateau in Kentucky. The major focus is on the counties of Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia that respectively contain the Daniel Boone, Cherokee, Pisgah, Nantahala, Chattahoochee and part of the Sumter National Forests, as well as the southwesternmost counties of Virginia below the New River divide that contain part of the Jefferson National Forest. Thus, this study area encompasses the core of the Southern Appalachians that all previous definitions of the region share.[9]

Nearly all of the National Forests in the eastern half of the United States stem from the 1911 Weeks Act, as amended by the 1924 Clarke-McNary Act. The justification for such purchases was at first to control erosion and streamflow through the rehabilitation, maintenance and improvement of forests.[10] In the Southern Appalachians, lands at stream headwaters were naturally the steepest, most remote, and least inhabited. In 70 years, the Federal Government has purchased over 4 million acres of land there, most of it for National Forests.[11] These purchases have been largely concentrated in the region's core and in the separate Cumberland Highlands belt of Kentucky. Today several "core" counties are more than 50 percent federally owned.[12]

Purpose of This Study

Assessing the impact of Federal land acquisition and land management on the peoples and cultures of the Southern Appalachian region is the purpose of this study. Even before the lands in question were purchased, they were special in several ways. Besides being generally the most mountainous and least accessible, they were often the least populous and most scenic in the region. Thus, even without purchase and management by the Federal Government, they might have developed differently from adjacent lands that were not purchased. It is unlikely, for example, that they would ever have supported a large population. Nevertheless, the very act of Federal purchase and the introduction of new land management techniques to the region changed its demographic, economic, and social structure. Indeed, the large Federal presence has certainly helped to shape the region's distinctive culture.

Physical Geography of the Region

The Southern Appalachian mountains, a broad band of worn-down parallel ridges of sedimentary rocks, are among the oldest in the world. They were formed several hundred million years ago in an "accordion" effect of the movement of very deep continental plates and accompanying upheavals of the earth's surface.[13] They comprise three geologic subregions: the Blue Ridge Mountains, the Valley and Ridge section, and the Appalachian Plateau.[14]

The Blue Ridge Mountains, rising sharply from the Piedmont to form the eastern subregion, are the oldest and were the deepest layers of rocks, and so were greatly changed by heat and pressure (metamorphosed). From 5 to almost 75 miles wide, the Blue Ridge area is in some places a single ridge of mountains and in others a complex of ridges. It includes the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia and North Carolina; the Iron, Black, Unaka, Nantahala, and Great Smoky Mountains of North Carolina; and the Cohutta Mountains of northern Georgia. The highest peak in the eastern United States, Mount Mitchell, 6,684 feet (2,037.3 meters) in elevation, lies within the Black Mountains and is a State Park.[15]

The Valley and Ridge subregion is a band of nearly parallel, "remarkably even-crested" ridges and river valleys; from the air it looks almost like corrugated cardboard.[16] This subregion stretches from northern Georgia northeastward slightly west of the North Carolina-Tennessee border, into southwestern Virginia and eastern Kentucky. It includes the Greater Appalachian Valley, actually a series of broad river valleys that run in broken stretches from the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia south to the valley of the Tennessee River and its tributaries. These valleys were the major avenues of immigrant travel diagonally through the mountains into the region from the mid-Atlantic States and Carolina Piedmont.

The Appalachian Plateau, a broad, uplifted area in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee, forms the westernmost subregion of the Southern Appalachians. The plateau has been so severely dissected over millenia by running streams that it appears almost mountainous, although its elevations are not nearly as high nor its slopes as steep as those of the Blue Ridge to the east. Known as the Cumberland Plateau in Tennessee and Kentucky (and as the Allegheny Plateau in West Virginia) the subregion is marked on the west by an escarpment which drops down to a gently rolling piedmont.[17]

The long-stretching parallel ranges and ridges of the Southern Appalachians formed a strong barrier to westward pioneer travel. There are only a few passes: water gaps where rivers now cut across the ridges, such as the New River gap; or wind gaps, such as Cumberland Gap, where ancient, now diverted streams once cut. No river flows directly or all the way through the region covered by this study. However, the very old New River, together with the Kanawha, does flow clear across almost the entire width of the Southern Appalachians, and is the only river system to do so, just north of the study area.

Geographers have noted the "odd behavior" of rivers in the Southern Appalachians. The main rivers begin as many mountain streams that drain, first in trellis patterns and then at right angles, across the ridges to the west. In contrast, the rivers north of Roanoke, Va., drain to the east.[18] Only the Chattooga and Tallulah Rivers of northern Georgia, and the Yadkin, Pee Dee, and Catawba Rivers of North Carolina, originate in the mountains and drain to the Atlantic; the remainder flow west or southwest. The Clinch, Powell, Holston, Watauga, Nolichucky, Tellico, Little Tennessee, Pigeon, Nantahala, French Broad, Hiwassee and Toccoa-Ocoee

Figure 1.—Forested ridges and slopes of Black Mountains, a section of the Blue Ridge near Mt. Mitchell, N.C., highest point in the East, on Pisgah National Forest. When photo was taken in March 1930 a new summer home had just been built under special use permit, in foregound. (Forest Service photo in National Archives, Record Group 95G-238076)

Figure 2.—Sparse spruce-fir growth on 5,700-foot ridge of Black Mountains, Pisgah National Forest, N.C., looking toward Pinnacle Peak, with Swannona Gap in foreground and Asheville reservoir watershed at right. (NA:95G-254616)

Figure 3.—Cascades near headwaters of Catawba River between Old Fort, N.C., and Black Mountain, east of Asheville, Pisgah National Forest; photo taken in June 1923. (NA:95G-176371)

Rivers all flow into the Tennessee River, which passes by Chattanooga and the northwestern corner of Georgia into Alabama before turning northward to join the Ohio River in Kentucky. The New River, actually the oldest in the region, joins the Kanawha, which also drains into the Ohio. The streams of eastern Kentucky drain into the Licking, Kentucky, and Cumberland Rivers which all join the Ohio, too.

The climate of the region is mild, and rainfall is plentiful. Average annual temperature is about 65°F. (18.3°C.); growing season is about 220 days. Rainfall is fairly uniform throughout the year, usually accumulating between 30 and 50 inches (76.2 and 127.0 cm.); in the Nantahala and Great Smoky Mountains up to 80 inches (203.2 cm.). In general, slopes facing south and southeast are warmer and drier than those facing north and northwest.[19]

Flora, Fauna, Coal, Minerals Abundant

Because of its geological history and climate, the Southern Appalachian region possesses an abundance and great variety of trees, at least 130 species, perhaps the greatest variety of any temperate region in the world. Species distribution varies with location and altitude. Up to 2,500 feet (762 meters) above sea level, oak forests predominate; principally red, chestnut, scarlet, white, and black oaks, as well as shortleaf pine, various species of hickory, black gum, sourwood, dogwood, and red maple. Before the disastrous blight early in this century, American chestnut was a major and exceedingly valuable species. Between 2,500 and 3,500 feet (1,067 meters) in elevation, yellow (tulip) poplar, white pine, hemlock, birch, beech, walnut, and cheery are abundant. Above 3,500 feet, black spruce and balsam fir forests cover the mountain slopes. Dense undergrowths of rhododendron and mountain laurel are common in much of the region. In general, the heaviest rainfall and most luxuriant forest are on the protected northwestern-facing Blue Ridge slopes.[20]

The region's forest is home for an unusual variety of fauna. Although most of the species are rodents and other small mammals, many have provided a rich quarry for hunters. Deer, squirrels, black bears, raccoons, opossums, grouse, and wild turkeys abound. Until they were eliminated or driven from the region early in this century, elk and wolves were present in the Southern Appalachians; foxes and bobcats remain. Wild boars, which were imported from Europe in 1912 and introduced near the Tennessee-North Carolina border south of the Great Smokies, persist on remote slopes.[21]

Soils are of disintegrated and decomposed sedimentary rock. Each subregion has its own typical soils; those of the Blue Ridge are most subject to erosion and those of the greater Appalachian Valley most conducive to productive cultivation. The alluvium in the broader river valleys is fertile and productive if not overworked, and the region's bottomland soil is excellent for growing corn, beans, and other garden vegetables. However, some mountain soils are thin, rocky, and infertile; when exposed on steep slopes, they can become severely eroded.[22]

The Southern Appalachians are rich in coal deposits, both bituminous (soft) and anthracite (hard), as well as true minerals. Most of the coal is high-grade bituminous, concentrated in eastern Kentucky, where it lies close to the surface of the folds and ridges of the earth in horizontal beds from 8 to 10 feet thick. Kentucky coal thus can be easily stripped or mined by boring horizontally into a mountainside. The Valley and Ridge subregion of Virginia and Tennessee also contain high-quality coal, much of it anthracite, that is usually mined in deep shafts. The Southern Appalachians contain reserves of limestone, copper, manganese, and sulfur, all of which have been mined with varying degrees of financial success over the last century.[23] They are also presumed to contain sizeable deposits of oil and natural gas. Recent

Figure 4.—A group of huge old "virgin" American chestnut trees up to 13 feet in diameter deep in the Great Smoky Mountains of western North Carolina; photo taken about 1890. Note the men at left and center. A foreign blight wiped out this extremely valuable species between 1900 and 1930. (Photo courtesy of Shelley Mastran Smith)

Figure 5.—A 70-year-old stand of white pine with understory of sugar maple and birch high up in the Bald Mountains near Hurricane Gap and the Tennessee-North Carolina State line. Nolichucky Ranger District, Cherokee National Forest, near Rich Mountain Lookout and the Appalachian Trail, just up the ridge from Hot Springs, N.C., and the French Broad River. When photo was taken in May 1962, Ranger Jerry Nickell was marking trees for a partial cut. These northern species do well at this 3,200-foot elevation. This site along Courtland Branch is used as a dispersed camping site by visitors. (NA:95G-502184)

geological research has shown the mountains to be underlain to a depth of 12 miles with layers of sedimentary rock, the kind least likely to have dispelled hydrocarbons and therefore most likely to contain natural gas and oil.[24]

Thus, the region is unique in its geology and physiography, and has natural assets which contribute to its distinctiveness. The physical geography of the Southern Appalachians greatly influenced its settlement and early development, as well as the way the region was perceived and used throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

Settlement of the Southern Appalachians

Thousands of years before white men settled the Southern Appalachians, aboriginal Indians inhabited the area. Archeological evidence suggests human activity over most of western North Carolina, eastern Tennessee, southwestern Virginia, northeastern Georgia, and northwestern South Carolina as early as 10,000 to 8,000 B.C. Throughout the Blue Ridge and the Valley and Ridge subregions, weaponry and domestic tools have been discovered that suggest a mobile hunting civilization evolving slowly over the millennia. By 1000 to 1650 A.D. the Cherokees, as the largest group of Indians came to be known, were cultivating corn, beans, squash, sweet potatoes, and fruits in scattered, nucleated villages, where Europeans encountered them.[25]

The first European to see the mountains may have been Hernando DeSoto who, on an expedition from Florida in 1540, named them after the Appalache Indians. Next were John Lederer and his party, sent in 1669 by Virginia's Governor, William Berkeley, to discover a route to the western Indians. Over the next 50 years, several more expeditions explored the Blue Ridge area, primarily for Indian trade, but none resulted in permanent settlement.[26]

The Southern Appalachians were settled after 1730 by pioneers of western European stock searching for more freedom and abundant land. For 100 years considerable pioneer traffic to the west moved through the gaps of these mountains.[27]

The early settlers were primarily Scotch-Irish Presbyterians from northern Ireland and Palatinate (west Rhine) Germans. The latter immigrated in large numbers between 1720 and 1760, fleeing religious persecution and economic hardship. They settled first in Pennsylvania, gradually moved westward, then, along with others, ventured down the Greater Appalachian Valley of Virginia and North Carolina. Other early settlers moved inland from the Carolina Piedmont, over the ridges into Kentucky and Tennessee, which became States in 1790 and 1796, respectively. They traveled by wagon and horseback, following river valleys and Indian game trails, crossing the parallel ridges where streams had cut through the mountain chains at places like Saluda Gap just south of present-day Asheville, on the North Carolina South Carolina line, and Cumberland Gap, the furthest west point of Virginia, on the Kentucky-Tennessee border.

Most pioneers moved through the Southern Appalachians to the Ohio River valley, on to Missouri, Arkansas, and further westward. But a permanent population, attracted by the mountains, remained in the valleys and coves to live by hunting, stock raising, and simple farming. By 1755 the Cumberland Gap area had several permanent clusters of dwellings; Watauga became the first settlement in Tennessee in 1768.[28]

After 1810, the stream of pioneer settlers began to slow, and by the 1830's it had all but stopped. The last major influx of pioneer migration to the Southern Appalachians occured after gold was discovered near Dahlonega, Ga., in 1828. By 1830 between 6,000 and 10,000 persons lived in northern Georgia, but many left when the gold rush ended.[29]

After the major settlement phase, people and goods between East and West still passed through the Highlands. Merchandise from eastern ports was transported on primitive roads. Large livestock herds were driven from the interior across the ridges to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and to the cotton plantations. Travelers heading west might meet droves of as many as 4,000 or 5,000 hogs heading to market. In 1824 it was estimated that a million dollars' worth of horses, cattle, and hogs came through Saluda Gap to supply South Carolina plantations.[30] Whiskey was also frequently shipped through the mountains; it was less bulky, higher in value, and less perishable than the corn that produced it. By midcentury, however, Middle West farm products were more often shipped down the Mississippi to the East. Traffic on the mountain gap routes gradually declined.

Natives Were Cherokee Indians

When the pioneers first entered the Southern Appalachians, they encountered the Cherokee culture. Trade between the white settlers and the Indians developed early, and was the means of mutual influence. Pioneers learned from the Cherokees what crops to cultivate, how to farm, where and how to hunt. The Indians received material goods from white settlers, and soon abandoned their thatched huts for cabins with log and rail siding.[31]

The two cultures, however, did not remain compatible. Over the course of the 18th century, as settlers moved into the mountains the Indians' territory was circumscribed. Between 1767 and 1836, through a series of controversial treaties between the Cherokees and the State of North Carolina, the Indians, under severe pressure, gradually relinquished all tribal lands east of the Mississippi River. Although about 2,000 Cherokees voluntarily emigrated to the West, many were hunted down, forcibly removed and marched to Oklahoma by Federal troops after 1838. Many died on this "trail of tears." A band of about 1,000 Cherokees refused to leave and instead hid in the Great Smoky Mountains. In 1878, with the aid of an attorney, William H. Thomas, these fugitive Cherokees obtained title to over 60,000 acres of land in Swain and Jackson counties, N.C., site of the present Qualla Reservation.[32]

By the middle of the 19th century, the Southern Appalachians were fairly widely settled and the important towns established. Just as topography influenced pioneer routes of travel, so did it structure the region's settlement pattern. Settlement occurred first in the broader, flatter, more accessible river valleys, such as the Watauga, Nolichucky, Clinch, Holston, Powell, New, and French Broad, where the soil was relatively rich and productive. Asheville, N.C., on the French Broad River, started as a trading post in 1793 and was incorporated in 1797. By 1880 it had over 2,600 inhabitants. Knoxville, located at the confluence of the French Broad and Holston rivers, was founded in 1791, although a fort had been there as early as 1786.[33] Smaller river and stream valleys which cut west through the ridges were also settled early. Protected coves and hollows with arable land, good water, and abundant timber were sought as homesites. Only gradually did people occupy the steeper ridges where the terrain and rocky soils often made farming difficult. In general, ridge settlements were more characteristic of the Cumberland Plateau area than of the Blue Ridge region, where, as Ronald Eller has written, "the predominance of larger coves permitted oval patterns of settlement around the foot of the slopes, leaving the interior basin open for cultivation and expansion."

Many Small Family Clusters

The mountains became a land of scattered, self-sufficient "island communities" divided by ridges and hills.[34] These communities generally consisted of small clusters of two or three homes within easy walking distance of each other. Groups of neighbors were often kinfolk as well. Later generations added to these clusters, but there were rarely more than a dozen households together. Commercial settlements often developed at a gap, at a crossroads, or at the mouth of a large hollow, but they were small, usually containing one or two stores, a mill, a church, and a school.[35] Larger towns were widely scattered and slow to grow.

Figure 6.—The "Pink Beds-Cradle of Forestry" area of the old Biltmore Forest of William Vanderbilt, nucleus of the Pisgah National Forest just south of Asheville, N.C. Panoramic view was taken from Pounding Mill Overlook on U.S. highway 276 about 1950. (Photo from National Forests in North Carolina)

From early in the 18th century, the land was divided into units later called counties, subdivided as population increased. In western North Carolina this process took 150 years. Rowan, the first, was formed in 1753; Avery, the last, in 1911. County seats were smaller and less important than elsewhere in the South.[36]

Until about 1900, mountain communities were connected to each other and outside points only by narrow rutted, muddy or dusty roads that inhibited frequent or long-distance travel. Nevertheless, the isolation was much like that of most communities in early 19th-century rural America. Mountaineers traded with nearby communities, worked seasonally outside the mountains, received letters and periodicals through the mail, and were visited by occasional peddlers and local politicians.[37] Mountain people had some access to new goods and ideas.

The relative isolation of the region become more pronounced after the Civil War. Although the war engaged the sentiments of many, it did little to alter the economy and settlement of the region. The rise of industrialization and urbanization was slow to reach it. Not until more than a decade after the first transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869 did a rail line cross the region. The mountains were then gradually opened to tourists, travelers, and investors. In the 1880's timber and mining interests began to acquire mountain land, and the region's population started to swell.

By 1900 industrialization had finally arrived. However, impacts for long were only scattered and fragmentary. The settlement pattern survived, and the self-sufficient family farm remained dominant. In 1900 only 4 percent of the region's population could be classified as urban (living in places of 2,500 people or more). Asheville, the largest city, had a population of 14,694, while the neighboring centers of Knoxville and Chattanooga, across the mountains on the Tennessee River, each boasted counts of over 30,000. Other large mountain towns were Bristol and Johnson City, Tenn.;

Middlesboro, Ky. and Dalton, Ga., each with over 4,000 people. Several mountain counties had one town of at least 1,000, but many counties had no village with more than 500 people.[38] Larger towns were usually county seats, but there were notable exceptions, such as Middlesboro, near Cumberland Gap.[39] The most populous areas were the Asheville vicinity, northeastern Tennessee, and southwestern Virginia. These Tennessee and Virginia areas each had four counties with over 20,000 inhabitants. Least populated were the highlands of extreme southwestern North Carolina and northern Georgia. Both Clay and Graham Counties, N.C., for example, had fewer than 5,000 people.

Population density over the region was about 35 per square mile in 1900, and some counties had less than 20, like Rabun, Ga.; Leslie, Ky.; Bland, Va.; and Graham, Swain, and Transylvania, N.C.

Fast Population Growth

In the last decades of the 19th century, the rate of population growth in the Southern Appalachians was greater than for the Nation as a whole. For the 79 counties in the region's core, the rate from 1890 to 1900 was about 23 percent. For the United States it was 20.7 percent. The growth varied considerably from State to State, however. Kentucky led the mountain counties with 34 percent during the 1890's; northern Georgia had only 14 percent. Certain counties grew by more than 50 percent over the decade, primarily coal counties, such as Wise (100 percent) and Dickerson in Virginia, and Leslie (70 percent), Bell, Harlan, and Knott, in Kentucky. Some noncoal counties also spurted.

Although only 4 percent of the region's population was urban in 1900, about one person in four lived in nonfarm homes (33 percent in eastern Tennessee and 40 percent in southwestern Virginia, both of which had more small towns; Virginia also had larger farms). Most farms in the region in 1900 were between 50 and 175 acres, averaging about the same as that for the States involved and for the South Atlantic region, but smaller than the 147-acre average for the Nation as a whole.[40] Typical ranges of farms by size are in table 1.

The independence and self-sufficiency of the Southern Appalachian farmer is generally confirmed by farm tenure statistics for 1900. Most farms in the region (about two-thirds) were owner-operated; however, the second highest category of tenure, "share tenants," indicates an increasing tendency toward absentee landlordism and tenancy in general. In some counties, as many as 30 percent of all farms had share tenancy. This situation was one reflection of the outsider investment and changes in landownership that began toward the end of the 19th century.[41]

Although modern enterprise was beginning to bring significant changes, there was in 1900 only small-scale and scattered industry. Most counties of Appalachian North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia had from 50 to 100 factories; those in Georgia and Kentucky usually had less than 50. These firms did not employ many people. Less than 1 percent of the region's population earned wages in manufacturing. Even in Asheville's Buncombe County, the 208 factories employed only 3 percent of the people.

Thus, industrial development was nascent and the small, 100-acre, owner-occupied farm prevailed in the core of the region, which would within two decades experience major Federal land acquisition. The mountains were only partially populated and cleared, towns were small and few, and settlements were scattered.

Marginal, Self-Sufficient Farms

In 1900 the marginally self-sufficient family farm — in Rupert Vance's words, "the *modus vivendi* of isolation" — was still the most significant element in the economy of the Southern Appalachians. Unlike other rural areas of the

Table 1. — Number and percentage of farms by size in four typical Southern Appalachian Counties, 1900

Size of farm	Union, Georgia		Graham, North Carolina		Unicoi, Tennessee		Bland, Virginia	
In acres	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 3	None	0	2	1	7	1	3	Under 1
3-9	36	2	22	3	64	9	25	4
10-19	91	6	45	6	98	15	37	6
20-49	245	17	137	19	189	28	104	16
50-99	395	27	212	29	149	22	118	18
100-174	419	29	185	25	104	15	149	23
175-259	140	10	64	9	32	5	89	13
260-499	93	6	40	5	16	2	82	12
500-999	22	2	18	2	11	2	32	5
Over 1000	3	1	7	1	8	1	21	3
Totals	1444	100	732	100	678	100	660	100

Source: Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the U.S.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902).

country, especially the nonmountain South where the raising of a single cash crop prevailed, the mountain farm remained diversified. Before the Civil War at least, the mountain farmer produced up to 90 percent of the products he needed.[42] By 1880 the region had a greater concentration of noncommercial farms than any other part of the United States.

In the late 1800's the typical mountain farm contained both bottomland and steep hillsides. About a quarter was in crops, a fifth in cleared pasture, and the remainder, over half, was in forest. Springs and a nearby creek provided plentiful water. About half the land under cultivation was devoted to corn, which provided a household staple and the basis for whiskey, as well as grain for horses and hogs. Secondary crops were oats, wheat, hay, sorghum, rye, potatoes, and buckwheat. An orchard of apple and other fruit trees was planted. Many farmers had their own bee hives, and every farm had a large vegetable garden where green beans, pumpkins, melons, and squash were commonly grown. Contour farming was still unknown there. Crops and gardens often stretched vertically up the side of a hill, hastening erosion, runoff, and siltation of mountain streams.[43]

Mountain farmers cleared land for cultivation by felling the largest trees and burning the remaining vegetation. Indeed, burning was the accepted practice of "greening" the land, including woods for browsing, in the spring and "settling" it in the fall. The fires were set to destroy rodents, snakes, and insects, and to clear underbrush. The thin layer of ash left added a small nutrient to frequently depleted soil, the only inorganic fertilizer then known to mountain farmers. Once lands became unproductive through overcultivation or erosion, they simply cleared more adjacent forest and abandoned garden plots to scrub.

A variety of livestock helped make the mountain family self-sufficient. A few milk cows, a flock of chickens, a horse or mule, or a yoke of work oxen, and a dozen or more shoats (pigs) were found on nearly every farm. Sheep were often raised for their wool, which the women weaved into clothing, blankets, or rugs. Geese were useful for insect and weed control and for their down which was plucked for bed quilts and pillows. A good hunting dog or two were necessary to keep rabbits and groundhogs out of the garden and for the year-round hunting of rabbits, squirrels, quail, and other wild game to supplement the farm's meat supply.[44]

Usually 8 to 12 people — parents, children, and occasionally grandparents or other relatives — lived on the farm. Aided by a horse or mule, the family performed all the work necessary to provide its own food and shelter. The center and symbol of mountain life was the farm home itself. Homes were usually built in sheltered spots with good water readily accessible and within easy walking distance — but not sight — of neighbors. The traditional mountain homested was a handhewn log cabin, usually one room with a loft, front porch, and possibly a lean-to at the back. When sawmills became more prevalent throughout the region in the late 1800's, small frame houses were built. Eventually two- to four-room box houses and larger frame houses became more common. However, log cabins continued to be built in more isolated areas well into the 20th century.[45]

A limited exchange occurred between farms, between farms and towns, and between farms and distant markets. From the earliest settlement until the 1880's, the principal commercial activity was the raising of livestock. Cattle, hogs, and other animals were allowed to roam the forest freely or were driven to pasture on the ridges or high grassy mountain "balds," which resulted from forest fires. The most important animal for sale was the hog. Fattened on the abundant chestnuts, acorns, walnuts, and hickory nuts, and "finished off" before sale or slaughter on several weeks' diet of corn, mountain hogs provided considerable ham and bacon for the South. Throughout the 19th century cattle and hogs were driven at least semiannually from the mountains to markets in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia, and even to Baltimore and Philadelphia. The practice continued even after the coming of the railroads, although crops and bacon were also shipped by rail to such markets as Chattanooga and Augusta.[46]

Timber, Herbs, Honey, 'Moonshine' Add to Income

Mountaineers also supplemented their incomes with occasional timber cutting. Small-scale logging provided work during the winter and an opportunity for trade. Some families operated small, local steam-engine sawmills. Some produced wood products such as chairs, shingles, and fenceposts for exchange with their neighbors or local merchants. Until the early 20th century when it was wiped out by a foreign blight, chestnut was the favored Southern Appalachian wood, readily marketable as timber or finished product, and its nuts (mast) were an important food for hogs and wildlife.

The forests provided the mountaineer with other abundant marketable produce. For many families, the gathering of medicinal herbs and roots was an important commercial activity. In late summer the family would collect yellow-root, witch hazel, raspberry leaves, spearmint, sassafras, golden-seal, and bloodroot (used for dyes). Ginseng and galax were especially important forest plants. Ginseng is a perennial herb with a long aromatic root, long favored by the Chinese for its supposed stimulant properties. It was heavily gathered from 1850 to 1900 until its supply was severely depleted. Galax, an evergreen ground cover used especially in floral arrangements, became an important collectible toward the end of the century. A town in Grayson County, Va., is named after galax. Such plants were often used as exchange for household items at local stores. Merchants receiving the plants dried and packaged them for shipment by wagon and later railroad to distribution centers in the Northeast. Between 1880 and 1900, merchants paid $2.00 to $5.00 for a pound of ginseng root collected in the forests.[47]

Figure 7.—Illustrative of the rich home crafts tradition of the Southern Appalachians was Mrs. Lutitia Hayes, seated with many of the blankets and quilts she had made, in front of her home in Clear Creek, Knott County, Ky., in September 1930. (NA:95G-249152)

Families also supplemented their incomes by trading products of their fields, kitchens, and parlors, such as jams, honey, apple butter, woven and knitted goods, and illegally distilled liquor. Indeed whiskey ("moonshine") became the fundamental, unique, virtually universal domestic industry of the Southern Appalachian region after the Civil War when the tax on it skyrocketed. As Rupert Vance has written, distilling was a natural outgrowth of the combined circumstances of corn production and relative isolation. Corn was the chief cash crop cultivated, but its transportation was "a baffling problem." Therefore, instead of being carried to market as grain, it was transmuted to a more valuable condensed product: its essence was conveyed by jug.[48] In some hollows particularly northwestern North Carolina, tobacco became an important cash crop. Surrey, Madison, Burke, Catawba, and Buncombe counties had sizeable acreage in tobacco from 1880 to 1900, but this crop faded there as piedmont and coastal tobacco became more popular.[49] It is still grown in some mountain sections near Winston-Salem, however.

Only rarely would a mountaineer actually receive cash for the livestock, timber, whiskey, roots, sweets, or herbs he might trade. Barter was universal. There were few banks in the mountains until after 1900. Before railroads and industrialization, local merchants extended credit and exchanged their wares for the produce of the mountaineers. A good source of cash was seasonal fruit picking. Thousands of mountain men traveled to lowland orchards at harvest time, and took most of their wages back to their families.[50] On the whole, however, mountaineers seldom saw cash.

Isolation Fosters Independence, Equality

The relative isolation and self-sufficiency of the 19th-century Southern Appalachians fostered a loose social and political structure that emphasized independence and equality. Since mountain settlements were clusters of extended families, religious, social, and political activities were organized along kinship lines.

The concept of equality — that any man was as good as another — flourished in a setting where most people owned their own land and made their living from it with family labor. Slavery existed in mountain counties before the Civil War, but it never had a significant impact. In traditional mountain society, social divisions were not based on wealth but rather on status derived from the value system of the community. In mountain neighborhoods where economic differences were minimal, personality or character traits, sex, age, and family group were the bases for social distinction. Thus, the rural social order was simply divided into respectable and nonrespectable groups, with varying degrees in each.[51]

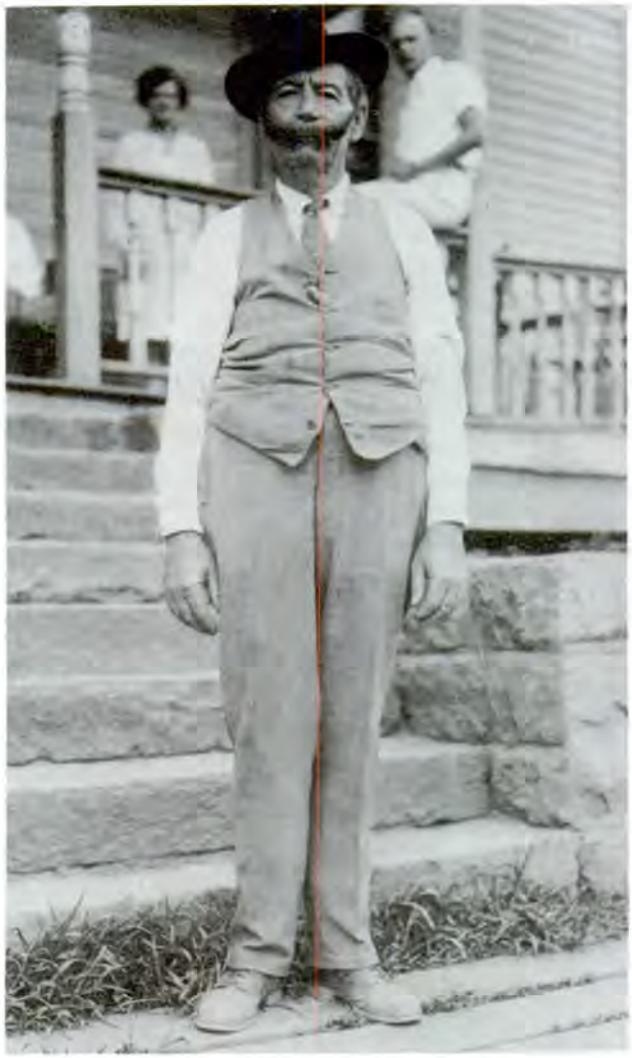

Figure 8.—Jim Perkins, who then was county attorney in the tiny Knott County seat of Hindman, in the bitumimous coal belt of eastern Kentucky, August 1930, then a severely depressed area. (NA:95G-247046)

In larger towns, however, a class consciousness based on wealth was more evident. Wealthier, landed families who controlled local businesses and provided political leadership formed a local elite, as elsewhere in the South. They sent their sons outside the mountains to be educated, to become teachers, lawyers, doctors, and businessmen.[52] Using their political influence, education, outside contacts, and comparative wealth, members of these families played an important role in the region's industrialization. They purchased land and mineral rights from their neighbors for sale to outsiders, and they publicized and promoted the development of transportation improvements, especially the railroads, often acquiring large fortunes as a result.[53]

Political activity in the Southern Appalachians was informal, personal, and largely based upon ties of kinship. Respected patriarchs and commercial leaders often obtained political power. They relied on family ties to get elected and, having won elected office, were expected to look out for their kinfolk. National or State politics were of little concern to the mountaineer. Political interest was largely in local matters and the election of county officials: the county attorney, superintendent of schools, circuit court judge, and the sheriff.[54]

Political activity centered on the county courthouse. What the VanNoppens have written of western North Carolina can be said of the region as a whole:

> The courthouse was to the county seat what the cathedral was to a medieval city: it expressed the hopes and aspirations of the people. It was . . . the shaper of human lives and destinies. It was the center of government and authority. It brought order and system to the wilderness . . . It was the focal point of the social life, the occasion when those from one cove could meet and gossip with their neighbors from other coves and ridges, whom they had not seen for months.[55]

Thus, when circuit court met in the county seat several times a year, many families attended the sessions to shop and meet with friends and relatives. On election days large crowds gathered to be entertained by campaigning politicians. Until the turn of the century voting was by voice rather than secret ballot and voters would often stay all day, waiting to see how the election came out.[56]

Churches, Schools Are Simple

The strong egalitarianism and independence of the mountaineer were reflected in the prevailing forms of religious belief and practice. Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, and Lutherans were the chief denominations of the Southern Appalachians, although the area fostered hundreds of smaller sects as well. In the 18th century, Presbyterian· were dominant among the pioneers. This denomination, however, is highly organized and rigidly structured, emphasizing formal ritual, and with a firm requirement for a well-educated ministry. Thus, it was not readily adaptable to life in the small, isolated, unlettered neighborhoods of the mountains. Baptists became by far the most successful of the Protestant denominations, here as elsewhere, founding thousands of churches which grouped under the Southern Baptist Convention.[57] It was less structured, more democratic, and appealed strongly to the emotions. When members were too far from an established church to attend services regularly, they formed their own congregation. By 1900 Baptists accounted for well over a third of the total membership in religious groups of the region.[58] For 100 years, Baptist splinter groups and other small sects had developed, each expressing its variety of a down-to-earth, simple, emotional Christianity of sin and personal salvation. Although the Bible was the supreme religious authority, each person was free to interpret it.[59]

Education in the Southern Appalachians until well into the 20th century was largely informal, sporadic, and practical. In the smallest and most isolated settlements, one family member would serve as instructor in the rudiments of reading, writing, and mathematics for all the neighboring kin. The school term, only 3 to 5 months long, depended on weather and crop conditions. Meager tax money deprived teachers of equipment and materials. School houses were one- or two-room log cabins, poorly lighted, with fireplace or stove. Glass windows were rare before 1900. Teachers were young and inexperienced. County seats and more affluent communities established independent grade-school districts with 9-month terms that attracted trained teachers with better pay and living conditions. In Kentucky, firms such as the Stearns Coal and Lumber Co., provided schools at their own expense in company towns.[60]

Railroads, Investors, and Tourists Arrive

During the 1880's and 1890's, a series of developments began almost imperceptibly to alter the economic and social life of the Southern Appalachians. Railroads, which before the 1880's had just skirted the mountains on their way West, finally crossed the big hurdle of the Blue Ridge, after much difficulty, and the region was "discovered" by outsiders — tourists, health-seekers, journalists, novelists, and investors. A line reached Asheville from Winston-Salem and Raleigh in 1880, and then went over the Great Smokies to Knoxville.[61] As railroad construction accelerated, and as more northerners became familiar with the area, the resources of the region drew increasing national attention. The tremendous industrial expansion and urban growth that the northeastern and north central United States experienced after the Civil War created a heavy demand for raw materials, particularly timber and coal. Sources of these materials that had previously been inaccessible or even unknown grew attractive to investors. By 1900, northern and foreign capital was invested in even the remotest areas, as the region was pulled into the national urban-industrial system.

In the last decade of the century the Southern Railway extended lines into northern Georgia, reaching the heavily wooded slopes that would one day be included in the Chattahoochee National Forest.[62] In the early 1880's the Norfolk and Western Railroad extended lines into southwestern Virginia, principally to tap the wealth of coal in Tazewell County. A branch down the Clinch River Valley opened up the coal fields of Wise County. In 1890 this line was linked to Knoxville by the Louisville and Nashville Railroad.[63] In 1901 the Southern Railway joined the area of Brevard and Hendersonville, near Asheville, to its system.[64] The Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad consolidated lines in eastern Kentucky after 1900, linking Cairo, Ill., with Cumberland Gap.[65] Some mountain areas, however, remained unconnected by rail. Most of the northwestern North Carolina was reached late by railroad. Not until 1917 did a rail line arrive in Boone, seat of Watauga County.[66] But by 1910, a rail network was well established in the Southern Appalachians.

Well before the railroads, the mountains had been a mecca, however. As early as the 1820's, wealthy Charlestonians traveled by carriage to spend summers in the mountains, particularly at mineral springs. Several prominent South Carolinians built summer homes in the Cashiers area of southwestern North Carolina before the Civil War. Resort hotels were established throughout the region, notably in Asheville, White Sulphur Springs, and Hot Springs, N.C., which were interconnected by stage coach lines. In 1877 a log lodge was built on the 6,150-foot crest of Roan Mountain, in Mitchell County, N.C., bordering Carter County, Tenn. More elaborate ones followed.

Early Tourist Boom

With the railroads, tourism boomed, albeit highly localized and seasonal. Nowhere was the boom so evident as in Asheville. From 2,600 residents in 1880, it grew fivefold in 10 years. The town thrived first as a haven for tuberculosis patients; its many sanitaria included the well-known Mountain Sanitarium.[67] Notable among numerous hotels were the large, luxurious Battery Park Hotel, built shortly after the railroad arrived, and the Grove Park Inn, built in 1913. The city soon became a favorite resort for wealthy and middle-class businessmen from the industrial Northeast. The town bustled in the summer with crowds of tourists; in 1888 Charles Warner, New York journalist, praised its gay atmosphere and facilities highly.[68]

Many who were attracted to Asheville as tourists became residents. Wealthy families, like the George Vanderbilts of New York and the Vances of North Carolina, built lavish mountain estates nearby. The English financier, George Moore, created a hunting preserve in the Great Smokies in Graham County, N.C., which he stocked with bears and wild boars to provide sport for his guests. Meanwhile, resorts and hotels proliferated. After the railroad was extended to Knoxville, the large hotel at Warm Springs added 100 rooms. Investors constructed a resort town at Highlands, Macon County, N.C., which in 1890 had 350 inhabitants and was attracting tourists from coastal South Carolina and Georgia. Carl A. Schenck, a German forester who taught forestry on the Biltmore estate near Asheville, noted that, in about 1901, a "modern hotel" was built even in the small town of Brevard, Transylvania County, N.C., "where rooms with real baths were obtainable."[69]

Tourists spread word of the resources and increasing accessibility of the region. State resource surveys of the 1880's and 1890's publicized it. In 1891 the North Carolina Geological Survey examined the State's resources in an effort to further economic development. Foresters W. W. Ashe and Gifford Pinchot, who later became Chief of the Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, were hired to conduct the forest survey. This survey and others like it confirmed the observations of tourists and helped induce investments in timber, coal, and other minerals worth millions of dollars.[70]

Mountaineer Stereotype Develops

As the railroads opened up portions of the mountains and resort areas sprang up, the region attracted novelists and journalists in search of local color. During the last 30 years of the 19th century, travelogues and short stories set in little-known locales were extremely popular with the national reading public. Major magazines of the period — *Lippencott's, Harper's, Scribner's,* and *Appleton's* — provided a ready market for such writing. Professional authors looking for a romantic setting and for dramatic, novel materials found both in the Southern Appalachians.

Writers who popularized the region generally focused on the mountains of one State. For example, Mary N. Murfree, under the pseudonym Charles E. Craddock, wrote numerous stories such as "The Romance of Sunrise Rock" and "The Despot of Broomsedge Cove," most set in the Great Smoky Mountains of eastern Tennessee. The background of Frances H. Burnett's stories was North Carolina. James L. Allen wrote extensively of travels through the Cumberland area of Kentucky. Such writings found a wide audience; the most popular stories and articles were printed both in magazine and book form, and books often went through several editions.[71]

These authors pictured a culture different from the rest of America, especially the urban middle-class reader. The mountain environment was described as mysterious and awesome, and the mountaineer as peculiar and antiquated, with customs and a language of his own.

Along with northern journalists came the northern Protestant home mission movement. Protestant missionary work in the mountains grew out of a general effort to transform the South along northern lines and to eliminate racial discrimination through education and religious influence. At a time when the major older Protestant denominations were competing for new mission fields to develop, the Southern mountains were seen by many as an "unchurched" land, despite the numerous small Baptist congregations, because these northern Protestant denominations were weakly represented there. To overcome this situation, several hundred church schools were established throughout the region, supported by the American Missionary Association. One of the best known private Christian schools in Appalachia is Berea College in Berea, Ky., founded in 1855 by John S. Fee, a Presbyterian (later a Baptist) minister, as an integrated, coeducational, but nondenominational institution. These schools emphasized what they saw to be Christian and American values, modern ways, and provided practical training for the "exceptional population" of the region to participate fully in national life. Henry Shapiro claims that mission schools institutionalized Appalachian "otherness," through the implicit insistence that the mountaineers did in fact compose a distinct element in the American population."[72]

By the end of the 19th century, the southern mountaineer had been identified by others as not only different from most Americans but also in need of their help. Two aspects of mountain behavior in particular captured the interest of outsiders. These were the sometimes-linked practices of moonshining and feuding. Mountaineers came to be perceived and characterized as illegal distillers of corn whiskey and as gun slingers who fiercely protected their stills, their homesteads, and their family honor with little regard for the law.[73]

Estimating the actual prevalence of moonshining and feuding in 19th century Southern Appalachia is difficult at best, for from the beginning the documentation of these practices was unscientific. Certainly, moonshining was a common household industry. During the Civil War, distilleries were required to be licensed, and liquor was taxed at increasingly higher rates (from 20 cents per gallon in 1862 to $2.00 per gallon in 1864). Although a certain degree of compliance with these regulations occurred, many mountaineers resented the Government's authority to take a large cut of one of the few profits they could realize from their labors. They simply defied the system by hiding their stills in the woods, literally making whiskey by moonshine, and selling the liquor on the sly.[74]

After the Civil War, as the liquor tax increased but the revenues from it decreased, the U.S. Internal Revenue Service established new penalties for tax violations and instituted an era of raids on illegal mountain stills. Although moonshiners often established secret cooperative relationships with Federal revenuers (perhaps proferring their wares in exchange for Government oversight of their stills), they generally evaded the Federal agents or challenged them. As Carl Schenck, the German forester, wrote of the late 19th-century moonshiners in western North Carolina, liquor distilleries were hidden in the mountain coves and were "shifted . . . from site to site to avoid discovery." Moonshiners "went about armed, keeping the others in awe and threatening death to any betrayer of their secrets." Federal raids sometimes resulted in bloodshed. Violence was often the penalty for informers and the outcome of discovery of an illegal still.[75]

Family Feuds

The common denominator of bloodshed linked moonshining and feuding in the minds of Appalachian observers. Although in fact the two were sometimes related, feuding stemmed from broader and more basic causes. Feuding has been interpreted by some to have developed from the interfamilial disputes of the Civil War that occurred in and around the Southern Appalachians. Major campaigns and battles took place at Knoxville and Chattanooga, and numerous mountain gaps provided significant passage for both Union and Confederate troops. In John Campbell's words, "the roughness of the country led to a sort of border guerrilla warfare." Throughout the region, mountaineers joined both the Union and Confederate armies, with family members often on opposite sides. Such divisions provoked bitter local hostilities and

provided the seeds for lasting feuds. In Madison County, N.C., Union sympathizers "seized the town of Marshall, plundered the stores and committed many acts of violence." In retaliation, a thousand Confederate sympathizers from nearby Buncombe County engaged them in a punishing skirmish. After the war, as political parties developed along lines of Union-Confederate sympathies, such acrimony continued not only as interfamilial feuds, but as partisan rivalry as well.[76]

The most notorious of feuds was that between the Hatfield family of Tug Valley, W.Va., and the McCoys of Pike County, Ky. Beginning in the early 1880's with a series of minor misunderstandings, the feud quickly escalated into violence. Members of each family kidnapped, ambushed, and killed members of the other family with avenging spirit throughout the decade. Both Governor MacCorkle of West Virginia and Governor Bucknew of Kentucky tried to intervene by strengthening law enforcement in the area. The feud continued sporadically until about 1920 when Anderson "Devil Anse" Hatfield, the family patriarch, died of pneumonia.[77]

By the end of the 19th century, outsiders were seeking not only to describe and to change the mountaineer, but also to explain his quaint, peculiar, and sometimes disturbing behavior. Such explanations perpetuated and even enhanced the mountaineer stereotype. Geographical determinism and ethnic origin were most generally accepted as explanations. In 1901, a geographer, Ellen Churchill Semple, in a study of the mountain people of Kentucky, emphasized the Scotch-Irish heritage of the mountaineer and described his behavior as a pattern of adjustments required by the rugged and isolated mountain environment. He was soon widely perceived to be a remnant of pioneer days, a man of pure Anglo-Saxon stock whose culture had been isolated and been preserved by the rugged terrain and inaccessibility of the mountains.[78]

Moonshining and feuding, as examples of mountaineer behavior left over from frontier days, symbolized the independence and lawlessness of the pioneer. Mountain feuding was explained by identifying the mountaineers as Highlanders and relating the feuds to Scottish clan warfare, an idea deriving from James Craighead's *Scotch and Irish Seeds in American Soil,* an 1878 publication popularized by the American Missionary Association. Later, John Campbell attributed both moonshining and feuding to the mountaineer's high degree of individualism: "His dominant trait is independence raised to the fourth power." Geographer Rupert Vance emphasized environmental adaptation as an explanation of moonshining and feuds: "Stimuli to homicide were many where lands were settled by the squatter process and titles were so obscure. . . . "[79]

An alternative view of the mountaineer that developed early was also based on ethnicity. John Fiske, a popular historian of the late 19th century, gave currency to the false idea that virtually all Southern mountaineers were descendants of whites transported to America as servants or criminals in early colonial times.[80] Such a distorted, ignorant view of the mountaineer as Anglo-Saxon criminal made it easier for some to see why feuding and illegal distilling persisted in spite of Christian education and increased law enforcement. This naive view, which was repeated and reinforced in the 20th century by the writing of John Gunther and Arthur Toynbee, achieved a modern stridency in the words of Kentuckian Harry Caudill. Caudill claimed the mountaineer was "the illiterate son of illiterate ancestors," and of debtors, thieves, and orphans who fled the cities of England:

> . . . cast loose in an immense wilderness without basic mechanical or agricultural skills, without the refining, comforting, and disciplining influence of an organized religious order, in a vast land wholly unrestrained by social organization or effective laws, compelled to acquire skills quickly in order to survive, and with a Stone Age savage as his principal teacher.[81]

Investors Transform the Region

The railroads opened the area to investors as well. Some of the investors were northern financiers; some were British investment capitalists whose interest in the region was but a small part of their overseas investments. A few of the capitalists came to the region to stay as did Joseph Silverstein of New York who formed the Gloucester Lumber Co. southwest of Asheville, and Reuben B. Robertson of Canton, Ohio, who managed the Champion Fibre Co. of North Carolina. Most, however, invested in the region only to extract the desired riches, and then withdrew.

The foreign investment and industrial development which followed was frequently hailed as a natural solution to "a whole range of problems . . . resulting from the isolation of Appalachia and the poverty of the mountaineers."[82] Much of the capital investment in the Southern mountains between 1880 and 1900 was justified by a belief that economic development and industrialization were best for the region itself.

The impact this industrial investment was to have on the people of the Southern Appalachians was profound. By 1900 the isolated, self-contained farming existence that had characterized the region was quickly changing and, by 1920, was seriously disrupted. Before 1880, the southern mountaineer made his living directly from the land, and needed only modest amounts of cash, which he could raise from the sale of livestock, trees, or other products from his land. From 1890 on, the timber and coal companies purchased much of the mountaineer's land, gave him a job in a mill, mine, or factory, paid him in cash, brought in canned food and consumer goods for him to buy, and educated him in the ways of the modern world. Industrialization, urbanization, large-scale changes in landownership and land use, as well as deliberate attempts to change the society and culture of the mountaineer, had come to the Southern Appalachians to stay. Two world wars, the Great Depression, the New Deal social programs, TVA, and the introduction of the Federal forest and parks also had major lasting impacts on the area and its people.

Reference Notes

1. 36 Stat. 962 (16 U S C 515, 521); 43 Stat. 653 (16 U.S.C. 471, 505, 515, 564-70).
2. For general discussions of the alternative definitions of the Southern Appalachian region, see Bruce Ergood, "Toward A Definition of Appalachia" in Bruce Ergood and Bruce Kuhre (eds.), *Appalachia: Social Context Past and Present* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University, 1976), pp. 31-41 and Allen Batteau, "Appalachia and the Concept of Culture: A Theory of Shared Misunderstandings," *Appalachian Journal* 7 (Autumn/Winter, 1979-80): 21, 22.
3. John Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1969), pp. 10-13. Campbell distinguishes a Southern Appalachian region as that part of the Southern Highlands which is south of the New River divide, p. 12.
4. Thomas R. Ford (ed.), *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1962).
5. Map published by the Appalachian Regional Commission, January, 1974. The Commission has divided "Appalachia" into Northern, Central, and Southern subregions. Within each of these, there is a "Highlands Area," representing the most mountainous counties of the region.
6. Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), p. 112.
7. Helen M. Lewis, "Subcultures of the Southern Appalachians," *The Virginia Geographer* (Spring 1968):2.
8. Batteau, "Appalachia and the Concept of Culture: A Theory of Shared Misunderstandings":29.
9. This geographic focus includes all the Appalachian National Forests within the Forest Service's Southern Region (R-8), with the exception of the George Washington National Forest. Because it is located north of the New River divide and within a 90-minute drive of Washington, D.C., the George Washington National Forest was felt to belong more properly with a consideration of the Monongahela National Forest in West Virginia, the Allegheny in Pennsylvania and Wayne National Forest in Ohio.
10. 36 Stat. 962; 43 Stat. 653.
11. Some 61,500 acres were purchased for the Blue Ridge Parkway and over 507,000 for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Almost 3.5 million acres have been acquired for the Nantahala, Pisgah, Cherokee, Chattahoochee, Daniel Boone, and Jefferson National Forests.
12. Si Kahn, "The National Forests and Appalachia," Cut Cane Associates, 1973, p. 1.
13. Charlton Ogburn, *The Southern Appalachians: A Wilderness Quest* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1975), pp. 67-72; and Frederick A. Cook, Larry D. Brown, and Jack E. Oliver, "The Southern Appalachians and the Growth of Continents," *Scientific American* 243 (October 1980): 156-169.
14. The three subregions have also been labeled "belts" or "provinces" and have received varying names. The Valley and Ridge subregion for example, has been called The Greater Appalachian Valley, The Newer Appalachians, and The Folded Appalachians. For physiographic descriptions of the three subregions, see John C. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*, pp. 10-18; Edgar Bingham, "Appalachia: Underdeveloped, Overdeveloped, or Wrongly Developed?" *The Virginia Geographer* VII (Winter 1972): 9; Wallace W. Atwood, *The Physiographic Provinces of North America* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1940), pp. 109-122; Charles B. Hunt, *National Regions of the United States and Canada* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Co., 1974), pp. 282-299; Thomas R. Ford (ed.), *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey*, pp. 1-3; and Rupert B. Vance, *Human Geography of the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932), pp. 27, 28.
15. Atwood, *The Physiographic Provinces*, p. 14.
16. The subregion has also been likened to "a wrinkled rug." Cook, *et. al.*, "The Southern Appalachians," p. 160.
17. Ogburn, *The Southern Appalachians*, p. 103.
18. One explanation for the reversal is that, north of Roanoke, the sea advanced and retreated several times over millions of years and, in so doing, created a new drainage pattern. See Atwood, *The Physiographic Provinces*, p. 120.
19. Hunt, *Natural Regions*, pp. 287, 288.
20. Ogburn, *The Southern Appalachians*, 151-171; Ina W. VanNoppen and John J. VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina Since the Civil War* (Boone: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1973), p. 291.
21. Ogburn, *The Southern Appalachians*, pp. 139-150.
22. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*, pp. 246, 247.
23. Hunt, *Natural Regions*, pp. 297-299.
24. Cook, *et. al.*, "The Southern Appalachians."
25. Roy S. Dickens, Jr., *Cherokee Prehistory: The Pisgah Phase in the Appalachian Summit Region* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), pp. 9-15; and Ogburn, *The Southern Appalachians*, p. 55.
26. Ogburn, *The Southern Appalachians*, pp. 10, 11. David S. Walls, in "On the Naming of Appalachia," maintains that DeSoto's discovery of the Appalachians is merely "legend" and that the first European to designate the mountains by their names was Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, a Frenchman, in 1564. J.W. Williamson (ed.), *An Appalachian Symposium* (Boone: Appalachian State University Press, 1977), pp. 56-76.
27. Frederick Jackson Turner, *Rise of the New West, 1819-1829* (New York: Collier Books, 1962), pp. 56-58.
28. Descriptions of the pioneer settlement of the Southern Appalachians are found in Campbell, *The Southern Highlander*, pp. 23-42; John Caruso, *The Appalachian Frontier: America's First Surge Westward* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1959); Vance, *Human Geography of the South;* and Harry Caudill, *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1962).
29. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander*, p. 42.
30. Turner, *Rise of the New West*, pp. 84-86.
31. Dickens, *Cherokee Prehistory*, pp. 14, 15.

32. Ogburn, *The Southern Appalachians,* pp. 55-58. See also Kenneth B. Pomeroy and James G. Yoho, *North Carolina Lands: Ownership, Use, and Management of Forest and Related Lands* (Washington: The American Forestry Association, 1964), pp. 92-120; and Duane H. King (ed.), *The Cherokee Indian Nation* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1979).
33. VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* p. 379. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland,* p. 33.
34. Ronald D. Eller, "Land and Family: An Historical View of Preindustrial Appalachia," *Appalachian Journal* 6 (Winter 1979): 84, 86.
35. Ronald D. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: The Modernization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1979), p. 23.
36. VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* pp. 2, 3. Gene Wilhelm, "Folk Geography of the Blue Ridge Mountains," *Pioneer America* (1970): 1, 2.
37. Eller, "Land and Family," p. 85. Eller, "Mountaineers, Miners, and Millhands," p. 20.
38. This and the following demographic description of the Southern Appalachians is based on Bureau of the Census data for 79 mountain counties which represent the core of the region. These counties include:

Georgia:	Banks, Catoosa, Chattooga, Fannin, Gilmer, Gordon, Habersham, Lumpkin, Murray, Rabun, Stephens, Towns, Union, Walker, White, Whitfield;
Kentucky:	Bath, Bell, Clay, Estill, Harlan, Jackson, Knott, Knox, Laurel, Lee, Leslie, Letcher, Menifee, Morgan, Perry, Powell, Pulaski, Rockcastle, Rowan, Whitley, Wolfe;
North Carolina:	Avery, Buncombe, Burke, Caldwell, Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Haywood, Jackson, Macon, McDowell, Madison, Mitchell, Swain, Transylvania, Watauga, Yancey;
Tennessee:	Blount, Carter, Cocke, Greene, Johnson, McMinn, Monroe, Polk, Sevier, Sullivan, Unicoi, Washington;
Virginia:	Bland, Dickenson, Giles, Grayson, Lee, Pulaski, Russell, Scott, Smythe, Tazewell, Washington, Wise, Wythe.

Data comes from Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of U.S.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902).
39. For a full discussion of Middlesboro's founding, see Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers," pp. 130-137.
40. See Note 38.
41. See Note 38.
42. Vance, *Human Geography of the South,* p. 247. Gene Wilhelm, Jr., "Appalachian Isolation: Fact or Fiction?" in J. W. Williamson (ed.), *An Appalachian Symposium* (Boone: Appalachian State University Press, 1977), p. 88.
43. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers, p. 36, 37; and Jack E. Weller, *Yesterday's People* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1966), pp. 12, 13.
44. Weller, *Yesterday's People,* 38-40.
45. Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), p. 45.
46. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers," pp. 40-42; Susie Blaylock McDaniel, *Official History of Catoosa County, Georgia 1853-1953* (Dalton, Georgia: Gregory Printing and Office Supply, 1953), p. 195; Goodridge Wilson, *Smythe County History and Traditions* (Kingsport, Tennessee: Kingsport Press, 1932), p.171; and Wilhelm, "Appalachian Isolation," p. 83.
47. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers," p. 43; and George L. Hicks, *Appalachian Valley* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winson, 1976), pp. 20, 21.
48. Wilhelm, "Appalachian Isolation," p. 88; and Vance, *Human Geography of the South,* p. 249.
49. VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* pp. 276, 277.
50. Wilhelm, "Appalachian Isolation," p. 83.
51. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers," p. 26.
52. VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* p. 18.
53. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers," p. 29.
54. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander,* p. 102.
55. VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* p. 27.
56. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers," p. 65, and Laurel Shackelford and Bill Weinberg, eds., *Our Appalachia* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), pp. 23-25.
57. Willis D. Weatherford, ed., *Religion in the Appalachian Mountains: A Symposium* (Berea, Ky.: Berea College, 1955), pp. 35-50.
58. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander,* pp. 170, 171; and VanNoppen and VanNoppen *Western North Carolina,* p. 72.
59. Weatherford, *Religion in the Appalachian Mountains,* pp. 96-98, and Shackelford and Weinberg, *Our Appalachia,* pp. 44-50.
60. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander,* p. 264; L. E. Perry, *McCreary Conquest, A Narrative History* (Whitley City, Ky.: L. E. Perry, 1979), pp. 63-72.
61. Wilma Dykeman, *The French Broad* (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1955), p. 164. See pp. 159-165 for colorful description of Western North Carolina Railroad construction. See also VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* pp. 253-259.
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Mountaineers and Rangers

A History of Federal Forest Management in the Southern Appalachians 1900-81

Chapter I

Conservation Movement Comes to the Southern Mountains

Beginning during the 1880's, the Southern Appalachian mountains became the scene of a major logging boom which continued until the 1920's. It was begun and sponsored almost wholly with capital from outside the region. Within four decades, the logging boom dramatically altered the landownership pattern and influenced the economic and social structure of the Southern mountains. In addition, large-scale logging caused extensive damage to the mountain environment which drew the attention of conservationists in the region and in Washington, D.C. A movement to secure the protection of the Southern Appalachian forests in National Parks or National Forests helped lead to the passage of the Weeks Act in 1911, and with that, the Federal Government came to the region as a major holder and manager of land.

The Growth of Logging

The logging industry started gradually, with scattered investments. In the early 1880's Alexander A. Arthur arrived in Newport, Tenn., and purchased 10 square miles of forest land for the Scottish Carolina Timber and Land Co. With funds supplied by backers in Glasgow and in Cape Town, South Africa, he constructed a sawmill at Newport and built a huge boom across the Pigeon River above the town. French Canadian loggers and rivermen came to eastern Tennessee for this enterprise. For 3 years the operation was successful; however, in 1886 a storm flooded the Pigeon River, broke the boom, and swept away a great number of ash, cherry, oak and yellow (tulip) poplar logs, and the company closed for lack of additional capital.[1]

Figure 9.—Three sawyers pausing after felling this huge white oak tree and bucking it into mammoth 12-foot logs with a two-man crosscut saw (not visible). A Southern Appalachian forest scene about 1895, indicating the gigantic trees common there before the extensive lumbering activity of the late 1800's. (Photo courtesy of Shelley Mastran Smith)

Figure 10.—Steam engine loading railroad flatcars at log boom on Big Lost Creek, Polk County, southeastern Tennessee, just above Hiwassee River and line of Louisville & Nashville Railroad, near old mill town of Probst, not far from present town of Reliance, in Unicoi Mountains. This area was part of the new Cherokee National Forest Purchase Unit when photo was taken in February 1912. Logs are largely yellow-poplar, which shows good reproduction in this highland region of heavy annual rainfall. Timberlands of the Prendergast Company, which also owned the flatcars and the logging railroad. (National Archives: Record Group 95G-10832A)

Though this first major venture failed, others were not deterred. H.N. Saxton, an Englishman, organized the Sevierville Lumber Co. in the late 1880's, and later started Saxton and Co., a firm exporting hardwoods to Europe.[2] As the forests of the Northeast and the Great Lakes region were depleted, more and more northern lumber companies came to the Southern Appalachians. Speculators came too, to take advantage of the rich resources and low land costs. Businesses were organized for the explicit purpose of buying land and timber.

In the 1890's the timber speculators began in earnest, and an astonishing number of timber companies moved into the southern mountains. In North Carolina, the Unaka Timber Co. of Knoxville, Tenn., was active in Buncombe, Mitchell, Madison and Yancey Counties, while the Crosby Lumber Co. from Michigan operated in Graham County. In 1894 the Foreign Hardwood Log Co. of New York and the Dickson-Mason Lumber Co. of Illinois made extensive purchases in Swain County. The Tuckaseigie Lumber Co. purchased 75,000 acres of land in Macon, Jackson, and Swain Counties. Other firms included the Toxaway Tanning Co., the Gloucester Lumber Co., the Brevard Tanning Co., the Asheville Lumber and Manufacturing Co., and the Asheville French Broad Lumber Co. After 1900 the Montvale Lumber Co., the Bemis Lumber Co., and the Kitchen Lumber Co. bought large tracts in the North Carolina Great Smokies. The largest North Carolina firms were Champion Fibre Co. which came from Ohio to Canton, N.C., in 1905, and the William Ritter Lumber Co. from West Virginia. The Ritter firm, the largest lumber company in the Southern Appalachians, owned almost 200,000 acres of land in North Carolina alone.[3]

New timber companies also acquired land and timber rights in eastern Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, and northern Georgia. The Burt-Brabb and Swann-Day lumber companies, early developers in eastern Kentucky, were followed by the Kentucky River Hardwood Lumber Co., which at one point owned over 30,000 acres of forest land. Watson G. Caudill operated a lumber company that was active in several counties. However, it was not until the William Ritter Co. moved in that truly extensive and long-term operations began in the eastern counties of the State. The Ritter companies were so large and enterprising that they built their own railroads after the Norfolk and Western Railroad refused to construct lines needed for their business.[4] The Ritter Co. also purchased acreage in the mountains of eastern Tennessee.

The Little River Lumber Co. became a major landowner in the Great Smoky Mountains, with over 86,000 acres near Clingman's Dome. The Norwood Lumber Co., the Vestal Lumber and Manufacturing Co., and the Pennsylvania-based Babcock Lumber Co. also bought land in eastern Tennessee. The Gennett Lumber Co., organized in Nashville in 1901, speculated in land and timber in Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia, and North Carolina for most of the 20th century. The Gennett Lumber Co. was one of the most prominent in northern Georgia, along with the Pfister-Vogel Land and Leather Co. of Milwaukee, which actively purchased land there after 1903, for about $2.00 an acre.[5]

Timberlands Sell Cheaply

Prices paid by the timber companies for land in the southern mountains were astonishingly low. The agents of northern and foreign firms found a people unaccustomed to dealing in cash and unfamiliar with timber and mineral rights and deeds. The companies bought up huge tracts of land for small sums. When local opposition to such purchases began to develop, they switched to buying only timber or coal rights. Some lumber companies even purchased selected trees. The mountaineer, offered more cash than he had seen before in one transaction, found it difficult to refuse an offer, especially since he usually had no idea of the fair value of the land or timber. Enormous yellow- (tulip) poplars and stands of white and red oak and black cherry were sold for 40 to 75 cents a tree.[6]

Ronald D. Eller tells how much Appalachian mountain land was acquired:

> The first timber and mineral buyers who rode into the mountains were commonly greeted with hospitality by local residents. Strangers were few in the remote hollows, and a traveler offered the opportunity for conversation and a change from the rhythms of daily life. The land agent's routine was simple. Riding horseback into the countryside he would search the coves and creek banks for valuable timber stands or coal outcroppings, and having found his objective, he would approach the cabin of the unsuspecting farmer. [The farmer's cordial] greeting was usually followed by an invitation to share the family's meal and rude accommodations for the night. After dinner, while entertaining the family with news of the outside world, the traveler would casually produce a bag of coins and offer to purchase a tract of 'unused ridgeland' which he had noticed while journeying through the area. Such an offer was hard to refuse in most rural areas, where hard money was scarce, life was difficult, and opportunities few.[7]

Thus the money often provided a welcome opportunity for a family to leave a farm that had been worn out for years. In northern Georgia especially, the farm population was greater than the land could reasonably support, and people sold willingly.[8] In other areas, people were more reluctant to sell to outsiders. Some unscrupulous firms enlisted the aid of local

Figure 11.—A team of four horses and mules pulling a flatbed wagon carrying a large white oak log to the sawmill along a dirt road near Jonesboro, Washington County, Tenn., in July 1915. Log probably came from Locust Mountain area west of Johnson City, not far from the Unaka National Forest, now a part of the Cherokee. (NA:95G-23262A)

merchants, who would make purchases for "dummy" corporations.

Sometimes land with inexact or missing titles was simply taken from the mountaineers, who often had failed to obtain formal title to their land. This "unclaimed" land could be taken by anyone willing to stake a claim, survey the land, and pay a fee to the State. Other claims were clouded, or not properly surveyed.[9] In some counties, courthouse records had been destroyed by fire, creating uncertainty about ownership. Thus, a timber company could move into an area, conduct its own surveys, and file claim for lands that the mountaineer had long used and thought were his. Litigation was expensive and time-consuming; most residents had neither the sophistication nor the resources to carry a case through court proceedings. In Kentucky, the State legislature passed an act in 1906 that permitted speculators who had held claims and had paid property taxes for 5 years to take such property from previous claimants who had not paid taxes.[10] Thus, rising property taxes created by speculation worked to the advantage of the corporation and against the original claimant, who probably paid low taxes to start with and could not afford an increase. These processes were gradual, but they marked the beginning of the disestablishment of the mountaineer, and further alteration of the mountain economy.

Timber Cutting Often Delayed

Once the land was acquired, timber companies often did not cut the timber immediately. Most of the Pfister-Vogel lands of northern Georgia were never cut by the firm. The Gennett brothers bought and sold land for decades, cutting over parts, and waiting for good or better lumber prices on others. The Cataloochia Lumber Co. lands in Tennessee were sold to the Pigeon River Lumber Co., and in turn were bought by Champion Lumber Co. The firm of William Whitmer and Sons purchased tracts in North Carolina which it deeded to the Whitmer-Parsons Pulp and Lumber Co., which later sold the lands to the Suncrest Lumber Co., a Whitmer-backed operation.[11]

Other outside firms bought land, timber, or mineral rights for speculation, or for possible use. For example, the Gennetts bought an 11,000-acre tract from the Tennessee Iron and Coal Co.; the Consolidation Coal Co. owned vast tracts in Kentucky, and employed a forester to manage those lands.

At one point, Fordson Coal Co., a subsidiary of the Ford Motor Co. owned about half of Leslie County, Ky., and several land development companies purchased extensively in the mountains of northern Georgia.[12] Such speculation was to inflate the value of all land in the region, as illustrated in the following comments by a Forest Service purchasing agent who came to the Southern Appalachians in 1912:

> This is a virgin timber county [the Nantahala purchase area] and about three years ago the big lumber companies, seeing their present supplies in other regions running low, came in here and quietly bought up large "key" areas of timberland. They are now holding these at prices which are more nearly compared with lands in regions where railroad developement [*sic*] is more favorable . . . The withdrawal of these large bodies has enhanced the value of the smaller tracts . . .[13]

Between 1890 and the First World War, a great deal of timber was cut on purchased lands, and the economic impact was felt throughout the southern mountains. The years 1907 to 1910 were the years of peak activity. Throughout the region, lumber production rose from 800 million board feet in 1899 to over 900 million board feet in 1907.[14] In 1910, the number of lumber mills in Georgia reached almost 2,000; a decade later it had fallen to under 700. Individual tracts yielded vast quantities of lumber: in 1909, one 20,000-acre tract in the Big Sandy Basin produced 40 million board feet of tulip (yellow-) poplar, while in 1912, the mountains around Looking Glass Rock in North Carolina yielded 40,000 board feet of tulip (yellow-) poplar per acre.[15].

Logging Boom Displaces Farmers

The social and economic impact of the logging boom on the peoples of the Southern Appalachians was lasting. For decades small firms and individuals had engaged in selective cutting throughout the region without appreciably changing the economy, the structure of the labor force, or the size of the forests. Now, within a decade or two, the landownership pattern of the southern mountains changed drastically. As mountain lands were sold to the timber interests, farms and settlements were abandoned. As Ron Eller has written:

> Whereas mountain society in the 1880's had been characterized by a diffuse pattern of open-country agricultural settlements located primarily in the fertile valleys and plateaus, by the turn of the century the population had begun to shift into non-agricultural areas and to concentrate around centers of industrial growth.[16]

By 1910, vast tracts of mountain land, which had previously been held by privately scattered mountain farmers, had fallen into the hands of absentee landowners, and towns were becoming important centers of population. Although some mountaineers remained on the land as tenants, sharecroppers, caretakers, or squatters, many were displaced.

The changing pattern of landownership was reflected in changes in population and acreage devoted to farming. The population growth of some mountain counties slowed considerably by 1910, and a few actually lost population. For example, Macon and Graham Counties, N.C., which had grown at a rate faster than the State between 1880 and 1900, experienced almost no growth between 1900 and 1910. Over the same decade, Rabun and Union Counties, Ga., lost 11.5

percent and 18.4 percent of their populations respectively. Similarly, both number of farms and farm acreage declined in areas where heavy outside investment had occurred. Between 1900 and 1910, in the counties of extreme northern Georgia, southwestern North Carolina, and southeastern Tennessee, the number of acres in farms dropped roughly 20 percent. In Rabun County, Ga., the number of acres in farms declined 40 percent over the decade.[17]

As the timber companies moved into the region, numerous logging camps and milling towns were established. These centers absorbed the mountain people who had sold their lands, and attracted outsiders eager to benefit from the logging boom. Over 600 company towns are believed to have been established in the southern mountains in 1910, most of which became permanent parts of the landscape.[18] Logging settlements and mill towns circled the Great Smokies: Fontana, Bryson City, and Ravensford, N.C.; Rittertown, Gatlinburg, Elkmont, and Townsend, Tenn.[19] By 1911, Tellico Plains, Tenn., with a population of about 2,000, discovered itself a "busy little city," boosted by the heavy demand for the area's timber. Probably the most famous mill town was Canton, in Haywood County, N.C., created by Champion Fibre Co. In 1905, Champion had bought timberlands along the Pigeon River and built a large flume from the site to the town, about 15 miles away. Carl Schenck wrote about the operation some years later: "At the upper inlet of the flume a snug village with a church and a school was planned. The whole scheme was the most gigantic enterprise which western North Carolina had seen."[20]

Numerous temporary logging camps were established to shelter the thousands of timber company employees. Many of these flourished for several years before being abandoned. Although the lumber companies employed local men, they also imported timber crews from the North and overseas, sometimes hundreds of laborers at one time from their camps in Pennsylvania, New York, or Michigan. A logistical network of support personnel was needed to maintain a lumber camp; thus, building and servicing the camps provided labor for many mountain families. Local men also lived in the logging camps for a few weeks or months at a time while maintaining the family farm. For several years, lumbering provided steady, dependable employment for thousands of mountaineers.

For this reason, although logging helped to disestablish the mountaineer, its social impact was not nearly so destructive as that of coal mining. The southern mountaineer could work in lumbering without relinquishing his life to the company employing him; many of the lumber camps were never intended to be permanent and did not demand that a laborer give up his home for work. Thus,

> the immediate effects of lumbering were not especially destructive. In many respects the operations suited already established work habits. Nor were wasteful methods likely to disturb a people who traditionally viewed the forests as a barrier to be destroyed whenever the need for crop land demanded.[21]

Figure 12.—Barthell Mine of Stearns Coal and Lumber Company at Paunch Creek in Stearns (then Laurel) Ranger District, Daniel Boone (then called Cumberland) National Forest, McCreary County, Ky., in 1940. Note mining camp houses, and stacks of mine props along railroad. (NA:95G-400254)

Nevertheless, in bringing industrial capitalism and absentee landownership to the Southern Appalachians, the lumber boom altered the region's economy, and made a lasting mark upon its landscape.

Mining Boom Destructive to Land

The penetration of the mountains by railroads was a key unlocking the region's mineral wealth, as it had the region's timber. In McCreary County, Ky., for example,

> a virtual wilderness of untouched and unwanted wild lands . . . considered worthless for generations, overnight aroused the interest of the large corporations and land speculators whose agents invaded the territory on the heels of the new railroad . . .[22]

As with timber lands, the sale of mountain lands to coal company agents was usually done willingly, even if unscrupulous methods sometimes were used. In Kentucky, where the Stearns Coal and Lumber Co. bought thousands of homesteads beginning in the late 1890's, William Kinne, the Stearns land agent, was received warmly and came to be regarded with respect and even endearment.[23] Nevertheless, the transfer of landownership to land and development companies in the 1880's and 1890's insured that the control of the mining industry, and much of the profit from it, would flow outside the region.

Mineral developments in the Southern Appalachians included mica, iron, copper, manganese, and coal mining. Mica mining flourished for a time around the turn of the century in North Carolina, and then declined as mica was replaced by other substances. Some mica mining continues, but it is a comparatively small business.

Between the end of the Civil War and about 1910, an iron and copper industry based on locally produced coal, iron ore, copper ore, sulfur, and limestone grew up in eastern Tennessee. Although railroad construction at first improved the market for iron, the expansion of the national transportation network eventually drove the regional producers out of business. Limitations in the quality and quantity of iron ore also were a factor. By World War I, little remained of the iron industry that had flourished earlier in Chattanooga, Ducktown, Rockwood, and Dayton.[24]

In spite of these mineral developments, it is coal mining that most significantly altered the economy and society of the mountains. From 1900 to 1920 the increasing national demand for coal led to the penetration of the Great Lakes market by Southern Appalachian coal producers and to the rapid development and, ultimately, overdevelopment of the mountain coal fields. It was comparatively cheap and easy to extract coal by strip-mining from seams in the mountainsides. The most important requirement was a large supply of cheap labor.[25]

Although large areas of accessible mountain land were affected by the timber boom, coal and other forms of mining at first affected only individual isolated valleys, chiefly in Kentucky and Tennessee. However, the impact of mining was more permanent. Timber companies would "cut and get out," but mining companies, working rich and extensive seams of coal, would remain for years. Unlike the logging camps, the mining towns became of necessity the permanent homes of those who came to work the mines. Mine operators developed company towns partly to provide housing in isolated areas, and partly to gain control of the labor force. Workers often had no alternative to the company town because the coal company owned all the land for miles around.

To the coal entrepreneur, a local mountaineer who remained on his own "home place" was an unreliable worker. He would take time off for spring planting, and several times a year he would go hunting. He might also take off from work for a funeral or a family reunion. Once a worker was housed in the company town, however, he could be disciplined more effectively because, if he lost his job in the mine, he would be evicted from his house at the same time. Also, most company towns did not permit independent stores to operate. Workers were generally in debt for purchases made at the company-owned store. In many towns even a garden patch to supplement the store-bought food was, for lack of space, impossible.

When the timber boom began to slacken just after World War I, mountaineers who had been dependent on work in the logging camps and sawmills moved into the coal mining areas of the mountains to find work. Many went across the crest of the Appalachians from North Carolina and Virginia into Kentucky to the coalfields of the Cumberlands. Mountaineers were also faced with competition for jobs, when outsiders, including blacks from the Deep South, as well as European immigrants, were imported to enlarge the labor force.

Squalid Company Towns

The coal industry in the Southern Appalachians continued to grow until 1923. However, throughout the 1920's the coal producers maintained their competitive advantage by wage reductions. The cut-throat competition in the coal industry discouraged investment in improvements for the company towns. Many of these hastily constructed communities grew increasingly squalid. Miners moved frequently, hoping for better housing and working conditions at another mine.

Mining was destructive to the environment, even in the early days. The demand for pit props, poles, and railroad ties contributed to the exploitation of the surrounding forests. The mines produced slag heaps and acid mine runoff which severely damaged streams and wildlife. The company towns had no facilities for sewage and refuse disposal, so human waste and trash heaps polluted the creeks, causing serious health hazards. One particularly blighted area, perhaps the largest and most notorious in the United States, was near Ducktown, Polk County, Tenn., and McCaysville, Fannin County, Ga. There, the acid fumes from the smelting and refining of copper and iron had destroyed thousands of acres of the mountains' entire vegetative cover. Erosion was severe from the bare slopes, and heavy silting occurred in the main channel of the Tennessee River, 45 miles to the west.[26] Yet decades went by before such devastating impacts of mining attracted wide attention.

The impact of largescale logging on the Southern Appalachians in the years after 1890 was not only economic and social. It encouraged fires, erosion, and floods that drew national attention to the region and sparked legislation authorizing most of the eastern National Forests.

Figure 13.—"Spoil banks" of raw acid subsoil, left over from strip-mining of shallow seams of soft coal 5 years earlier. McCreary County, Ky., Daniel Boone (then Cumberland) National Forest, July 1955. (Forest Service photo F-478950)

Figure 14.—Smelter of Tennessee Copper Company at Copper Hill-McCaysville on Tennessee-Georgia State line in Southern Appalachian Highlands along Ocoee River. When photo was taken in September 1905, plant was undergoing great expansion. Forest devastation from sulfur fumes of smokestacks was already evident. Area is near the edges of three National Forests and three States. Acid fumes from this and other smelters in the "Copper Basin" destroyed timber and wildlife on thousands of acres of forests and caused severe soil erosion for many years, muddying waters of the Tennessee River, more than 40 miles distant, before operations ceased. (NA:95G-63040)

In terms of both investment and impact, logging operations in the mountains actually occurred in two phases. The first, roughly from 1880 to 1900, was characterized by low investment, "selective" cutting (usually "high-grading"), and a spatial separation between timbering operations and milling. The second phase, beginning around 1900, peaking in 1909, and lasting into the 1920's, involved a higher level of investment, heavy cutting, and the construction of rail lines and mills thoughout the mountain forests. It was with the latter stage that environmental damage became acute.

In the early days, only the largest and highest quality trees were cut: cherry, ash, walnut, oak, and yellow- (tulip) poplar, often as large as 25 feet in circumference. Although it is difficult to imagine today, trees were felled that were larger in diameter than an average man stands. Some portable sawmills were brought into the mountains in the earlier years, but logs from these enormous trees were usually transported to a mill, some miles distant, by horse, oxen, or water. Typically, log splash dams were built on the shallow mountain streams so that many logs could be moved at one time. Logs were rolled into the lakes formed behind the dams, and with a buildup from rain or melting snow, the dams were opened to let the logs cascade down the mountains. From wider places on the river, trees—as many as 40 to 120 at a time—were lashed together to form rafts, which were piloted downriver to the mills.[27]

Elbert Herald reminisced about this kind of logging for the compilers of *Our Appalachia.* As a boy, Herald logged with his father in Leslie County, Ky., between 1922 and 1930. His experiences are typical of the small local lumbering operations that went on before, during, and after the big timber boom.

> I was eleven years old when I moved to Leslie County. It was a very isolated country up there, mind you, I said this was in 1922: there was not one foot of highway, there was not one foot of railroad. My father, he looked around and there was plenty of hard work to get done, and we went to work cutting logs.
>
> There wasn't any saw mill around to sell them at closer than Beattyville, a right smart piece away. There was a number of companies we would contact [to] get a contract for so many logs . . .
>
> Walnut and white oak at that time was best. We would get $35 a thousand [board feet] for that, but when it come down to beech and smaller grades we done well to get $25 a thousand.
>
> [We] cut roads through the hills and hauled our logs down to the riverbanks with work oxens and horses. When we got [the logs] to the river we would raft them together and buyers would come along buying. If it was real big logs—anywhere from 24 to 28 inches [in diameter]—we would take about 65 logs. If they were smaller logs—anywhere from 18 to 22 inches—we'd take 75 or 80 on a raft, which would amount to anywhere from 8 to 10 thousand board feet, depending on the length of the logs.[28]

Although logging was hard work and timber prices were not high, Herald explained that it was the only way to make money at that time. The market for farm crops was dismal.

Although this kind of logging was careless and destructive, its environmental impact was minor compared to the intense logging of the boom period. Small local lumber operations cut trees very selectively, according to size, quality, and proximity to a stream. Relatively few men were engaged in lumbering at first, and the visible effects of milling were scattered and removed from the source of supply. It had been estimated that even in 1900 most of the area was wooded and at least 10 percent of the Southern Appalachian region remained in virgin timber.[29]

Before that year, however, distinct changes began. Out-of-state and foreign investors began purchasing large tracts of mountain land, and rail lines were built into previously inaccessible valleys. With railroads, mills could be located close to the source of supply; trees had to be transported only short distances, and finished lumber could be carried to the market.

One of the most impressive railroad projects in the mountains was that of the Little River Lumber Co. Chartered in 1901, the Little River Railroad was a standard-gauge line from Maryville, Tenn., at the southwestern corner of the Great Smokies, to the mill at Townsend, then running 18 miles up the gorge of the Little River to the base of the timber operations. The rail construction greatly increased the ease and scale of operations. By 1905, the mill was cutting about 60,000 board feet of wood per day. This area is now well inside the Park, not far from the cross-Park highway, U.S. Route 441.

Other methods, too, were devised to further largescale tree removal; among them were inclined railways controlled by yarding machines, and overhead cable systems, both used with considerable success in the Smokies.[30] To facilitate log transportation, larger flumes and splash dams were built. A concrete splash dam built across the Big Sandy River in Dickenson County, Va., was probably the largest. Completed in 1909, it was about 360 feet high and 240 feet across, with five flumes, each 40 feet wide, through which the pent-up logs tumbled.[31] The dam enabled the Yellow Poplar Lumber Co. to run logs to Cattletsburg, Ky., in record time; within 10 years, the merchantable hardwood timber supply of the Big Sandy Basin had been virtually exhausted.

Wasteful Cutting Damages Forests

Throughout the region, as the scale of logging increased, size selectivity in cutting declined:

> The depletion of the forests is revealed by the rapidly changing cutting standards as culling became the rule rather than the exception. In 1885 few logs under 30 inches in diameter were cut. Ten years later the usual cutting was 24 inches. By 1900 the average limit had dropped to 21 inches. By 1905 lumberman were taking chestnut and oak only 15 inches on the stump.[32]

Figure 15.—Steam overhead cable skidder on rails bringing in logs from two facing slopes on tract of Little River Lumber Company in Great Smoky Mountains, Sevier County, Tenn., in 1913. (NA:95G-15507A)

Not only was there a decline in the average size cut, there was a shift as well in the species of trees harvested. As the best cherry, ash, and oak were depleted, the demand for hemlock and spruce grew. Both were used for pulpwood in the manufacture of paper products, and during World War I spruce was used to build the first fighter airplanes. Chestnut, which the leather goods industry had used profitably for its byproduct, tannin, came into increasing demand when a process was developed by Omega Carr to manufacture pulp from chestnut chips, once the tannin was removed. The Champion Paper and Fibre Co., mill in Canton, N.C., became a major producer of pulp from chestnut wood—until this source disappeared after the chestnut blight reached the area in 1920.

Throughout the logging boom, trees were harvested with little regard for other resources or future timber supplies. Young growth was damaged and smaller limbs and brush were left to ignite untended in dry spells, destroying the humus and remaining ground cover, preventing absorption of rain and snow. In areas of heavy logging, particularly on steep slopes, the soil became leached and erosion was often severe.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to assess the amount or lasting effects of this damage. Even at its peak, the timber industry left large sections of remote mountain forests little touched.[33] Parts of the Great Smokies, and much of far southwestern North Carolina (later the Nantahala National Forest) remained in "virgin" timber. However, in more accessible mountain regions—southern Union, Fannin, and Rabun counties, Ga.; northeastern Tennessee; near Mt. Mitchell and Asheville, N.C.,—whole mountainsides were cut over and burned, hillsides were eroded, and dried-up autumn streams became raging rivers in the spring.

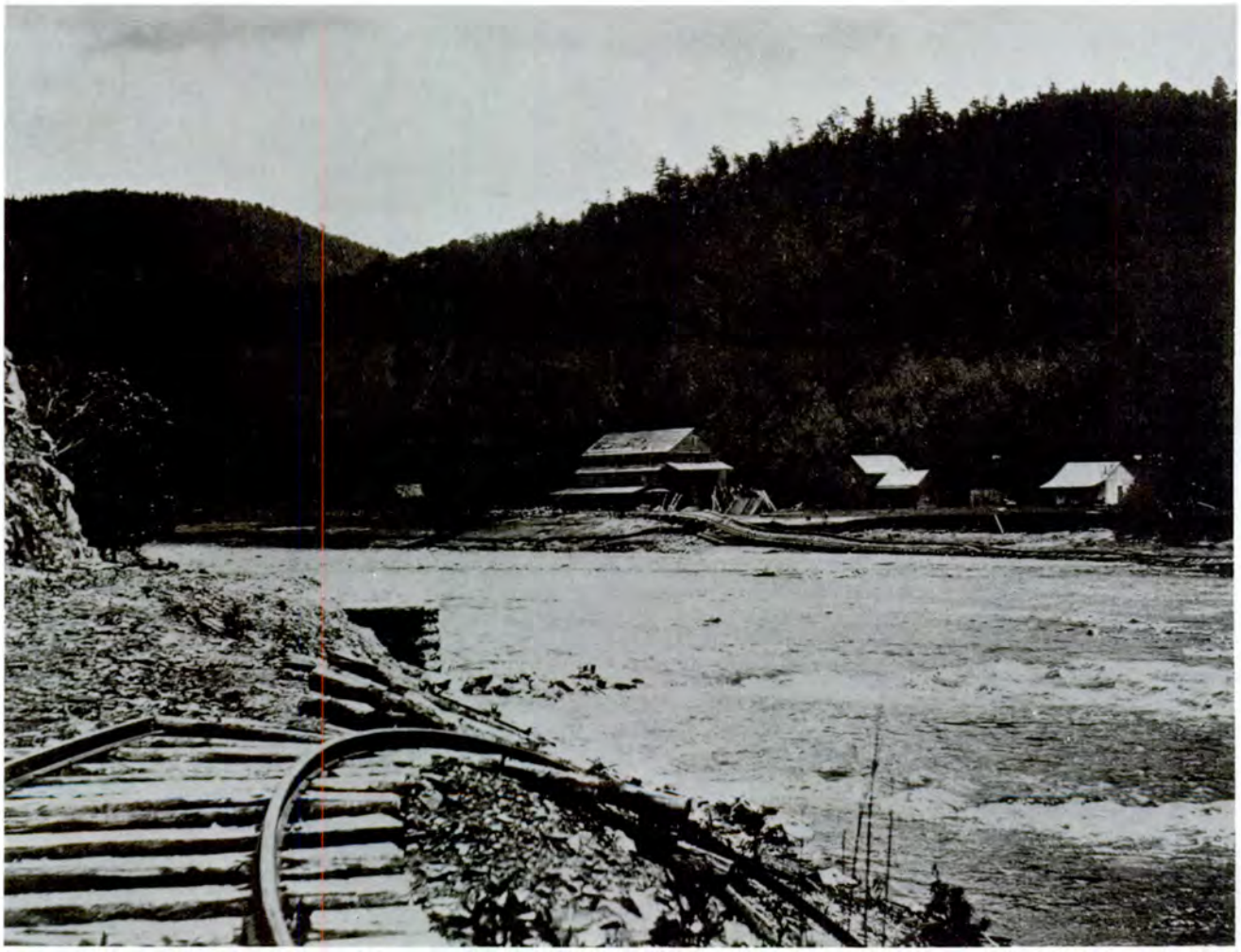

Figure 16.—Railroad bridge washed out over the Nolichucky River at Unaka Springs, Tenn., after flood of May 21, 1901. Such floods stimulated strong public demands early in this century for national parks and forests in the Southern Appalachians. Forests in this area became part of Unaka National Forest in 1921, later the Unaka District of Cherokee National Forest. (NA:95G-11062)

Such conditions came to national attention shortly after the turn of the century. In 1900, the Division of Forestry, U.S. Department of Agriculture, in cooperation with the Geological Survey, U.S. Department of the Interior, conducted a field investigation of the Southern Appalachian region. The survey results, sent to Congress by President Theodore Roosevelt 2 years later, decried the widespread damage, and attributed the land conditions to poor farming practices, repeated fires, and destructive lumbering:

> In these operations there has naturally been no thought for the future. Trees have been cut so as to fall along the line of least resistance regardless of what they crush. Their tops and branches, instead of being piled in such way and burned at such time as would do the least harm, are left scattered among the adjacent growth to burn when driest, and thus destroy or injure everything within reach. The home and permanent interests of the lumberman are generally in another state or region, and his interests in these mountains begins and ends with the hope of profit.[34]

Such conditions supported the survey report's conclusion that a Federal forest reserve in the Southern Appalachians was the only way to stop the continuing losses.

Figure 17.—Severely eroded steep rocky slope, the result of bad crop farming, along Scotts Creek, Jackson County, west of Asheville, N.C., after heavy rains of May 21, 1901. Scattered hardwoods and pitch pine are visible on hillside. (NA:95G-25315)

Figure 18.—Enormous load of gravel and silt deposited on 20-acre field on farm of William Brown along Catawba River, McDowell County, above Marion, N.C., by floods of May 21 and August 6, 1901. This area borders the present Pisgah National Forest. (NA:95G-25325)

Figure 19.—Cane creek at Bakersville, Mitchell County, N.C., showing broad heavy deposit of silt from flood of May 21, 1901. Seven of the houses at right were washed away or badly damaged. The flood aroused wide interest in a Federal Forest Reserve. This area borders the present Pisgah National Forest. (NA:95G-25369)

American Forestry Begins in Appalachia

This indiscriminate but profitable logging exploitation of the mountain forests was soon challenged by a conservative approach. In 1892, amidst the timber boom, America's first experiment in practical forestry began in the Blue Ridge Mountains of western North Carolina.

Practical forestry was a vital part of the general conservation movement that arose in the United States in the last quarter of the 19th century and reached its peak during the presidency of the Progressive, Theodore Roosevelt. An intellectual and political phenomenon, the conservation movement was largely a response to the rapid industrialization and urbanization after the Civil War. Settlements had extended across the continent, the landscape had been altered, and American culture appeared increasingly materialistic. A countermovement developed to preserve pristine areas and to try to conserve the Nation's natural resources for present and future generations. As with the Progressive movement in general, conservation concerns were expressed essentially by urban dwellers and Easterners. The focus of conservation attention, however, was primarily in the West, where vast extents of land remained in the public domain and where large tracts of forest remained in "virgin" timber.[35]

The conservation movement embodied two distinct groups: preservationist and utilitarian. The preservationists, inspired by Henry Thoreau and exemplified by the influential founder of the Sierra Club, John Muir, believed in saving as much as possible of the Nation's scenic wilderness and forest expanses just as they were—never to be exploited by humans. They believed the beauty of the natural landscape should be valued in and of itself. The creation of Yellowstone, the first National Park, in 1872, was one of the earliest outgrowths of such concerns.[36]

In the last four decades of the 19th century a second conservationist faction developed: those who believed that renewable resources should be protected and managed through wise and economical use. The principal focus of this philosophy was the Nation's forests where the mechanics of economical conservation were to be demonstrated. A leading spokesman for this philosophy was Gifford Pinchot, early forester, who became Chief of the USDA Division of Forestry in 1898 and of its successor, the Forest Service, in 1905.

Forest Reserves Authorized in 1891

Between 1890 and 1910, practical-conservationist concerns were translated into political action. In 1891 by an amendment to the General Land Law Revision Act, often called the Creative Act, Congress gave the President almost unlimited power to withdraw huge expanses of forested lands from the public domain. In 1897 an amendment to the Civil Appropriations Act, often called the Organic Administration Act, established the management objectives of these reserves: ". . . securing favorable conditions of water flow and to furnish a continuous supply of timber for the use and necessities of citizens of the United States."[37] Timber in forest reserves was to be harvested and sold; waters could be used for mining, milling, or irrigation.

Before the passage of the Weeks Act in 1911, numerous large forest reserves were set aside in the West from lands in the public domain. It was in the East, however, where practical forestry was inaugurated. At Biltmore, between 1890 and 1910, the foundations were laid for scientific forestry as the Nation was later to practice it; here too some experiences and problems with the local population and commercial interests foreshadowed those of the first Federal foresters.

In 1889, the wealthy George W. Vanderbilt of New York, who had previously visited the area as a tourist, purchased about 300 acres of small farms and cutover woodlands near the French Broad River southwest of Asheville. The tract was composed of "some fifty decrepit farms and some ten country places heretofore owned by impoverished southern landed aristocracy."[38] The lands were in poor condition, having been abused by cutting, fires, erosion, and neglect. There Vanderbilt began construction of the palatial Biltmore House, and acquisition of what was to become a 100,000-acre estate. Over the next two decades Vanderbilt established an English-style village, an arboretum, parks, a wildlife preserve stocked with deer and pheasant, ponds and lagoons, a dairy farm, and miles of roads and trails as part of a vast experiment in landscape alteration.[39]

Vanderbilt's land-management philosophy was ahead of its time. His goal was to recultivate the fields and rebuild the forests with the most scientifically advanced methods of the day; Biltmore was to be a model of dairying, horticulture, landscaping esthetics, wildlife management, and productive forestry. In 1892, upon the recommendation of the famous landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmstead, creator of Central Park, New York City, who was in charge of landscaping the Biltmore grounds, Vanderbilt hired Gifford Pinchot, the future Chief of the Forest Service, to supervise Biltmore's forest lands.

Pinchot was at Biltmore for 3 years. During that time he conducted a survey and inventory of the more than 7,000 acres that had been acquired; continued management of the Biltmore Arboretum (an experimental garden with over 100 species of trees); continued the reforestation of badly cutover and eroded areas on the estate; and supervised the purchase of mountain lands to the west which came to be known as Pisgah Forest. There, in the fall of 1895, Pinchot directed the first logging of yellow- (tulip) poplar. To disprove the local notion that once such a forest was felled, it would never grow back, Pinchot cut selectively in the Big Creek valley below Mt. Pisgah only those large trees he had chosen and marked—felling, bucking, and hauling the logs out carefully so as to avoid damaging young trees. Although he claimed to know "little more about the conditions necessary for reproducing Yellow poplar than a frog knows about football," he understood that it needs strong light to grow well and that creating openings in the forest by felling mature trees would encourage a new crop.[40] Although the immediate goal was profit, the long-range objective was to preserve the remaining stand and insure a steady annual yield. Pinchot claimed his lumbering to be profitable, rather unconvincingly, since Vanderbilt himself consumed most of the timber.[41]

Pinchot left Biltmore in 1895; he had gradually become disappointed and disillusioned with Vanderbilt's motivations, and was ambitious for new experiences. Replacing Pinchot was Carl Alwin Schenck, a young highly recommended German forester, who for 14 years carried on and intensified Pinchot's efforts. He continued the practice of selective lumbering, and intensified reforestation efforts throughout the Vanderbilt estate. Schenck initially experimented with hardwood plantings, but eventually concentrated on reforestation of culled and eroded areas with eastern white, pitch, and shortleaf pines.[42]

Early Forestry School at Biltmore

Schenck carried out one of Pinchot's recommendations by establishing in 1898 the Biltmore School of Forestry in Pisgah Forest, now the site of the Forest Service's Cradle of Forestry historical exhibit. There, Schenck personally trained young men in all aspects of practical and textbook forestry, from seedlings to sawmilling. Although most went into industrial forestry, many became State and Federal foresters. Among his graduates were several leaders of the early Forest Service, including Overton W. Price, Associate Forester under Pinchot, Inman F. Eldredge, who supervised the first Forest Survey of the South, and Verne Rhoades, first supervisor of Pisgah National Forest.[43]

Although both Schenck and Pinchot believed in the wise utilization of resources as opposed to strict preservation, Schenck ran his school under a philosophy slightly different from Pinchot's. Schenck alternated book learning with practical experience in the woods, and was more interested than Pinchot in the hard economics of forestry. Over the years, the two men, both with very strong viewpoints and personalities, bickered continuously, sometimes bitterly. In essence, Pinchot separated forestry from sawmilling; Schenck did not. His frequently quoted dictum, "That forestry is best which pays best" indicates Schenck's orientation to industry.[44]

Figure 20.—Schenck Lodge, built in Black-Forest-of-Germany style on site of old Biltmore Forest School, now the Cradle of Forestry Visitors Center, Pisgah National Forest, Brevard, N.C., as it appeared in August 1949. Lodge had just been restored with new roof and foundation. It was originally built to house forest workers on the old Biltmore Forest, and then to house students in Dr. Carl A. Schenck's school. It is now used for administration and public recreation. (Forest Service photo F-458641)

He felt Pinchot's silvicultural practice of selective cutting to be a luxury that market prices or financial pressures often did not allow. This remains a debated issue today. Schenck wrote that Pinchot was furious "When he learned that in the school examinations at Biltmore a knowledge of logging and lumbering was weighed higher than that of silviculture or of any other branch of 'scientific' forestry . . . ."[45]

Although Schenck was more commercially oriented than Pinchot, he too was frequently frustrated with the local inhabitants of the French Broad area. The Vanderbilt estate, including Pisgah Forest, was dotted with many small inholdings, as it still was when the Federal Government purchased it in 1914. In spite of Vanderbilt ownership, the indwellers continued to use the land as if it were theirs; they cut wood, farmed, grazed cattle, and hunted freely on Vanderbilt land. Schenck considered this trespassing a serious block to his forestry efforts:

Figure 21.—Replica of original Biltmore Forest School building on Pisgah National Forest, Brevard, N.C., south of Asheville, now part of the Forest Service's Cradle of Forestry Visitor Center. Photo was taken in August 1967, a year after reconstruction. (Forest Service photo F-516882)

> In the Southernmost part of Pisgah Forest the size and the number of the interior holdings were so great that Vanderbilt's property in the aggregate was smaller than that of the holders. The woods in my charge were on the ridges and on the slopes above the farms where there was no yellow poplar. Mine seemed a hopeless task. For years to come, I could not think of conservative forestry.[46]

Throughout his service with Vanderbilt, Schenck continued to urge acquisition and consolidation of the inholdings, with some success.

In addition to trespassing, Schenck was frustrated with the mountaineers' penchant for burning to "green up" the pastures and clear the brush, and remained incredulous that no local regulations existed to prevent or control fire:

> The citizens of the county do not realize—do not want to realize—that my work is for their benefit as well as for that of my employer. We have never found any encouragement whatsoever in our work on the side of the state, the county, or the town. We are aliens; we do things out of the ordinary; that is cause enough for suspicion—for antagonism and enmity.[47]

These sentiments were echoed a decade later by some of the first Federal foresters in the region. And the two major concerns of Schenck—trespass and fire—continue to occupy the foresters in the Southern Appalachians today.

Although the local population remained a problem for Schenck, he was to have a positive and notable impact on industrial forestry throughout the region. Schenck was well known and respected by several local industrialists, who sought his advice on reforestation and marketing. The St. Bernard Mining Co. of Earlington, Ky., for example, experimented extensively before 1909 with hardwood plantings on lands no longer valuable for farming, and communicated with Schenck for guidance and expertise.[48]

Schenck's influence on industrial forestry was most noteworthy, however, in his association with the Champion Fibre Co. In 1906 Champion's president, Peter G. Thompson, came to North Carolina from Hamilton, Ohio, to buy spruce acreage in the Great Smoky and Balsam Mountains for making pulp. In 1907, Reuben B. Robertson, Thompson's son-in-law, opened the Champion Paper and Fibre Co. at Canton, N.C. Both men became well acquainted with Schenck. Although Schenck was never able to convince Thompson of the value of second-growth planting, he had more success with Robertson. Through Schenck, Robertson became convinced of the advantages of sustained-yield forestry, and earned Champion a reputation for intelligent, conservative lumbering. In 1920, Champion employed Walter Darntoft as corporate forester—the first such industrial forester in the South.[49]

Figure 22.—New Visitor Information Center at "Cradle of Forestry," Pisgah National Forest, Brevard, N.C., August 1967. (Forest Service photo F-516886)

The Move For Eastern Reserves

The Southern Appalachians gradually became a focus for the conservation movement. In addition to the forestry experiment at Biltmore, efforts began in western North Carolina to create an Appalachian National Park, largely through the Appalachian National Park Association, led by Dr. Chase P. Ambler of Asheville. Ambler, who had come from Ohio as a specialist in treating tuberculosis, valued the area's scenery and climate for what he considered its restorative characteristics.[50] The original sentiment behind the Association was preservationist: that the beauty and healthfulness of the Southern mountains should be preserved from destructive logging for the pleasure of future generations; the idea was to create an eastern equivalent of Yellowstone.[51] Within 2 years, however, the concern for scenic preservation was supplanted by the drive to create a forest reserve, and the interests of the park enthusiasts and foresters became temporarily commingled.

Through the lobbying effort of Dr. Ambler's group and the sponsorship of North Carolina Senator Jeter C. Pritchard, in 1900 Congress appropriated $5,000 for a preliminary investigation of forest conditions in the Southern Appalachians. The investigation, conducted by the U.S. Department of Agriculture with the help of the U.S. Geological Survey, also considered farmlands and the flow of streams throughout the region. Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson and Gifford Pinchot, at that time Chief of the USDA Division of Forestry, spent about ten days looking over the region themselves.

The report of the survey, published in 1902, details the land abuses of the Southern Appalachian region. Its tone is reminiscent of George Perkins Marsh's *Man and Nature*, the classic conservationist volume first published in 1864, with which Pinchot was very familiar.[52] Marsh's repeatedly stated theme was that man's influence on the land—particularly in clearing and burning forests and overgrazing pastures—had been detrimental and destructive. The message of the Southern Appalachian survey report, with pictures to support each point, was essentially the same: the special hardwood forests of the beautiful Appalachians were being destroyed by lumbering, fires, and—perhaps worst—by mountainside farming. These agents of destruction were causing the soil to leach, slopes to erode, and streams to flood their banks with rain and melting snow. The only clear solution: "for the Federal Government to purchase these forest-covered mountain slopes and make them into a national forest reserve."[53]

Throughout the decade of 1900 to 1910, the movement to create an Appalachian Forest Reserve grew in the size and diversity of its support to become a powerful and effective lobby group. In 1902 the National Hardwood Lumber Association and the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association passed resolutions favoring a Southern Appalachian Forest Reserve. Although many small mill operators and independent lumbermen continued to oppose the reserve movement, some of the largest firms, once assured that logging would continue, welcomed Federal land purchase as a relief from taxes on cutover useless land and an assurance of support for sound forestry.[54] In 1905, the movement gained the strong and broad-based support of the American Forestry Association, calling for Forest Reserves in both the Southern Appalachians and White Mountains. Indeed, when the AFA endorsed the Appalachian reserves, Ambler and his group disbanded and turned their efforts over to the more vigorous, nationally based association.

Throughout the decade nearly 50 bills to authorize an Appalachian Forest Reserve—or eastern reserves—were introduced in Congress. At first, Congressional opposition to the idea was strong, based on the issue of States' rights. This opposition was overcome in 1901 when the legislatures of North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, and Virginia approved the Federal Government's right to acquire title to land in their States, and relinquished the right to tax that land. The Federal Government's constitutional authority to acquire land for reserves continued to be questioned, however, until the linkage was made between such acquisition and the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce. The theory ran as follows: Removal of the forest cover affects streams flooding to such an extent that navigation is threatened; restoration of the forest will assure stream control, and hence navigation.

This linkage, however, was difficult to establish: in 1900 there was considerable doubt as to whether forests really did help control stream flow. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers denied it. Indeed, there was disagreement within the Forest Service itself over the issue. Both Bernhard E. Fernow, Pinchot's predecessor as Chief of the Division of Forestry, and William B. Greeley, then Forest Assistant and later Forest Service Chief, believed that the effects of a forest cover on waterflow were often exaggerated, and questioned the extent to which forests could actually prevent floods. Even Pinchot acknowledged that the role of ground cover could be overestimated. Nevertheless, these internal doubts were suppressed, and the Forest Service adopted a position of aloofness in the ensuing public debate.[55]

Meanwhile, reserve proponents went to considerable pains to convince skeptical Congressmen that a cause and effect relationship existed between forests and floods. In May 1902, for example, representatives of Ambler's Appalachian National Park Association (soon renamed Appalachian Forest Reserve Association) took two miniature mountains which they had built to a Washington meeting with the House Agriculture Committee.

> These model mountains were about six feet high and were built on a slope of thirty degrees, being constructed on frames. The one miniature mountain was left bare, the gulleys and depressions in the sides of the mountain being faithfully reproduced. The other mountain was covered with a layer of sponge about four inches thick and over this was spread moss; in this moss were put small twigs of evergreens. The Committee on Agriculture admitted that we had two very good illustrations of mountains.
>
> Rain was caused to fall on these mountains by a member of the association climbing a step ladder with a sprinkling can, endeavoring to demonstrate what occurred when it rained on the forest covered mountain and bare mountains. The results were that the demonstration showed conclusively that the water which fell on the bare mountain ran off with a gush, forcing rivers in the lowlands out of their banks and causing devastating floods; while the rain which fell on the forest covered mountains was held in the humus and given up slowly in the form of springs, thus regulating the water supply in the lowlands.[56]

Most Congressmen remained unconvinced. In addition, legislators from the West and Midwest, particularly Speaker of the House Joseph G. ("Uncle Joe") Cannon of Illinois, were antagonistic toward the idea of eastern reserves, and some were resentful of the Pinchot-engineered transfer of the Forest Reserves from the Department of Interior to the Department of Agriculture early in 1905.

Severe Floods Trigger Weeks Act

The eventual success of the legislation for eastern Forest Reserves with the passage of the Weeks Act in 1911 can be attributed to two factors. First, the Weeks Act was the result of persistent, insistent lobbying. Absolutely convinced of the rightness of their cause, the Forest Reserve proponents gradually won broader and broader support, and outlasted the opposition. Second, physical events reinforced their arguments. In 1907 disastrous and costly flooding which occurred along the Monongahela and Ohio Rivers was traced directly to the cutover conditions of the upper watershed. In 1910 a series of mammoth, disastrous fires swept the Northwest, particularly Montana and Idaho. These environmental cataclysms helped persuade legislators that the destructive logging of the past two decades was taking its toll, and that forests had to be better managed for fire control.[57] The combining of these two interests helped to ease passage of the Act, eventually resulting in establishment of National Forests in Pennsylvania and West Virginia at the headwaters of the rivers flooded in 1907.[58]

After a final 2 years of intense debate but waning opposition the Senate passed a bill on February 5, 1911, that the House had approved in June 1910, to allow creation of Forest Reserves in the East, by purchase. The bill was known as the Weeks Act after John Weeks, Congressman from Massachusetts and member of the House Committee on Agriculture, who had been the bill's sponsor for several years.[59] Based on the authority of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, the bill authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to examine and recommend for purchase "such forested, cut-over, or denuded lands within the watersheds of navigable streams as in his judgment may be necessary to the regulation of the flow of navigable streams . . ." An initial $11 million was appropriated to cover the first several years of purchase. The bill created the National Forest Reservation Commission to consider, approve, and determine the price of such lands. The Commission, which was to report annually to Congress, was composed of the Secretary of the Army, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, two members of the Senate selected by the President of the Senate, and two members of the House appointed by the Speaker. In addition, the bill authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with States situated on watersheds of navigable rivers in the "organization and maintenance of a system of fire protection" on private or State forest land, provided the State had a fire-protection law.

Although the Weeks Act did not specify the Southern Appalachians or the White Mountains as areas of purchase, it was implicitly directed at those watersheds. Lands whose purchase was necessary for stream regulation were in rugged mountainous areas of heavy rainfall where the absence of a forest cover would threaten stream regularity and, hence, navigability. Having studied these lands for the last decade, the Forest Service knew in 1911 the general acreage it wanted to acquire. As soon as the Weeks Act passed, Forest Service Chief Henry Graves, Pinchot's successor, assigned 35 men to the task of examining the designated areas.

It is difficult to gauge precisely the involvement of the people of the Southern Appalachians in the Forest Reserve movement or to assess the impact on them of the growing national interest in their area. Certainly, the organized movement for an Appalachian National Park, and subsequently a forest reserve, was never very large. The original size of the Appalachian National Park Association membership was 42, composed principally of professionals: doctors, attorneys, editors, geologists among them.[60] The total membership in 1905 was 307, with more members living outside North Carolina than within the State.[61] Although the geographical base of the group's membership had broadened, it is unlikely that the occupational base had. Thus, the group of local, active supporters for a park or Forest Reserve remained small, essentially urban, and—in a sense—elitist.

The degree of local general awareness of the Forest Reserve movement is difficult to assess. Certainly, the publicity campaign of Appalachian National Park-Forest Reserve Association was earnest: Dr. Ambler and others, such as Joseph Holmes and Joseph Pratt of the North Carolina Geological Survey, spoke throughout the State and before Congress in support of the proposed reserve. Local and national newspapers favorably addressed the issue. However, the extent to which this publicity reached the mountain populace is uncertain. There were signs of local opposition to the forest movement, primarily from the smaller, independent lumbermen, some of whom were undoubtedly misinformed or confused about the purpose of such reserves, some of whom simply resented a Federal intrusion. For example, some lumber interests circulated erroneous information about the reserves, which was countered by editorials in the *Asheville Citizen*.[62] Inman Eldredge, a graduate of Biltmore Forest School who was with the Forest Service in the South from the earliest days, has spoken of the "murky atmosphere of animosity" between lumbermen and Pinchot's foresters in the years before the Weeks Act.

It is probably safe to say that the majority of the local population was oblivious or indifferent both to the Forest Reserve movement and the opposition to it. As Forester Eldredge expressed it:

> . . . All the rest of the people didn't know and didn't give a damn. Forestry was as odd and strange to them as chiropody or ceramics. The people right down on the ground, the settlers, the people who lived in the woods . . . were completely uninformed and were the greatest, ablest, and most energetic set of wood-burners that any foresters have had to contend with.[63]

The Early Forest Service

The Forest Service in 1911 was a very young and, at that time, threatened organization. Gifford Pinchot, who had been Chief Forester with the Department of Agriculture since 1898, had been fired by President Taft in January 1910 for his insubordination and highhandedness in challenging the policies of the recently appointed Interior Secretary, Richard A. Ballinger. Early in 1905, Pinchot had engineered the transfer of the Forest Reserves from the General Land Office of the Department of Interior to the Bureau of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture. He had virtually created the Forest Service. Having united in one office the functions of overseeing forest reserves and advising the Nation on forestry, Pinchot was beginning to achieve his goals:

> . . . to practice Forestry instead of merely preaching it. We wanted to prove that Forestry was something more than a subject of conversation. We wanted to demonstrate that Forestry could be taken out of the office into the woods, and made to yield satisfactory returns on the timberland investment—that Forestry was good business and could actually be made to pay.[64]

Unfortunately, although he had had strong support from President Roosevelt, Pinchot created enemies in his intense conservation campaigns. When Taft succeeded Roosevelt early in 1909, he allowed Pinchot to remain Forest Service Chief, but Taft's appointments and policies were soon intolerable to Pinchot. Less than a year later, as a result of Pinchot's public attacks on Ballinger, Taft was forced to remove Pinchot.

Henry Graves, Dean of the Yale School of Forestry, was named to replace Pinchot in January 1910, probably through Pinchot's maneuvering.[65] A serious, studious, no-nonsense administrator, Graves presented to many a needed contrast to the flamboyant, aggressive, self-righteous Pinchot. In 1910 the Forest Service was not in Congressional favor, and thus needed an economy-minded, moderate, apolitical leader.

The frugality imposed on the Forest Service during Graves' administration compounded the already demanding, self-sacrificing existence that Forest Service employees were expected to assume in those early years. Pinchot's original "Use Book," *The Use of the National Forest Reserves*, published in 1905, leaves little doubt as to the rigorous eligibility requirements of a ranger:

> To be eligible as ranger of any grade the applicant must be, first of all, thoroughly sound and able-bodied, capable of enduring hardships and of performing severe labor under trying conditions. Invalids seeking light out-of-door employment need not apply. No one may expect to pass the examination who is not already able to take care of himself and his horses in regions remote from settlement and supplies. He must be able to build trails and cabins and to pack in provisions without assistance. He must know something of surveying, estimating, and scaling timber, lumbering, and the livestock business . . . Thorough familiarity with the region in which he seeks employment, including its geography and its forest and industrial conditions, is usually demanded . . .[66]

Figure 23.—Forest Service ranger making camp at day's end. Pisgah National Forest, N.C., June 1923. (NA:95G-176512)

Although these words were softened slightly during Graves' administration, their tone continued to stress that Forest Service employment was only for those with special qualifications.

By 1915 the basic areas of Forest Service activities had evolved as three distinct organizational units: the National Forests, cooperation with States and private owners, and forestry research.[67] Forest administration was decentralized, with forests grouped into major Districts under largely independent District Foresters. (Districts became Regions in 1930.) A supervisor was responsible for each forest, and rangers were in charge of the administrative districts within the forests. Other Forest Service officers included deputy supervisors, forest examiners, forest assistants, lumbermen, and scalers. All were appointed after a Civil Service examination.

The district ranger, then as now a crucial position in the Forest Service field organization, was charged with the management of timber sales, grazing, fire protection, and special uses for about 60,000 acres, on the average, at that time. In 1915 he was paid an annual salary of between $900 to $1,200. By 1920 that salary had barely increased; forest supervisors were paid only twice that. Indeed, the continuing low salary caused a sizeable defection in the Forest Service technical staff between 1918 and 1920.[68]

Rangers were required to pass both a written and a field examination, the latter a test of various practical skills including lumbering, horsemanship, and surveying. Clyne and Walter Woody of Suches, Ga., whose father, W. Arthur Woody, became a U.S. forest ranger in northern Georgia in 1918, remember that the examination lasted for several days and was extremely demanding in the endurance and range of skills required.[69] W. Arthur Woody, who later became one of the most well-known rangers, was a native of the mountains who proved invaluable because of his devotion to conservation and the respect he had among the mountain people.

Even in the earliest days, the relationshp between Forest Service officers and the general public was regarded as important. According to the 1915 *Use Book*, Forest Service personnel were not just officers of the Government, but "also agents of the people, with whom they come into close relations, both officially and as neighbors and fellow citizens." Thus, they were encouraged to be "prompt, active, and courteous in the conduct of Forest business" and " to prevent misunderstanding and violation of Forest regulations by timely and tactful advice rather than to follow up violations by the exercise of their authority."[70] To help win popular respect, the Forest Service generally placed officers in districts close to their homes. This practice, followed even in recent years when possible, became especially important in eastern forests where the intermingling of Federal and private lands brought the Forest Service and the local population into greater contact than generally occurred in the West.

Reference Notes

1. Wilma Dykeman, *The French Broad* (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1955), pp. 166-177. See also F. D. Eubank,"Early Lumbering in East Tennessee," *Southern Lumberman* (December 15, 1935): 100. A good general source on the logging boom in the Southern Appalachians is Ronald D. Eller, Chapter III, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: The Modernization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930," Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1979.

2. Eubank, "Early Lumbering."

3. Ronald D. Eller, "Western North Carolina, 1880-1940: The Early Industrial Period," Chapter II of Draft Version, *Socio-Economic Overview in Relation to Pisgah-Nantahala National Forest.* (Prepared for National Forests of North Carolina by the Appalachian Center at Mars Hill College, N.C., 1979), p. 14. See also Eller's "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers," Chapters II and III.

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Chapter II

National Forests Organized in Southern Appalachians

The Weeks Act, establishing Federal authority to purchase lands for National Forests, was signed by President William Howard Taft on March 1, 1911. Almost immediately, the Forest Service examined, and optioned for purchase, lands in the Southern Appalachian Mountains. The first National Forest there was proclaimed by President Woodrow Wilson on October 17, 1916; more followed in 1920. By 1930 thousands of acres of culled or cutover mountain lands had been acquired and the Forest Service had begun its ambitious, long-term effort for environmental and economic stabilization of the region.

Within a week, the Act became law and the National Forest Reservation Commission had been appointed and had met for the first time.[1] In anticipation of the new law, the Forest Service had been working for many months to select a large number of precisely defined, very large tracts suitable for purchase, in the most promising areas, for Commission approval. These tracts, designated "purchase units," roughly bounded the mountain headwaters of navigable streams. Each unit was at least 100,000 acres (156.25 square miles, or 40,469 hectares) in size, and most were much larger. Final surveying and mapping was done early in March, and on March 27 the Commission announced the establishment of 13 purchase units, 7 of which were in the Southern Appalachians. By the end of fiscal year 1912, four more units in the region were announced. All 11 are listed in table 2.

The boundaries of these units were altered several times in later years, as lands were reevaluated and new lands became available for purchase. When the units were incorporated into National Forests, after sufficient lands had been acquired, some of the names were retained as the names of the new forests. Four Southern Appalachian purchase units were added considerably later: the French Broad in North Carolina and Tennessee (1927), the Cumberland in Kentucky (1930), the Chattahoochee in Georgia (1936), and the Redbird in Kentucky (1965). Of the original purchase units, no land was ever purchased in the Great Smoky Mountains area, and the Yadkin Unit was still inactive in 1982 and likely to remain so.

With the establishment of official purchase units, the actual acquisition process began, on something of an *ad hoc* basis. Although modified over the years, the procedure remained essentially the same in 1982. First, advertisements requesting offers to sell land within the purchase unit boundaries were published in newspapers throughout the area. Upon reasonable offers of sale, the lands in question were examined and surveyed and, if deemed suitable, were recommended for purchase to the National Forest Reservation Commission. The Commission, usually meeting twice each year, considered each tract separately. Depending upon the availability of funds, purchases were consummated within several months to a year of approval.

By June 30, 1911, 1,264,022 acres of land had already been offered for sale by owners; of those, about 150,000 had been examined.

Reputedly, the first land to receive preliminary Commission approval was a tract of over 31,000 acres offered on April 14, 1911, by Andrew and N.W. Gennett of the Gennett Land and Lumber Co. of Atlanta.[2] The tract, located in Fannin, Union, Lumpkin, and Gilmer Counties, Ga., was in an area which had formerly been "rather thickly settled" with small farms but was now almost abandoned. Although some of the tract had deteriorated with misuse, enough marketable timber remained to command a price of $7.00 per acre.

The Gennetts were probably eager to sell the tract because it was not immediately accessible. The nearest rail point was located from 16 to 25 miles away.[3] Indeed, after Commission approval of their first tract, the Gennetts offered 13,000 acres of land belonging to the Oaky Mountain Lumber Co., of which Andrew Gennett was President, in Rabun County, Ga. Gennett proclaimed his Oaky Mountain lands to be "solid and compact . . . as well timbered as any portion of that section . . . [and] not over 300 or 400 acres has ever been cleared.[4] In January 1913, the National Forest Reservation Commission approved the purchase of 7,335 Oaky Mountain acres at $8.00 per acre; additional Gennett tracts of 10,170 and 2,200 acres were approved in 1917 and 1919.[5]

The first tract actually purchased was an 8,100-acre tract of the Burke McDowell Lumber Co. in McDowell County, near Marion, N.C. This tract was officially approved at the same meeting the first Gennett tract was—on December 9, 1911; however, payment for it was made on August 29, 1912, almost 4 months before the Gennett tract was paid for. The Burke McDowell tract sold for just over $7.00 per acre.[6]

Table 2.—The 11 Original National Forest Purchase Units in the Southern Appalachians

Name	Location	Initial Gross Acreage
1911		
Mt. Mitchell	North Carolina	214,992
Nantahala	North Carolina and Tennessee	595,419
Pisgah	North Carolina	358,577
Savannah	Georgia and South Carolina	367,760
Smoky Mountains	North Carolina and Tennessee	604,934
White Top	Tennessee and Virginia	255,027
Yadkin	North Carolina	194,496
1912		
Boone	North Carolina	241,462
Cherokee	Tennessee	222,058
Georgia	Georgia and North Carolina	475,899
Unaka	North Carolina and Tennessee	473,533
Total		1,412,952

Source: The National Forests and Purchase Units of Region Eight, Forest Service unpublished report, Region 8 (Atlanta, Ga., January 1, 1955), p. 5.

Figure 24.—Forest boundary survey crew camp No. 1 on Pfister & Vogel timber lands, Union-Fannin counties, North Georgia, in December 1911, preparatory to Federal purchase under the Weeks Act of March 1, 1911. This area became part of the Savannah Purchase Unit, which later became a portion of the Chattahoochee National Forest. (National Archives: Record Group 95G-10411A)

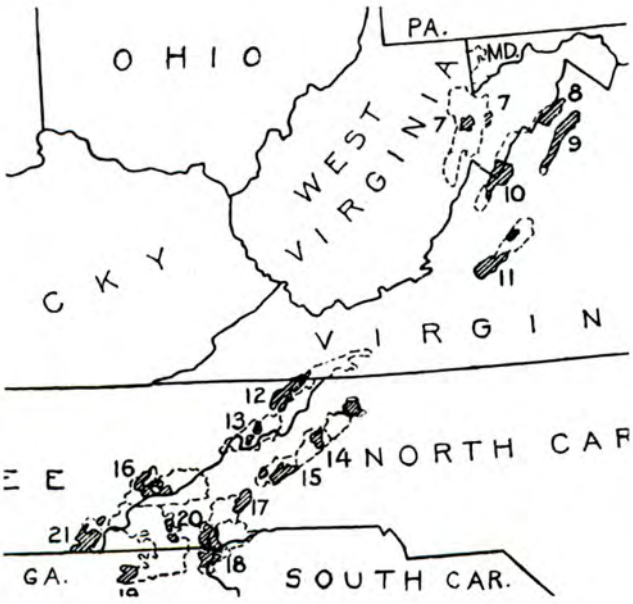

Figure 25.—Forested areas of the Southern Appalachian Mountains that were selected for purchase as National Forests under the Weeks Act of March 1, 1911, as of the summer of 1915. Dotted lines enclose proposed Forest boundaries; shaded portions show where lands had been acquired or were in process of acquisition. These various "purchase areas" or "purchase units" shown here, together with newer ones, were later consolidated and incorporated into nine National Forests. The numbered Purchase Units and the Forests that evolved are: 7, Monongahela; 8, Potomac; 9, Massanutten, and 10, Shenandoah, all three of which became the Shenandoah National Forest on May 16, 1918, and then the George Washington National Forest on June 28, 1932; 11, Natural Bridge, which became a Forest of that name in 1918 and then part of the George Washington in 1933; 12, White Top, and 13, Unaka, which together became the Unaka National Forest on July 24, 1920, and then part of the Cherokee on April 21, 1936 (except for the Virginia portions which became part of the new Jefferson National Forest); 14, Boone, 15, Mt. Mitchell, and 17, Pisgah, which all became part of the enlarged Pisgah National Forest by 1921; 18, Savannah, and 20, Nantahala, which together became the Nantahala National Forest on January 29, 1920; 19, Georgia, and 21, Cherokee, which together became the early Cherokee National Forest on June 14, 1920; and 16, Smoky Mountains Purchase Area, which finally became the southern half of Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The Georgia portion of Nos. 18 and 19 later became the nucleus of Chattahoochee National Forest. The South Carolina portion of No. 18 later became part of Sumter National Forest. (Forest Service map and photo)

Best, Largest Tracts Acquired First

The size and quality of the Gennett and McDowell tracts are representative of many of the earliest lands purchased in the Southern Appalachians. Generally, although many small owners sold tracts in the 100- to 300-acre category, some of the best and largest tracts were acquired first. Purchasing a few large tracts was an easier way to establish national forest acreage than purchasing many smaller tracts, and lumber companies were often willing to sell large tracts. The Forest Service maintained, however, that the boundaries of the purchase units were not necessarily drawn to include large tracts. In 1912, William Hall, Assistant Forester in charge of acquisition, advised his forest examiners near Brevard, N.C., "the question of whether a locality is to be put in a purchase area should be determined entirely irrespective of whether the lands are held in small or large holdings."[7]

Nearly 30 percent of the lands bought in the first 5 years in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia were virgin timber.[8] Most of the remaining land had been partially cleared or culled for specific types of timber, especially yellow- (tulip) poplar and chestnut. Few of the first tracts purchased were totally cutover, although the proportion of cutover lands acquired increased over the years. The largest tracts were purchased almost without exception from lumber companies or land investment concerns. Most such land was either sparsely populated or uninhabited, the residents having left as the land was depleted and acquired by investors for its remaining timber. In the case of the Gennett tract:

> the emigration tendency in the vicinity of this tract was so strong that the remaining settlers have been unable to maintain schools and churches or keep roads in good condition. This situation has made it easy for a body of land of the size of this tract to be assembled . . .[9]

The quality of lands purchased varied considerably over the Southern Appalachian region. The best lands were those where topography and remoteness had delayed road and rail access. For example, the Nantahala Purchase Unit of far southwestern North Carolina was thought to contain "some of the best and most extensive virgin forests of the hardwood belt."[10] Among the first lands purchased there were about 21,000 acres of the Macon Lumber Co., high in the mountains. Only 102 acres of the tract had been cleared, "and the only settler [in 1912] is the keeper employed by the Company."[11] The lands sold for $11 per acre. Another early Nantahala purchase was over 16,000 "well-timbered" acres of the Macon County Land Co., sold between 1914 and 1919 for between $8 and $9 per acre.[12]

On the other hand, lands offered in the Cherokee and Unaka purchase units appear to have been lower and less uniform in quality. Of over 275,000 acres not in farms in the Unaka area in 1912, 40 percent of the land was estimated to have been cutover or culled, and on another 40 percent of the land, timber operations were ongoing, with at least 15 large sawmills and more than 50 smaller ones. Moreover, of 24,050 acres of "virgin" timber being offered for sale in the Unaka area as of March 1912, 22,000 were subject to timber reservations on all trees above 10 inches in diameter.[13]

Similarly, in the Cherokee Purchase Unit, much of the timber on the offered lands was either cutover, being cut, or reserved. In 1913 the Alaculsy Lumber Co. of Conasauga, Tenn., offered 32,000 acres, all of which were cutover or subject to a timber reservation.[14] Of the over 53,000 acres of the Tennessee Timber Co. surveyed between 1913 and 1915, sections had been extensively damaged by smoke and sulfur fumes from the smelting operations of the Tennessee Copper Co. and the Ducktown Sulfur, Copper, and Iron Co. near Ducktown, Tenn.[15] In certain areas, particularly northern Georgia and southwestern North Carolina, the Forest Service gained possession of finely timbered "virgin" forests. However, more often than not, the lands acquired, especially in later years, had been cleared, misused, or at least selectively culled.

Formal Field Surveys Required

Because all lands obtained under Weeks Act authority had to be acquired and paid for on a per-acre basis, a formal survey of each tract was necessary before it could be recommended for purchase. Survey work on the tracts offered during the early years was difficult, time-consuming, and costly. Many were remote and inaccessible, steep, and covered with dense undergrowth. Before the land examiners came to cruise the Gennett tract in northern Georgia, for example, Gennett warned them that it would take at least 10 days to go over the tract and that it would be very difficult to get accommodations, "and in some portions of the tract, it will be absolutely impossible."[16]

Most of the offered tracts had never been surveyed before, and often the owners had only a general awareness of their boundaries, as the letters and reports of the first survey teams recurringly attest. Thomas Cox, Survey Examiner in Georgia, wrote in his January 1914 report, "Tracts difficult to locate as owners do not know anything definate [*sic*] of corners." In surveying the Vanderbilt lands of the Pisgah Unit in 1914, James Denman wrote, "no one either in Vanderbilt employ or otherwise seems to know much about the location of their lands on the ground."[17] Indeed, sometimes lot descriptions were based on tree lines that no longer existed; in these cases, surveyors persuaded adjacent landowners to establish *ad hoc* corners and sign an agreement accordingly.[18]

Surveying for early Forest Service acquisitions in the Southern Appalachians even required surveying a county line for the first time. The boundary between Swain and Macon Counties, N.C., established in 1871, had never actually been surveyed; essentially it followed clear natural or man-made boundaries, except for an arbitrary line between the Nantahala and Little Tennessee Rivers. In June 1914 the Forest Service surveying party established the boundary on the ground.[19]

Figure 26.—Camp of forest boundary survey crew on lands of Little River Lumber Company, Great Smoky Mountains, Blount County, Tenn., in December 1911, just 9 months after passage of the Weeks Act. This area is now in the National Park, but then was scheduled to be in a new National Forest. (NA:95G-10071A)

Much of the surveyor's work involved resolving tract overlappings where lands were claimed by more than one owner. In parts of the southern mountains, early grants had been made and titles transferred—to the apparent ignorance or indifference of the current occupant. Many of the old grants in the Mt. Mitchell area were found so vague in description that they were almost impossible to locate.[20] Throughout the area lands had been claimed and counterclaimed with both parties often sharing the property in ambiguous peace until the Forest Service surveyors arrived. Upon initial survey of the Vanderbilt tract, at least seven claimants refused to acknowledge Vanderbilt title. An extreme example of the earnestness of such claimants is the Dillingham family, who claimed several sections of the Big Ivy Timber Co. lands near Mt. Mitchell. According to a 1914 leter from Thomas Cox, examiner of surveys, Ed Dillingham went so far as to build a fence around one of his Big Ivy claims, and "has gone to every length to forceably stop the survey and have me arrested."[21]

An unusual example of overlapping claims to ownership involved the Olmstead lands in the Nantahala Purchase Unit. In 1868, the Treasury Department had taken possession of the lands of E.B. Olmstead (not to be confused with Frederick Law Olmstead) who was convicted of embezzling funds from the U.S. Post Office Department. In 1912 these lands were transferred from Treasury to the Secretary of Agriculture. No Federal survey of the lands had occurred until the Forest Service came in 1913; before then, the "local populace were not generally aware of the Government's claim to ownership."[22] Consequently, there were scores of claims against portions of the land, 22 of which were not resolved until passage of the Weaver Act in 1934 which granted possession to all claimants and thus assured them of payment, and the U.S. Government of *bona fide* deeds.[23]

Perhaps the most serious example of overlapping claims involved the Little River Lumber Co. lands in Tennessee. Failure to established clear title eventually led to the

abolishment of the Smoky Mountains Purchase Unit, and thus influenced dramatically the course of history in the area.

As early as 1912, surveyors and examiners were cruising the large acreage of the Little River Lumber Co. and nearby smaller tracts of the Smoky Mountains unit. Several small landowners offered to sell right away, and by 1913 their proposals had been accepted by the National Forest Reservation Commission. By 1915 at least 8,050 acres in five separate units of the Little River Lumber Co. had also been approved for purchase.[24] However, no land in the Smokies was ever actually purchased. Titles predating occupancy by the Little River Lumber Co. were simply difficult, if not impossible, to clear to the Government's satisfaction. With the onset of World War I, the company, unable to wait for Federal title searches any longer, cancelled its offers of sale, and the purchase unit was subsequently rescinded.[25] With Forest Service interest in the area abandoned, in 1923 a movement began to promote the idea of a National Park in the Great Smoky Mountains.

Reactions to Federal Purchase

From the evidence available, it appears that the initial reaction of the people in the Southern Appalachians to the coming of the Forest Service was generally favorable in spite of some skepticism and distrust. Two written comments on early popular reaction to Weeks Act purchases came from Forest Service personnel. D.W. Adams, timber cruiser, wrote to Forester William Hall in September 1911, from Aquone, N.C., "The people generally, particularly on the Mt. Mitchell Unit, have been decidedly skeptical as to the purchase of lands by the government . . ." Verne Rhoades, forest examiner, a graduate of the Biltmore School of Forestry, and later the first supervisor of the Pisgah National Forest, writing of the Unaka area in February 1912, reported that "The people in general regard most favorably the movement on the part of the government to purchase these mountain lands."[26]

The large number of tracts quickly offered for sale testifies to a generally favorable reaction. For timber companies, sale to the Government offered an opportunity to rid themselves of cutover, useless land, or lands which, even though finely timbered, were inaccessible or steep. Sale to the Government thus offered payoffs for their speculation and risk and a lightening of their tax burdens. For small landholders, Forest Service acquisitions offered an undreamed-of profit on lands that no one else would pay for. The "lands nobody wanted"—if they were in the right place—were wanted by the Forest Service.[27]

The prices paid by the Forest Service were respectably high, especially in the early years. The Federal purchase process itself contributed to high land values. As O.D. Ingall, Forest Service agent, wrote from Andrews, N.C., in May 1912, "the government ties up the land for months and puts the owner to a great deal of trouble and expense." Besides delay, the owner might lose acreage through the careful surveys required and be put to considerable expense to prove title to the government's satisfaction.[28]

In addition, in the early years of acquisition, Forest Service survey teams and timber cruisers sometimes assessed tracts which had not yet been formally offered for sale. In such a case, a wily owner, whose corners had been set and boundaries located at no personal expense, would hold out for a higher price—figuring that the Government would not want to lose the cost of survey.[29] Initially, too, a number of land agents operated throughout the area to obtain a fee for boosting a seller's price. William Hall, Assistant Forester, wrote in September 1911:

> The effect of the work of agents in offering lands under the Weeks Act is in most cases bad. They tend to increase the price of land above what it ought to be and will make it difficult for the government to buy at a reasonable price.[30]

As early as April 1911, the National Forest Reservation Commission discussed the role of agents and determined to deal only with owners themselves. Hall warned his land acquisition teams to "be on . . . guard at all times" against such unscrupulous agents.[31]

Although there were some landowners who, in ignorance, asked too low a price and others who sacrificed land for sure money, on the whole, the southern mountaineers had become sophisticated negotiators and traders. The willingness of small landowners to sell their land depended in part on whether other owners in the area had already sold. R. Clifford Hall, forest assistant, noted in 1913 that it required "much time and patience" to deal with the "wavering" small landowners of the Hiwassee area of extreme northern Georgia.[32] A year later he found negotiation even more difficult:

> The small owners of this section are very hard to deal with, as all the 'traders' have sold out to the various buyers that have scoured the country. Where the land is so located adjacent to what we are getting as to be especially desirable, and the owner talks as if he might sell but will not sign a proposal, we should make the valuation now in order to be able to name a price and get a legal option without delay when he happens to be in a 'trading humour'.[33]

It was in considering such problems of price negotiation that the National Forest Reservation Commission discussed the use of condemnation. Although the Weeks Act did not make a specific provision for condemnation, the Commission assumed it had such authority.[34] William Hall, for one, felt that if the people know condemnation was a possibility, they would be more willing to sell at reasonable prices.[35] Nevertheless, the Commission determined it was "inexpedient" to condemn—except to clear title—and best to proceed with purchase as far as possible. This early decision by the Commission is a policy still followed by the Forest Service.

In spite of the generally high prices offered for the earliest purchases, as time went on and the delays between offer and survey, or between recommendations for purchase and payment, lengthened, the acquisition process could bring frustration, disillusionment, and anger. In the Smoky Mountains Unit, for example, Forest Examiner Rhoades noted in 1913 that several small landowners, who had been asked to discontinue milling operations while their tracts were being considered by the Commission, were becoming "restless and dissatisfied."[36] Similarly, a mill operator on the Burke McDowell tract near Mt. Mitchell, who had suspended operations during examination and survey, was reported to be "exceedingly reluctant to quit manufacturing timber and . . . very impatient with McDowell . . ."[37] In 1915, in the Mt. Mitchell area, the elderly J.M. Bradley had been waiting for his money for so long that his relatives "were afraid that he would lose his mind over it."[38] J.W. Hendrix of Pilot, Ga., threatened in 1914 to stop the sale of his over-350 acres if the Forest Service did not proceed more rapidly:

> I am in neede of money and I am ready to close the deal. I am going to give you a little time to cary out this contract, and if you do not take the matter up in a reasonable length of time, I will cansel the sale of this property. [*sic.*][39]

And Miss Lennie Greenlee of Old Fort, N.C., wrote to Ashe that:

> the time-killing propensities of this band of surveyors is notorious, although were the saying reported to them they would revenge themselves by doubling the gap of time between them and my survey.[40]

The First National Forests

As stated in the Secretary of Agriculture's Report to Congress in December 1907, the original thought behind the establishment of the eastern National Forests was that 5 million acres in the Southern Appalachians and 600,000 acres in the White Mountains should be acquired. By 1912, these numbers still appeared appropriate, but it was determined unnecessary to purchase all the land within any given purchase unit; between 50 and 75 percent was considered enough.[41] According to Henry Graves' *Report of the Forester* for 1912:

> There is every reason to believe that the purpose of the government may be fully subserved by the acquisition of compact bodies each containing from 25,000 to 100,000 acres well suited for protection, administration and use.[42]

Four Million Acres Acquired by 1930

Purchase of land for National Forests in the East continued fairly steadily throughout the two decades of 1911-31. By the end of fiscal year 1930, 4,133,483 acres had been acquired under the Weeks Act. The first Weeks Act appropriation of $11 million lasted for 8 years, through fiscal year 1919; only

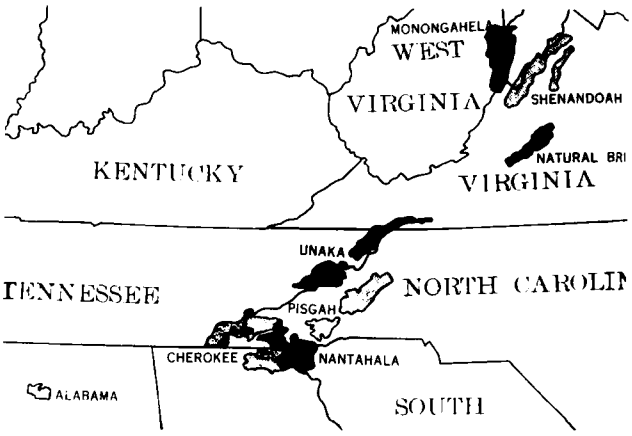

Figure 27.—The National Forests of the Southern Appalachians in 1921. The Pisgah was established in 1916, the Shenandoah, Natural Bridge, and Alabama in 1918, and the Nantahala, Monongahela, Cherokee, and Unaka all in 1920. (Forest Service map and photo)

$600,000 was appropriated in 1920, and $1 million in 1921. Throughout the 1920's, typically about one-half of what the Forest Service requested was appropriated.[43] The number of acres purchased in any given year was primarily dependent upon funds available; there always were, and still are (1982), more tracts offered for sale than appropriated money could purchase.

In the Southern Appalachians, Weeks Act acquisitions were heaviest between 1911 and 1916, when some of the largest tracts of today's Pisgah, Nantahala, Chattahoochee, Cherokee, and Jefferson Forests were purchased. Most land was purchased in large tracts of more than 2,000 acres. Indeed, some 60 percent of the Nantahala National Forest was acquired from only 22 sellers, mostly lumber companies or land investment concerns. About 80 percent of the Pisgah National Forest was purchased from 29 sellers. The largest tract from a single owner was its nucleus of 86,700 acres from the Biltmore Estate.

Vanderbilt had had his lands preliminarily surveyed shortly after the Weeks Act passed. Purchase negotiations began in 1913, when members of the National Forest Reservation Commission, Chief Forester Graves, and other Forest Service personnel visited the Biltmore estate and Vanderbilt's hunting lodge on Mt. Pisgah. Vanderbilt died before a purchase agreement was reached, but after his death, his widow, Edith Vanderbilt, consummated the sale on May 21, 1914, for $433,500. This vast, cohesive tract became the core of the first National Forest in the Appalachians, the Pisgah, on October 17, 1916. With a gross acreage of over 355,000, only 53,810 acres had actually been purchased in 1916, but an additional 34,384 acres had been approved. On November 7, 1916, President Wilson proclaimed Pisgah a National Game Preserve as well.

Figure 28.—Mountain farm with expanded log house surrounded by forest, Carter County, Tenn., on Unaka National Forest, September 1926. This area became part of the Cherokee National Forest in 1936. The old Unaka Forest was established in July 1920 after several years as a Purchase Unit. (NA:95G-212633)

In 1918, the Natural Bridge National Forest was created in western Virginia. Then, in 1920, four more National Forests were proclaimed in the Southern Appalachians: the Boone in North Carolina (January 16, 1920); the Nantahala in North Carolina, Georgia, and South Carolina (January 29, 1920); the Cherokee in Tennessee (June 14, 1920); and the Unaka in Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia (July 24, 1920). Of these, only the Nantahala and Cherokee names remain: the Boone was joined to the Pisgah in March 1921; the Unaka was partitioned among the Pisgah, Jefferson, and Cherokee in 1923 and 1936. Until 1936 when the Chattahoochee and Sumter National Forests were proclaimed, the boundaries of the forests and purchase units in the area were somewhat fluid.

After the establishment of the first five National Forests in the southern mountains, the National Forest Reservation Commission turned its attention over the next decade to other eastern areas. Noticeable progress having been made toward protection of the headwaters of navigable waterways, the Commission broadened its perspective; by 1923 the members felt the National Forest system should be extended to all Eastern States, "to arouse the interest of landowners in these states in managing their properties for permanent timber production."[45] After a select Congressional Committee headed by Senator Charles McNary and Representative John Clarke met in 1923, this idea became embodied in the Clarke-McNary Act of 1924, which expanded the Weeks Act.[46] This act allowed purchases outside of navigable river headwaters. It also expanded Federal-State cooperation in fire protection and in production and distribution of seeds and seedlings for forest planting. Under Clarke-McNary, new purchase units were established in the southern coastal plains and Great Lakes States.

On March 3, 1925, the Weeks Law Exchange Act was passed, making consolidation of existing Forests easier in times of limited funding.[47] Under the Act, the Secretary of Agriculture can accept title to lands within the boundaries of National Forests in exchange for National Forest land or timber that does not exceed the offered land in value. This authority was used increasingly throughout the 1920's and after World War II, when Reservation Commission goals vastly exceeded the funds available. Thus, lands in the Southern Appalachian mountains continued to be acquired, although after 1920 the average size of the tracts and their quality decreased.

Forest Purchases Reduce Population, Farms

By 1930 the Forest Service had been a presence in the southern mountains for almost two decades. Within the purchase units and National Forests themselves, Federal lands were interspersed with those still held in private hands in an almost patchwork pattern of landownership. Inhabitants within and adjacent to National Forest boundaries were affected not only by the land acquisition program but by the ways in which the Forest Service managed its lands.

One of the most obvious effects of the first National Forest purchases in the Southern Appalachians was a decline in population growth and a decline in both farm acreage and number of farms. Although most of the first acreage purchased was timber company-owned, hundreds of small farms were acquired as well. In areas where many small landowners sold, the decline in population growth and in number of farms was marked.

This trend was especially evident in selected counties of northern Georgia where outmigration had been occurring before 1912. Union County, for example, whose population had declined by over 18 percent between 1900 and 1910, experienced another 7 percent decline between 1910 and 1920. Rabun County, where population had declined over 11 percent in the previous decade, experienced a population growth well below the State average between 1910 and 1920. Fannin and Towns Counties likewise experienced either no growth or an absolute population loss. This trend of population decline or slowing of growth, however, was not nearly so pronounced between 1920 and 1930.

A similar slowing of population growth took place in counties of North Carolina and Tennessee where large numbers of tracts were purchased early. For example, in Polk County, Tenn., population grew by only 0.9 percent between 1910 and 1920 (the State as a whole grew by 14 percent). In Macon and Graham Counties, North Carolina, population growth was only 6 and 3 percent respectively over the same decade. Yet, in adjacent Swain County—part of the Smoky Mountains Purchase Unit where no Forest Service acquisition occurred—population grew by 27 percent.[48]

Early acquisitions for National Forests are also reflected in agricultural statistics. In Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, the number of farms increased between 1910 and 1920, but, in counties experiencing heavy National Forest purchases, the number of farms declined. In Fannin and Rabun Counties, Ga., and in Buncombe and McDowell Counties, N.C., this decline was between 11 and 13 percent. The decline in farm acreage was more dramatic. The number of acres in farms dropped 39 percent in Rabun County, Ga., 37 percent in Buncombe County, N.C., 22 percent in Fannin County, Ga., and 21 percent in North Carolina's Macon County.[49] (This trend continued between 1920 and 1930, although the percentage decline in acreage was slightly less.) Thus, at least for selected counties, in areas where Federal land acquisition was initially extensive, there was a decided change both in demographics and in the pattern of landownership and land use.

Evidence of the mountaineers' first reaction to the coming of the Forest Service, beyond the letters already cited, is almost nonexistent. For example, a search through the *Asheville Citizen* from 1910 to 1920, reveals "little local reaction to the creation of the National Forest Reserves." Indeed, Eller has concluded that "most local residents reacted indifferently to the legislation."[50] It was not until Forest Service personnel arrived in the mountains that the consequences of the Weeks Act could be understood, and even then it does not appear that the people's reactions were reflected in the local newspapers.

When Forest Service staff first appeared in the purchase units and early ranger districts, they were the object of some suspicion and distrust. Ranger Roscoe C. Nicholson, the first, and for many years, district ranger in Clayton, Rabun County, Ga., wrote about this early reaction:

> For several years the people . . . did not seem to know what to think of the government owning this land. Some of them did not like the idea of taking the land out from under taxation. Some thought they would be forced to sell their land and have to move out. Perhaps most of them thought at first that if they were stopped from burning out the woods they would never have any more free range and that the insects and other pests would destroy their crops.[51]

Figure 29.—The National Forests and proposed National Parks of the Southern Appalachian Mountains in 1930. Areas shaded with diagonal lines are the future Shenandoah National Park in Virginia, Great Smoky Mountains National Park in North Carolina and Tennessee, and Mammoth Cave National Park in Kentucky. The small black dots and squares are State forests. The Qualla Indian Reservation in the Great Smokies was later renamed the Cherokee Indian Reservation. The National Forests are little changed from a decade earlier. (Forest Service map and photo)

Figure 30.—Subsistence mountain farm homes on wagon track, surrounded by forest, in Lee County, Ky., near Kentucky River about 45 miles southeast of Winchester, in summer 1926. Lee County, like adjacent Estill County, today has little National Forest land, although much is hilly and forested. (NA:95G-214116)

Figure 31.—Tiny crude inhabited log cabin with a small window and tarpaper roof in Lee County, Ky., summer 1926. Note stoneboat and sunflower stalk in front; also water pump and privy both very close to cabin and each other. Daniel Boone (then Cumberland) National Forest. (NA:95G-214118)

Figure 32.—Log shack used as a temporary camp for Forest Service rangers and fire guards, near Silers Bald, Wayah Ranger District, Nantahala National Forest, west of Franklin, N.C., near present Nantahala Lake, in March 1916. Site was then a Purchase Unit. (NA:95G-27295A)

Many of the early rangers considered themselves highly dedicated considering the animosity they encountered. Former Forest Service supervisor Inman F. Eldredge, a graduate of the Biltmore School of Forestry, remembers that early foresters worked

> . . . in a hostile atmosphere where the settlers in the national forests . . . were against you because the Forest Service hemmed them in. The stock men were against you because you were going to regulate them and make them pay for grazing, count their cattle and limit where they could go . . .The lumbermen were against you from the lumberjack up. They thought you were a silly ass . . . because you limited their action with the axe, and the people at the top thought you were a misguided zealot with crazy notions. People who work in that atmosphere have to have tough hides—dedication.[52]

Forest Fire Control Stressed

Such dedication, and a strong sense of mission, soon produced results. One of the earlier influences of the Forest Service in the Southern Appalachians was the control of fire. Deliberate burning was a traditional method of land management in the region. Such burning usually occurred in the late fall and early spring to clear the woods of snakes and insects, to increase pasturage, and to enrich the soil. Uncontrolled fires had been noted by the first survey and examination parties in 1911, since they delayed surveys and altered land valuations. For example, E.V. Clark, an examiner in Georgia, noted a fire set on private holdings in Lumpkin County which, before being checked burned almost 100 acres of the Gennett tract. Henry Johnson, examiner in the Cherokee area, noted in March 1914 that a week had been spent in firefighting and would continue for a month, "cattle-owners and others being determined to burn the range."[53]

In general, burning was practiced by various segments of the population—the lumbermen, farmers, hunters, railroad men, and mischief makers; violators were seldom convicted, and people seemed generally indifferent to stopping the practice. Yet, as more and more Federal land was acquired, deliberate burning on adjacent or proximate lands was a matter of increasing concern to the Forest Service. One of its early goals was to practice fire control and teach its neighbors to do likewise.

Indeed the Forest Service was extremely concerned about the evils of fire. Within the Forest Service, some dissension developed during the 1930's over the use of fire as a tool of forest management. It had been demonstrated that in the southern coastal pine forests, annual burning, by removing the thick ground cover of pine needles, grass and other vegetation, and disease spores, helped the forests to regenerate and flourish. This discovery, however, was suppressed as harmful to the overall fire control effort, and the dominant official view of fire as a universal enemy to the forest prevailed.[54] There is certainly no evidence that anyone in the Forest Service suggested that annual burning of the Southern Appalachian hardwood forests was a useful management technique. The Forest Service was completely unsympathetic with the local custom of burning the mountain woods.

Fire control on National Forest lands in the Southern Appalachians began almost immediately with their establishment. Ranger Nicholson described the early fire prevention work in Rabun County, Ga.:

> Forest guards were appointed at a salary of $50 a month and went out on their tasks on horseback. There were then no towers or telephone lines. It was not until 1915 that the first telephone line was built from Clayton to Pine Mountain.[55]

Figure 33.—Forest Service ranger on top of Satulah Mountain near Highlands, N.C., using an alidade to locate on his map a forest fire to the northeast in the direction of Chimney Top Mountain on the old Savannah Purchase Unit in April 1916. Note binoculars. This area near South Carolina and Georgia became part of the Nantahala National Forest in January 1920. (NA:95G-27296A)

Figure 34.—Pisgah National Forest officer using a portable telephone hooked up to a newly installed Forest Service field line. Note wire hanging down from the overhead wire strung through the woods. The Pisgah was still a Purchase Unit when photo was taken in April 1916; it was officially established as the first purchased National Forest in the United States in October 1916. (NA:95G-27361A)

Figure 35.—A mounted Forest Service firefighter carrying hay rakes and a brushhook on his way to a forest fire on the Pisgah National Forest in 1923. (NA:95G-176511)

The rangers generally enrolled several local men to serve as forest guards and firefighters. These men helped to spread the new idea of fire control throughout the community. The Forest Service spent nearly $100,000 for fire control in the Smoky Mountains Purchase Unit before it was rescinded. Local firefighters, construction crews, and trail builders were hired. A fire tower was built at Rich Mountain, near Hot Springs, now in the Pisgah National Forest, and a preliminary network of trails constructed.[56]

One of the main provisions of the Weeks Act was to establish a system of Federal-State cooperation to prevent and control forest fires. The South was the most deficient area of the United States in organized fire protection. When the Weeks Act was passed, no Southern Appalachian State had passed a fire protection law. The Weeks Act, by providing Federal funds (about $2,000 in the early years) to match State funds to support qualifying fire protection programs, thus encouraged legislatures to meet Federal standards.

Figure 36.—Four-man crew on way to forest fire on railroad handcar, with various hand tools including pulaski, axes, pitchforks, canvas bucket, and lantern. Pisgah National Forest, N.C., 1923. (NA:95G-176444)

Figure 37.—Mounted Forest Service ranger, Lorenzo Jared, on Green Ridge, Bald Mountains, in French Broad District, Pisgah National Forest, using field glasses to look for signs of smoke of forest fires. Spot is near Hot Springs, N.C., and Tennessee State line, in spring 1930. (NA:95G-238056)

Kentucky revamped its forest fire laws in 1912, appointed a State Forester, and began receiving Weeks Act fire protection funds; its first forest fire protection association was organized in Harlan County in 1914. Virginia appointed a State Forester in 1914; in 1915 fire patrols were started in several far western counties (on lands all of which later became part of the Jefferson National Forest), and the State began receiving Weeks Act fire funds. In 1915 North Carolina passed a new fire law, appointed a State Forester, formed its first fire protection association, and began receiving Weeks Act fire funds. Tennessee hired a forester in 1914, but did not begin receiving Weeks Act fire funds until after it organized a Bureau of Forestry in 1921.[57] After the Clarke-McNary Act provided expanded grants-in-aid for fire protection programs, Georgia in 1925 and South Carolina in 1928 developed State fire control systems.[58]

From available accounts of the period, Forest Service efforts to control and prevent fires in the southern mountains began to show results quite early. In 1920, the National Forest Reservation Commission minutes claimed a "tremendous improvement" in forest cover and regularity of stream flow. "After seven years the effects of the stoppage of fires were beginning to show on several Forests."[59] Nevertheless, throughout the next decade, firefighting continued to engage the activities and funds of most Southern Appalachian forest supervisors.

'Home-Grown' Rangers Do Best

How were the mountaineers persuaded not to burn? According to an early ranger, "it took a great deal of educational work with lectures at schools, moving pictures, and literature to overcome this practice."[60] The effort was a gradual one which evolved as a system of trust developed between the Forest Service and the mountain people. This system was often founded upon the selection and placement of rangers and forest technicians who had grown up in the mountains and knew them well. As the Forest Service *Use Book* of 1915 states, "The most successful rangers are usually those who have been brought up in timber work or on ranches or farms, and who are thoroughly familiar *through long residence*, with the region in which they are employed."[61]

A classic example of a local resident who became an outstanding ranger was W. Arthur Woody, native of northern Georgia, who started as a laborer in 1912 and became a district ranger there July 1, 1918. He retired in 1945. Known for his accomplishment of restocking the forest with deer and protecting wildlife, Woody was also renowned for his ability to get along with the mountaineers of his home. Woody enlisted local boys to help watch for and fight fires and resorted to his own methods of punishing incendiarists. His sons, Clyne and Walter, who also became foresters, as did a nephew and grandson, tell the tale of Woody tracking a fire-setting turkey hunter with a bloodhound, jailing him, and then returning him to the scene of the fire, whereupon the hunter finally confessed.[62]

Figure 38.—Lorenzo Jared, French Broad District Ranger, Pisgah National Forest, N.C., talking over field telephone at Butt Mountain Lookout near Tennessee State line, spring 1930. (NA:95G-238057)

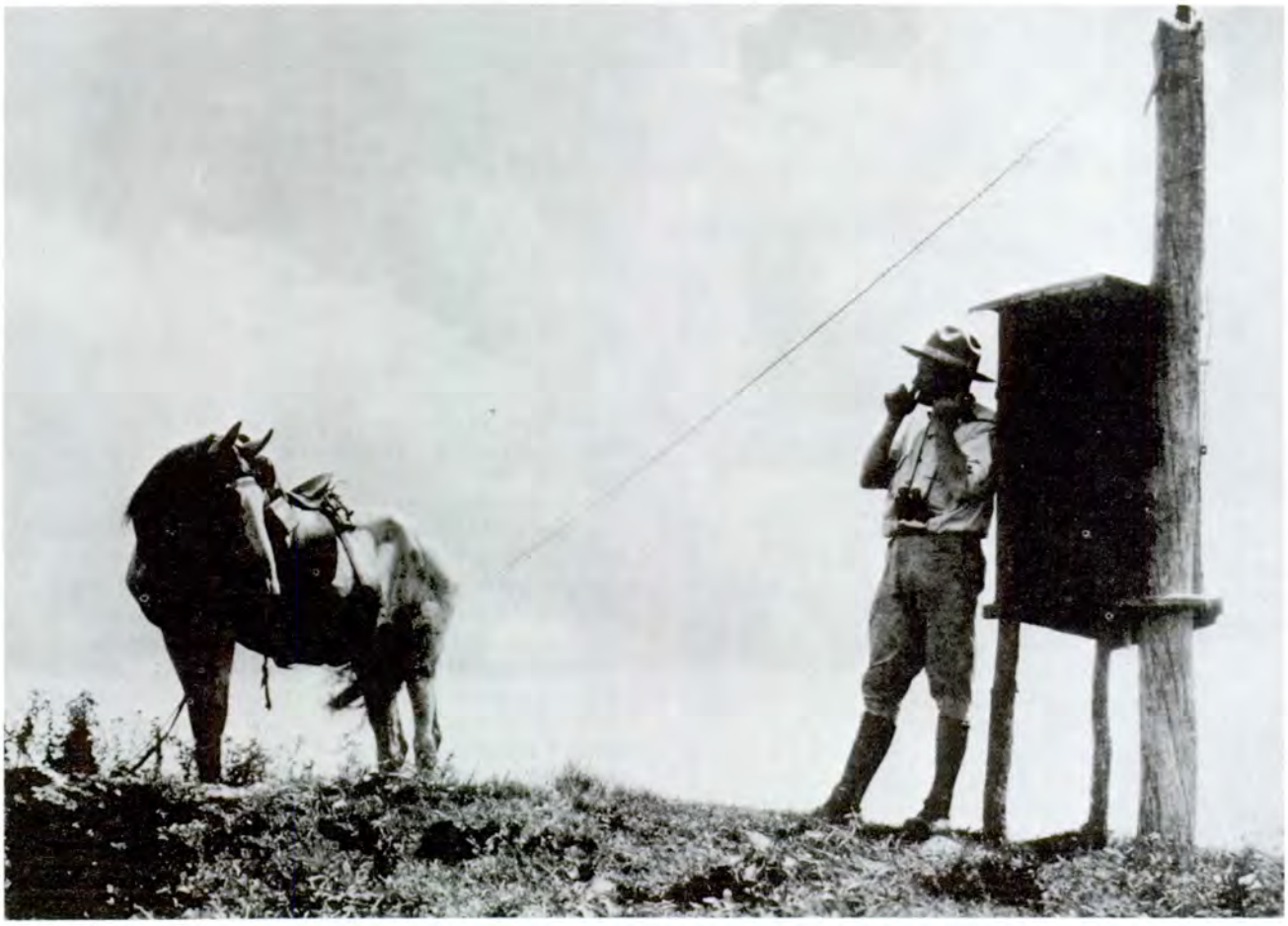

Figure 39.—William Arthur Woody, a real-life legendary Forest Service figure in North Georgia all his adult life. Native to the mountains, he was the senior ranger on the Toccoa and Blue Ridge Districts, Cherokee and Chattahoochee National Forests, from 1918 to 1945. This is an April 1937 photo. (NA:95G-344061)

Ranger Nicholson, of Rabun County, Ga., also employed a bloodhound. Former Regional Forester J. Herbert Stone remembers "Ranger Nick's" special fire prevention program:

> One of the firebugs whom Nick had had his eye on up in that area, Rabun County, had been setting fires each year in the spring to get the country in shape for his stock. The year after the bloodhound's reputation had gotten around, a friend of his asked if he's going to burn the woods that year and he says, "No sir, not me," he says, "I don't want any bloodhound tearing the seat out of my britches." The result was that the fire record for that particular drainage improved tremendously.[63]

Early rangers and foresters hoped, by example, not only to stop the deliberate burning but to encourage the local inhabitants and timber concerns to practice enlightened silviculture and forest conservation as well. As W.W. Ashe has written, "stimulating private owners . . . in developing and applying methods of management" to cutover lands was one of the main purposes of acquiring eastern forests.[64] Evidence suggests that this campaign may not have been so successful as the one against fire.

Throughout the South, the lumber industry as a whole declined after 1909, as small, portable sawmills replaced the large, stationary mills. Many once thriving mill towns had been abandoned as the forests nearby were cut over. In Georgia, for example, the number of lumber mills declined by two-thirds between 1909 and 1919.[65] In North Carolina, over the same decade, the number of lumbering establishments did not decline, but the number of wage earners employed in lumbering and the timber products industry declined by nearly 25 percent.[66]

Logging, of course, continued on National Forest land, managed with an eye toward preservation and profit, sometimes on a large scale. The Carr Lumber Co., for example, extensively logged the Pisgah Forest under a 20-year contract which had been signed by Louis Carr and the Vanderbilts in October 1912. However, National Forest timber sales generally favored small concerns and individual operators. Many such sales were for fence posts, crossties, and tanbark, and in the early years were often made for under $100.[67]

Figure 40.—A dramatic scene of devastation on the slopes of Mt. Mitchell, N.C., after destructive logging and numerous resulting fires, in June 1923. This was typical of the Southern Appalachians then. (NA:95G-176379)

Heavy Timber Cutting Continues

The influence of the Forest Service in controlling timber cutting on private land was less decisive. Certainly, in Kentucky, where no Federal purchases were made until 1933, heavy timber cutting continued throughout the 1920's, partly because many stands in eastern Kentucky did not become really accessible, or economically feasible to log, until that period. In areas where the National Forests had been established, in Tennessee, Georgia, and North Carolina, large-scale destructive lumbering continued. Forester William Hall noted in 1919:

> In most of the larger timber operations in the Southern Appalachians, there has been no change in former methods of cutting except to make the cutting heavier as a result of higher lumber prices.[68]

When the Weeks Act was passed, considerable animosity existed between many local lumbermen and Government foresters. To some extent this animosity can be attributed to the ideological and practical differences between lumbering and forestry which persisted, despite the teachings of Carl Schenck and Austin Cary. As Forester Inman Eldredge stated in his reminiscences of early Forest Service days, many foresters had little experience in using the woods and disparaged those who did:

> You produced the timber and cared for it, and then you turned it over to the roughnecks to cut it up and ship it around. There wasn't any science or art to it . . .[69]

Reciprocally, lumbermen regarded early forestry as frivolous and foolish, in Inman's words, "a parlor game." Inman felt that bad feelings between lumbermen and Pinchot's foresters had been created by the foresters' intense, but sincerely expressed, propaganda against the "timber barons."[70]

Certainly, Andrew Gennett resented the picture he felt was painted of lumbermen as "crooks and rascals," who had

"wasted and devastated the vast areas of the forests in the United States."[71] In 1926, Gennett, in cooperation with Champion and Bemis Lumber, bought up a vast acreage in western Graham County, N.C., from an English syndicate, and continued lumbering in his new operations in Clay County, N.C.; Beattysville, Ky., and Ellijay, Ga.[72] Throughout the 1920's, lumbering companies, such as Champion, Sunburst, Andrews, and Hutton and Bourbonnais, continued to clearcut and "high-grade" (cull) huge tracts, many of which, once depleted, were sold to the Forest Service in the mid-1930's.

Knowledge that the Forest Service would eventually buy their lands may have dissuaded some companies from practicing sound silviculture. Nevertheless, by the end of the 1920's, the relationship between the Forest Service and the lumber companies was improving. The lumbermen were beginning to trust the motives of the Federal foresters and were learning to turn Federal purchasing to their advantage. Gennett never cut his large tract in western Graham County, N.C., but sold it to the Forest Service in 1936 and 1937 for the unusually high price of $28.00 per acre. The 19,225-acre tract, containing some of the largest and most varied "virgin" timber in the Southern Appalachians, was steep and inaccessible, and, thus, too costly for Gennett to log. In 1936, 3,800 acres of the tract was set aside as the Joyce Kilmer Memorial Forest (since enlarged and now called Joyce Kilmer-Slickrock Wilderness), which the Forest Service pledged to protect as a place of inspiration and beauty.[73]

Federal land acquisition in the southern mountains had an initial, and continuing, effect on the tax base of all counties in which lands were purchased. Since all lands passing into Federal ownership were no longer taxable, a given county's property tax income was reduced by varying percentages. However, the Weeks Act provided that 5 percent of the receipts from all timber sales on National Forest land within a county went to its treasury for schools and roads. Verne Rhoades, forest examiner, noted in his February 1912 report on the Unaka Purchase Unit that:

> The question of taxation bothers many of . . . the people, especially the smaller owners, who think they will have to meet higher taxes when the land purchased by the government is removed from the total acreage of assessable property.[74]

County Rebate Raised to 25 Percent

The National Forest Reservation Commission considered the issue in 1911, and decided to study the extent to which local communities might be affected. In 1913 the group recommended that 5 percent be changed to 25 percent to provide greater compensation for the tax loss. Whether there was widespread local awareness of the possible loss of tax revenue from Federal acquisition in the early years is not apparent. Some counties undoubtedly suffered a loss by the change, although of those that did, the increase in small timber sales and Federal employment may well have balanced such loss.

Figure 41.—This huge burned-out yellow-poplar tree, a casualty of repeated forest fires, was long found useful by campers for shelter. Its size is indicated by man on horseback. Photo was taken on Little Santeetlah Creek in Unicoi Mountains, N.C., near Tennessee State line, in March 1916. This area is now part of the Joyce Kilmer-Slickrock Wilderness (formerly Joyce Kilmer Memorial Forest) in the Nantahala National Forest. (NA:95G-27294A)

The Forest Service, even in the earliest years, was a relatively generous employer. When the first survey teams arrived in 1911 and 1912, local men were hired as assistants. When district rangers arrived, men were recruited for fire watching, firefighting, trail building, and the like. Thus, although land sales to the Government often hastened outmigration as former landowners moved to towns for industrial employment, enough new jobs were also created in the forests to occupy both those who remained as tenants on Federal lands and those who lived on adjacent farms.[75]

Many rangers believed they had good relationships with the mountain people. Rangers and forest technicians often became community leaders and friends whom the local people learned to trust. J. Herbert Stone, who came to the Nantahala in 1930 as a technical assistant to the Forest Supervisor, testifies to the goodwill that the Forest Service felt had been built:

> . . . so the relationships and the cooperation received from the people throughout the mountains was very fine. There were of course a few that would want to set fires and who would become provoked when they didn't get just what they wanted, but in the main the relationships between the people and the leaders of the communities was all that could be expected by the time I got there.[76]

In other ways, early Federal land acquisition and land management practices had a more subtle effect. The Forest Service introduced to the Southern Appalachians an element of culture and education which was basically northeastern and urban. In 1919 William Hall went so far as to claim:

> . . . improved standards of living are coming in. Homes are kept in better repair. Painted houses and touches of home adornment are to be observed. Money is available for better food and clothing. The life is different. The people are different. Yet it must be remembered that these are the genuine Appalachian mountaineers who, until a few years ago, had no outlet for their products and none for their energies except the manufacture of moonshine liquor and the maintenance of community feuds.[77]

In spite of Hall's patronizing tone and reliance on the mountaineer stereotype to make his point, the Forest Service was providing leaders who began to earn the respect and loyalty of many local inhabitants and to effect lasting changes in the social and economic structure of mountain life.

Reference Notes

(In the following notes, the expressions "NA, RG 95, FS, OC, NFRC" means National Archives, Record Group 95, Records of the Forest Service, Office of the Chief and Other General Records, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1976, Series 27. "LA" means Division of Land Acquisition, General Correspondence, Exchange, Purchase, Donation, or Condemnations, Region 8. See Bibliography, IX.)

1. The National Forest Reservation Commission was composed of three Cabinet members, two Senators appointed by the President of the Senate, and two Congressmen appointed by the Speaker of the House. The first such Commission members were Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War; Walter Fisher, Secretary of Interior; James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture; John Walter Smith, Senator from Maryland; Jacob H. Gallinger, Senator from New Hampshire; William Hawley, Congressman from Oregon; and Gordon Lee, Congressman from Georgia.

2. NA, RG 95, Office of the Chief, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, Work of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1933, p. 2.

3. NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC, "Lands of Andrew and N.W. Gennett," June 19, 1911.

4. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys, Georgia. Andrew Gennett to W. L. Hall, May 28, 1912.

5. "The National Forests and Purchase Units of Region Eight," Forest Service unpublished report (Region 8, Atlanta, Ga., January 1, 1955), p. 30, copy in Regional Office.

6. Telephone interview with Walter Rule, Public Information Officer, National Forests of North Carolina, Asheville, N.C., September 19, 1979.

7. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examination, North Carolina, William Hall to R. W. Shields, January 19, 1912, Correspondence, Examination, North Carolina.

8. "The National Forests and Purchase Units of Region Eight," p. 3, Region 8 report, January 1, 1955, copy in Regional Office, Atlanta, Ga.

9. NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC, "Lands of Andrew and N. W. Gennett."

10. "Lands of Andrew and N. W. Gennett," p. 41.

11. NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC, Minutes of the National Forest Reservation Commission, February 14, 1912.

12. "The National Forests and Purchase Units of Region Eight," p. 41, Region 8 report, January 1, 1955, copy in Regional Office.

13. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Verne Rhoades, "Report on the Unaka Area in Tennessee and North Carolina," February, 1912, pp. 2-4, 10.

14. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Tennessee, 1913, W. W. Ashe to H. L. Johnson, August 14, 1913.

15. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Tennessee, 1912, Rowland F. Hemingway to the Forester, May 1, 1912.

16. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys, Georgia, 1911-15, Andrew Gennett to W. L. Hall, June 5, 1912.

17. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys, 1911-15, Thomas Cox, Survey Report, January, 1914; James Denman to Assistant Forester, July 21, 1914.

18. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys, 1912-14, E. V. Clark to the Forester, April 7, 1912.

19. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys, 1911-15, "Report on Establishment and Survey of Macon-Swain County Line Between the Shallow Ford of the Little Tennessee River and A Point on the Nantahala River."

20. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys, 1911-14, Mt. Mitchell, Diffenbach to the Forester, July 19, 1912.

21. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys, 1911-14, Mt. Mitchell, Thomas A. Cox to the Assistant Forester, August 17, 1914.

22. The Olmstead Lands, National Forests of North Carolina, Asheville, N.C., "Summary of Reports on Possession Claims on E. B. Olmstead Grants."

23. The Weaver Act of June 14, 1934, was passed solely to adjust the Olmstead claims (37 Stat. 189, 16 U.S.C. 4776). By reason of "long continued occupancy and use thereof," parties were entitled, with the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture and approval of the Attorney General, "to convey by quitclaim deed . . . interest of the U.S. therein." Olmstead Lands file, National Forests of North Carolina.

24. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Supervision, Smoky Mountains, 1911-15, W. W. Ashe, Memorandum for District Seven, February 18, 1915.

25. Jesse R. Lankford, Jr., "A Campaign for a National Park in Western North Carolina," p. 46. (See Bibliography, III.)

26. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, D. W. Adams to Forester Hall, September 1911; Rhoades, "Report on the Unaka Area."

27. William E. Shands and Robert G. Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted* (Washington: The Conservation Foundation, 1977).

28. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Nantahala, O. D. Ingall to the Forester, May 10, 1912.

29. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys, Georgia, Thomas A. Cox to Assistant Forester, February 13, 1914.

30. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, North Carolina, William Hall to D. W. Adams, September 15, 1911.

31. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Valuations/Examinations, W. L. Hall to R. C. Hall, July 17, 1911.

32. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, R. Clifford Hall to Assistant Forester, May 4, 1913.

33. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Purchase, Georgia, R. Clifford Hall to Assistant Forester, April 4, 1914.

34. NA, RG 95, Office of the Chief, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, Minutes of the National Forest Reservation Commission, November 1, 1911.

35. NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC, "Work of the National Forest Reservation Commission," p. 3.

36. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Supervision, Smoky Mountains, Verne Rhoades to Assistant Forester, August 6, 1913.

37. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, North Carolina, D. W. Adams to William Hall, September 2, 1911.

38. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Mt. Mitchell, Robert J. Noyes, Forest Examiner, June 23, 1915.

39. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Georgia, J. W. Hendrix to Forest Service, July 17, 1914.

40. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Mt. Mitchell, Lennie Greenlee to W. W. Ashe, December 9, 1913.

41. NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC, "Work of the National Forest Reservation Commission," pp. 2, 3.

42. Shands and Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted.* (See Bibliography, I.)

43. "The National Forests and Purchase Units of Region Eight," p. 44, Region 8 report, January 1, 1955, copy in Regional Office.

44. Data on acquired tracts of the Nantahala and Pisgah National Forests obtained from Basic Information Sheets, National Forests of North Carolina, Asheville. Pisgah was not the first, but the ninth National Forest east of the Great Plains.

45. NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC, "Work of the National Forest Reservation Commission," p. 12.

46. Clarke-McNary Act, 43 Stat. 653; 16 USC 471, 505, 515, 564-570.

47. 36 Stat. 962; 16 USC 516.

48. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, Volume I, Population* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923); and *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Volume I, Population,* 1933.

49. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, Volume VI, Agriculture* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922); and *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Volume VI, Agriculture,* 1933.

50. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers," p. 185. A search through selected county newspapers of the region confirms this finding.

51. R. C. Nicholson, "The Federal Forestry Service," in *Sketches of Rabun County History*, Andrew J. Ritchie, ed., (n.p., n.d., c. 1948), p. 359.

52. Elwood R. Maunder, "Ride the White Horse." (See Bibliography II.) Although Eldredge was a supervisor on the National Forests of Florida, his remarks are applicable to the Southern Appalachian forests as well.

53. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys/Examinations, Supervision, (Georgia), E. V. Clark to Forester, December 4, 1912; Supervision, (Cherokee), Henry Johnson to Assistant Forester, March 30, 1914.

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55. R. C. Nicholson, "The Federal Forestry Service," p. 360. (See note 51.)

56. Elizabeth S. Bowman, *Land of High Horizon* (Kingsport, Tenn.: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1938), p. 178.

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58. Schiff, *Fire and Water,* p. 17. (See note 54.)

59. NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC, Minutes of the National Forest Reservation Commission, April 8, 1920.

60. Nicholson, "The Federal Forestry Service," p. 360. (See note 55.)

61. USDA, Forest Service, *The Use Book,* 1915 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915).

62. Interview with Clyne and Walter Woody, Suches, Ga., July 12, 1979.

63. Taped interiew with J. Herbert Stone for Southern Region History Program, November 22, 1978. Made available by Sharon Young, Regional Historian, Region 8, Atlanta, Ga.

64. William W. Ashe, "The Place of the Eastern National Forests in the National Economy," *Geographical Review* 13 (October, 1912): 539.

65. Ignatz James Pikl, Jr., *A History of Georgia Forestry,* p. 17. (See Bibliography, I.)

66. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, Volume IX, Manufactures, 1919* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923).

67. William L. Hall, "Influences of the National Forests in the Southern Appalachians," *Journal of Forestry* 17 (1919): 404.

68. W. L. Hall, "Influences," p. 407.

69. Elwood R. Maunder, "Ride the White Horse." (See Bibliography, II.) Cary was a Forest Service timber expert of the Schenck type.

70. Maunder, "Ride the White Horse."

71. Andrew Gennett, *Autobiography*, p. 164. Papers of the Gennett Lumber Company, Manuscript Division, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, N.C.

72. Douglas C. Brookshire, "Carolina's Lumber Industry," 162. (See Bibliography, II.)

73. Michael Frome, *Battle for the Wilderness* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), pp. 174, 175.

74. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Verne Rhoades, "Report on The Unaka Area," p. 9.

75. William L. Hall, "Influences of the National Forests in the Southern Appalachians," *Journal of Forestry* 17 (1919): 404.

76. Sharon Young, Interview with J. Herbert Stone.

77. Hall, "Influences of the National Forests," 404.

Chapter III

The Depression and the New Deal

During the years of the Great Depression, there was a greatly increased involvement of Federal agencies in the Southern Appalachian highlands. Before the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, virtually the only Federal activities there were a forest resource survey, the purchase and management of lands for National Forests, and the searches by "revenuers" for illegal whiskey stills. The New Deal created the Tennessee Valley Authority, a program for purchase of submarginal farmlands and relocation of the farm operators, and greatly expanded public welfare and employment programs. At the same time, National Forests were enlarged and consolidated, and new National Parks developed. More people than ever before were directly affected by programs and policies of the Federal Government. The extensive social reform plans of the early New Deal years made dramatic changes in the mountains, but curtailment of these programs in 1935 and 1937 left the people of the mountains to slower and less orderly patterns of change. Some farm reforestation aid was offered by the Norris-Doxey Cooperative Farm Forestry Act of May 18, 1937 (which was superseded by the more comprehensive Cooperative Forestry Management Act of August 25, 1950), and by the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act of July 22, 1937.[1]

Agriculture, textiles, and coal are all basic to the prosperity of the mountain people. These industries were in a period of decline and stagnation all during the 1920's. Long before the rest of the Nation experienced the shock of the New York stock market crash in the fall of 1929, many mountain areas, especially the coal fields, like the Nation's farmlands, had already entered the Great Depression. With the crash came further price declines and loss of markets for the products of the southern mountains. Coal production dropped drastically and in 1933 the number of miners employed dropped to its lowest point in 25 years.[2]

The peak of timber production had passed, and large-scale logging had begun to decline even before World War I. However, with the Depression, this decline was accelerated by a rapid drop in prices for lumber and related forest products.[3] The major operator, Andrew Gennett, wrote in 1934:

> At the present time the lumber business is so disrupted that none of us know where we stand, and we are making no engagements of any kind until we find out what is going to happen.[4]

Figure 42.—Loading logs onto a truck from a roadside skidway with a steam-powered rig on rails. Spot was along the Upper Tellico River, Monroe County, Tenn., south of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, on the Cherokee National Forest, in 1937. (National Archives: Record Group 95G-354360)

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Figure 43.—Portable sawmill with circular saw powered by oil distillate, cutting white oak log. Laurel Lumber & Stave Company, Daniel Boone (then Cumberland) National Forest, Ky., August 1937. Smoke came from a burning pile of slabs. (NA:95G-365412)

The market for what lumber remained in the mountains almost disappeared. In Georgia, lumber production reached its lowest point in the 20th century in 1932. Over 1,000 sawmills, most of them small, disappeared between 1929 and 1932.[5] The picture was about the same in other southern States. Production of other forest products, acidwood, pulpwood, railroad ties, fenceposts, mine props, also dropped dramatically.

The value of the land itself declined rapidly as well. Some of this decline was due to the condition of the land. Cutover and not reforested, farmed to exhaustion, flooded by silted-up creeks and rivers, the land in many parts of the mountains was actually deteriorating. But most of the price decline was a result of the deflationary impact of the Depression. Land valued for tax purposes at $5 per acre in 1925-26 was worth $3 per acre or even less by 1934, and the possibility of finding a buyer was not likely even at the lower prices.[6]

Figure 44.—Erosion-causing cornfields planted unwisely on very steep slopes in Knott County, Ky., August 1930. Neeley's Fork near Bailey Fork, at head of Troublesome Creek, between Redbird Purchase Unit and Kentucky portion of Jefferson National Forest. Note log cabin and zigzag rail fence. (NA:95G-247048)

While large timber interests complained loudest about their losses in land value, the small landowner was also hard hit. In the mountains where the Pee Dee River rises west of Winston-Salem, N.C., over half of the farm property and a third of the forest land was tax delinquent at the height of the Depression. In some counties tax delinquency rose to 90 percent.[7]

The slack in coal mining had put another burden on the already hard-pressed agricultural lands of the Appalachian highlands. In eastern Kentucky and adjacent Virginia and Tennessee, many mountain people had left the farms to go into the mines. As the coal slump deepened, some returned to worn-out farms and steep, cutover slopes and tried to get a living once again from the soil.[8]

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Later, when the Depression began to affect all parts of the Nation, more people joined the return to the land. For years the Southern Appalachian mountains had exported people as well as timber and minerals. Thousands of southern highlanders had found new homes in mill towns and industrial cities and were scattered over much of the east-central United States. Many of these people, finding themselves unemployed and destitute, returned to old family farms, abandoned or perhaps still inhabited by elderly cousins, and sought to resume the life of their forefathers. They rechinked the old log cabin, repaired the roof a bit, planted a cornfield and garden patch, and hoped for the best. Those less fortunate "squatted" in abandoned shacks, old chicken houses and smokehouses—anything with a roof and walls. They had neither seed nor tools and little knowledge of farming or gardening. They survived on relief or they starved.

In the counties where the Daniel Boone (originally Cumberland) National Forest is now located, the situation was especially acute. Assistant Regional Forester John H. Hatton, compiling a report on the "Social Aspects of National Forest Management" in 1934, described the area:

> At the same time the population has increased in the last four or five years very rapidly, which increase depends entirely on local mountain farming . . . The conditions of the valley would not be noticed from the train but one has only to leave the highway and strike up one of the very small creeks and he finds whole sections and districts wherein not a person has sufficient supplies to support themselves above want and many are actually suffering from the need of food, clothing and medical attention. There was a time when the extremely poor had neighbors who could help them, but the neighbors' condition has become such that they can no longer render aid . . . The people are of good character, and have a certain amount of dignity and pride in the midst of direst poverty, unwilling to accept direct relief until they reach the point of actual suffering. They all prefer work rather than charity and especially the form of charity which is humiliating to them. For a good many years numbers of the small land owners and tenants after putting by their crops have sought work in factories of other States and some among settlements to work tobacco crops. They had to have this money to pay taxes and to buy articles for the winter, but the factories have been closed and other employment has practically ceased. On top of all this there has been a gradual influx from the cities and manufacturing centers of about 25% of the people who were unable to get employment and have returned to their relatives and friends in the country.[9]

Evidence that mountaineers who had earlier migrated to industrial areas returned to their former farm homes during the 1930's is abundant, though exact figures depend on the definition of Southern Appalachia used. In most of the mountain counties farm acreage remained quite stable from 1930 to 1940, but the number of farms rose significantly.[10] This fact explains why mountain people were often reluctant to sell even very poor farms during the Depression years.

Because poverty, unemployment, and economic decline existed in the Southern Appalachian highlands to a degree unsurpassed in other regions of the Naton, the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the rapid development of "New Deal" programs designed to alleviate the symptoms of the Depression inevitably had a marked impact on the region. Even before FDR's inauguration the leadership of the Forest Service saw that National Forests would be called upon to play an important role in Federal plans for relief and recovery. Forest supervisors were willing and able to put large numbers of men to work. They began to plan as soon as Roosevelt was elected how they wanted to use additional manpower to carry out longrange plans for forest improvement.[11]

Figure 45.—Ramshackle barn used as dwelling in Estill County, Ky., under special-use permit from Daniel Boone (then Cumberland) National Forest, in late summer 1939. Upper Kentucky River watershed. This county, though forested, has very little National Forest land. (NA:95G-381247)

Figure 46.—A mountain family in front of their new log cabin on Balls Fork of Troublesome Creek, Knott County, Ky., in November 1930. (NA:95G-250896)

The role of the Forest Service as a forest resources manager was greatly enlarged by the New Deal. Roosevelt gave it large sums for land purchases, which aided economic recovery in several ways. The Government was virtually the only buyer of lands; its purchases often helped the selling individuals and companies out of financial difficulties. The new National Forest land also provided thousands of jobs, mainly through the Civilian Conservation Corps, in areas that were hard hit by the Depression.

It was an ideal time to expand the forests, since land prices were low, and opposition to Federal intervention had virtually disappeared. Many who might in other times have opposed the expansion of the National Forests were happy to unload their land onto the Federal Government and salvage what they could from the economic catastrophe.

The largest single beneficiary of the expanded purchases for Natonal Forests in this period was the Stearns Coal and Lumber Co. of Stearns, Ky. After it cut and removed all merchantable timber from its large holding in the vicinity, mostly for its own mine props, and drift-mining most of the coal, its president, Robert L. Stearns, Jr., appeared before the National Forest Reservation Commission in Washington in 1937 to strongly urge expansion of the new Cumberland National Forest Purchase Unit beyond the Cumberland River to the Tennessee State line. Thus the unit would encompass the extensive Stearns coal lands in McCreary County. Stearns offered a 47,000-acre piece just logged, for an attractive price; however he reserved mineral (coal) rights. The Commission endorsed the expansion of the Purchase Unit and accepted his offer of the lands. The deed was dated December 18, 1937. (The Cumberland unit had been established by the Forest Service in 1930, and the first land purchases had begun in 1933.) It seemed a good deal to both parties. The Forest Service secured a large addition at a good price—the country was still in a Depression, and the company had removed all resources that it profitably could yet still held the rights for the residual coal, subject to Forest Service regulations on land reclamation for surface disturbances.[12]

The Forest Service, because of its already established role in the Highlands, was to play a very important part in the New Deal, but other New Deal agencies and programs came into the area and left their mark on the land and people as well.

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) arrived in force in some mountain districts in 1934. The mountain people were most affected by the Land Policy Section, which sought to acquire "submarginal" farm lands and resettle the former owners or tenants on more productive farms. Much of the land being farmed in the mountains was clearly unable to produce an adequate living for its users, and thus could be labeled "submarginal." The Land Program was shifted to the Resettlement Administration, then the Farm Security Administration and later the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, where limited funding reduced it to minor importance.

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) with its sweeping powers to reconstruct the watershed of the Tennessee River also had considerable impact on its area. The mountains at the river's source shared to some extent in TVA programs. Land was purchased, creeks dammed, lakes formed, and power plants built. Mountain communities were disrupted and rebuilt.

Two other New Deal programs—the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the concurrent development of Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the Blue Ridge Parkway—were so important that they are covered in separate chapters.

Submarginal Farm Relocation Projects: Stinking Creek

The early New Deal programs for economic recovery in agriculture were contained in the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933. The act created the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), charged with finding ways to raise the prices of staple agricultural commodities.

One method of raising prices was to curtail production by removing land from agricultural use. While some of this would be only temporary, the AAA provided an opportunity to remove poorer land permanently from agricultural use by purchasing it for other uses, such as park lands, forests, or wildlife preserves.

Land deemed unsuitable for productive farming was classified "submarginal." This classification was based on (1) an estimate of the yield per acre that could be obtained from the most appropriate crop, and (2) whether capable farmers could expect to make an adequate living from the land. Since neither of these criteria was clearly defined, and both were subject to change, the definition was flexible.[13]

With the energy characteristic of the early days of the New Deal, the AAA's Land Policy Division quickly began efforts to move people off eroded and unproductive mountain lands. The mountains, with their serious social and economic problems, seemed an ideal place to start purchasing land so that it would be removed permanently from agricultural use.

Because submarginal land purchase was shifted to various agencies during its life span, records are less complete than those of more permanent Federal activities. Efforts to trace the development of specific submarginal land purchase programs in the mountains are often unrewarding. However, in one location selected, the development of the program can be traced. In the spring of 1934 a University of Kentucky agriculture professor recommended four counties where most land being farmed was submarginal and where 80 to 90 percent of the families were on relief. He pointed out that the people of Knox, Clay, Leslie and Bell Counties were accustomed to cash income from employment off the farm which was no longer available.[14] There was no way that they could make a decent living from their lands alone, even in more prosperous times.

Since local leaders in Knox County gave evidence of some support for Federal purchase of submarginal land in their county, plans for land acquisition in the county began in the spring of 1934. The Stinking Creek watershed in Knox County

was designated as part of a proposed Kentucky Ridge Forest Project which included purchase areas in Bell and Harlan Counties as well. Since there were no plans to establish State forests in Kentucky at that time, it was hoped that the land could be turned over to the Forest Service as part of the proposed Cumberland National Forest.[15] The only drawback to this plan, from the viewpoint of local political leaders, was the fear of loss of county tax revenue if the land remained in Federal ownership.

The people of Stinking Creek accordingly began to receive visits from land acquisition agents in August 1934. Some of these agents had become familiar with the mountain country and its people while engaged in their previous jobs—locating and destroying moonshine whiskey stills during Prohibition. The identification of Federal agents as destroyers of one of the most profitable businesses in the mountains may have helped to intensify the suspicion with which the land purchase program was greeted. Some land purchase agents had to spend much time explaining the purpose of their new jobs.

The people were understandably cautious about the new program, wondering whether they would get a fair price for their land, and if they would be able to get a new farm near those of their friends and neighbors. The mountain man would agree that things were pretty bad where he was, but often concluded, "I am afeard I would not be satisfied to make a change."[16]

This caution, as one field supervisor pointed out, was not based on ignorance. They read their newspapers carefully and the men discussed Federal programs with considerable awareness. They knew that New Deal agencies had a lot of money to spend. As with most of the Southern Appalachian mountaineers, the Stinking Creek people were generally shrewd and careful traders, used to driving a hard bargain to get the most for what little they had to sell. In most cases their land was their most valuable possession. In the past it had been the basis of their economic security. They were in no hurry to sell; each waited to see what his neighbors would do.[17].

The people were emotionally attached to their homes and anxious to remain close to their relatives and neighbors, but emotional attachment does not seem to have been the most important factor in their reluctance to sign options to purchase agreements. A 1934 survey of the 631 families in Knox County whose lands were included in the Kentucky Ridge Forest Project found that 157 families were unwilling to resettle, 93 were willing to move within the county and 381 were willing to move anywhere.[18]

However, they realized that resettlement plans were vague and that the money they would get for a poor mountain farm would not buy a better farm unless they were to receive Government help in obtaining the new land. Also, those who held the best land along the creek, and whose actions were most closely watched by their neighbors, soon realized that if the Government were to purchase most of the land, then the tracts remaining in private ownership would increase in value. No one wanted to sell first and see his neighbors get better prices for their land later.

The situation was further complicated by the Kentucky custom of separating ownership of the surface of the land from ownership of the minerals beneath the soil. Land acquisition agents were not sure whether they could buy land without acquiring the mineral rights, usually to coal, and the additional right to use a portion of the land and the timber on it for mining. Many mountain people had sold the mineral rights to their land years before and retained only rights to the surface. Usually even the surface rights were limited by the right of the subsurface owner to extract the minerals by any necessary means. In February 1935 it was finally decided that the Federal Government could take options for surface rights while allowing others to own the coal and timber needed to remove the coal.[19]

The people of Knox County, moving with caution, missed their chance to sell their land to the Federal Government. Other mountain landowners in neighboring Bell County had been quicker to sign options to purchase agreements, and when funds for submarginal land purchase were cut, the available money went to those who had previously agreed to sell.

The land actually acquired was not contiguous to the Cumberland National Forest, as it was finally established, but the Federal Government retained the 14,000 acres of Bell County land as a demonstration area or "Land Utilization Project." The new Resettlement Administration, which acquired management of the AAA submarginal land program early in 1935, determined that the land could best be used for growing timber. The Forest Service was responsible for managing the land as a demonstration of good timber land management for the area. This Bell County forest land was later transferred to the State of Kentucky. It is now known as Kentucky Ridge State Forest. The Forest Service chose to concentrate its purchase efforts farther west in the Cumberland region.

Most of the originally proposed Kentucky Ridge forest area was never purchased.[20] So little land had actually been optioned that the purchase of it was given a very low priority when land acquisition funds were reduced. It was considered more important to complete projects where larger consolidated areas could be acquired.

Several other land utilization projects involving watershed improvement and retirement of submarginal land were proposed but never undertaken in eastern Kentucky.[21] The evidence is incomplete, but it is possible that political pressures resulted in the spending of limited funds in other areas of the State, where a few of the proposed projects were completed.

One long-term result of these abandoned land purchase plans, combined with the actual land purchases for the Cumberland National Forest, has been the persistent folk belief that during the New Deal the Federal Government had a secret plan to buy all the mountain land in eastern Kentucky.

The story surfaced in the summer of 1979 during a study of a proposed wilderness area in the Daniel Boone National Forest (now the name of the Cumberland). Oldtimers in the area still fear that the Forest Service is a partner in a "creeping federal land grab."[22]

The fate of the families who lived in the Bell County area actually purchased for the Kentucky Ridge Forest indicates that the mountain people on Stinking Creek may have been wise when they decided to hold onto their land. In September 1936, a resettlement report showed 115 families on the land purchased by the Federal Government. All but one of the families were tenants. Only 30 families qualified for rural resettlement. The report noted that the project area contained no farm land and that it was difficult to find good farm land in the area at a price the Government would pay. The people were right when they wondered where they would be able to find farms to replace those they were asked to sell.

Of the remaining families at Kentucky Ridge, 5 were judged mentally deficient, 15 physically unable to farm, and 25 were held to be "morally unfit" to receive help from the rural rehabilitation staff. The report concluded that:

> the remaining heads of families (40) competent to assume obligations, are a stranded industrial people, with no experience in the management of agricultural units . . . to be rehabilitated in industrial locations.[23]

The classification of mountain families as "stranded industrial people" illustrates the problem the Resettlement Administration had in dealing with them. Agriculture specialists did not see the mountain people as farmers. A corn patch and a garden scratched out of a mountain slope were not, in their eyes, a "real farm." Therefore, as rural rehabilitation, resettlement, and subsistence homestead schemes were shuffled from one agency to another during the middle period of the New Deal, it was easy to forget about the mountain people. By the end of 1936, agricultural resettlement projects in the Southern Appalachians were in limbo. Formal plans were largely abandoned. The Park Service and the Forest Service were left with the responsibility for the people who had been living on the lands they now owned.[24] The Park Service moved everyone off its lands. The Forest Service allowed people to remain as tenants.

In the Kentucky Ridge purchase area, in 1938 the local project manager was required to move the remaining people off the Land Utilization Project lands. Finally, in April 1939, he was able to report that 116 families had moved themselves without any Government aid. One family had been moved "through the efforts and personal expense of the project manager." He considered all these families to be "in the direst need of assistance," but saw little hope of any Government help for them.[25] Two additional families had moved onto the Government-owned land between 1936 and 1939.

The final result of submarginal land purchase and relocation programs in eastern Kentucky was the purchase of a few mountain farms and the eviction of the former owners and tenants. There was only one resettlement project in the area, called Sublimity, covered later in this section, and few of those whose lands were purchased by the Federal Government actually moved there.

In North Carolina the story was different because of the long established Pisgah and Nantahala Forests in that State's mountains. Both forests were expanded and consolidated during the 1930's. One important justification of these forest developments was the contribution made by the National Forests toward stabilizing the local economy. The Forest Service would provide part-time work for local farm and small community dwellers and would also make possible the continuation of employment in wood-using industries by regrowing forest on the cutover land.[26]

The AAA Land Policy Section in North Carolina tried to work closely with the Regional Forester to plan its land purchase programs. In 1934, under pressure to move quickly in the purchase of submarginal farm lands, land policy agents obtained information on the number of farms and acres of farm land within the forests and related purchase units. The Regional Forester stated that:

> Under the Forest Service purchase policy no valuation is placed upon improvements such as houses, barns, and fences, since they are of no value in the future management of the National Forests. For this reason, ordinarily small tracts which contained cultivated lands and improvements could not be purchased even though the cultivated lands were submarginal because the Forest Service could not offer a high enough price. Furthermore, under the policy which has been in effect, it would probably have been unwise to purchase a large part of the farms listed because there were no provisions made to take care of the people living upon them and in many cases these men would not secure enough for their lands to allow them to purchase good farms elsewhere.[27]

He included a table showing 3,774 farms which could be added to the Pisgah and Nantahala National Forests and 2,255 which could be made part of the Cherokee National Forest in Tennessee. The Regional Forester offered the assistance of the Forest Service in locating farms and negotiating for their purchase, since the Forest Service was eager to acquire small farms within existing forests and purchase units.

Since the AAA Land Policy Division was not to keep the land it purchased, but had to find a State or Federal agency to administer and develop it, buying land for the National Forests simplified the job, both in locating land to be purchased and in disposing of the land after acquisition.

In spite of the obvious dovetailing of interests between the Forest Service and AAA Land Policy, negotiation of a working agreement between them took over a year. Decisions had to be reached about who would survey and value the farms and how

to determine which portions would be paid for by the Forest Service and which by the AAA. The development of the Blue Ridge Parkway also affected the land situation in the North Carolina mountains. An additional complication was provided by the desire of the Cherokee Indians to benefit from the Parkway and Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Since the Cherokee Indian Reservation is located between the Nantahala forest and Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the land interests of the Indians were affected by Federal purchases.

Not until May 1935 was a Memorandum of Understanding signed between the Forest Service and the AAA Land Policy Section, by then under the new Resettlement Administration. The memorandum was too late to produce any results. In July 1935, the Land Policy Section Director for the region informed the Regional Forester that funds for land purchase had been greatly curtailed and the priorities of his organization had been changed. The Land Policy Section would therefore have to drop out of the land purchase plan just agreed upon. "We are reluctant," he wrote, "to break faith with the people who have optioned their land, but there appears to be little we can do about it."[28] Many of the farms were later acquired by the Forest Service through its regular land acquisition program.

In April 1935 the Resettlement Administration headed by "braintruster" Rexford Tugwell had been given control of the rural rehabilitation and land programs. Funding remained low. In all, only 4,441 families, nationwide, were actually resettled. Early in 1937 its successor with much of the same staff, the Farm Security Administration, took over. Again funding for the agency was low. The only project related to the Southern Appalachians was Sublimity, in Kentucky, discussed later.[29]

Later in 1937 the work was transferred to the Land Utilization Division, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. It developed several land plans for the North Carolina mountain areas during the period 1937 to 1939. Since relocation programs were not being funded adequately by the Federal Government, the plans were developed on a different premise than the submarginal land program first set up by the AAA. After 1935 it was assumed that little or no money would be available for resettlement.

An important element of the plans was the part-time employment provided by the National Forests. A great effort was made to work out plans which would make it possible for the greatest number of mountain people to remain on their lands. This desire conflicted with sound economics and good farm management practices, but the land-use planners justified their approach by concluding that the people were there, most of them wanted to stay, and there was a real need to improve their economic lot where they were. Studies showed that in North Carolina, as in Kentucky, mountain people enjoyed a comfortable standard of living when they were able to combine subsistence farming with part-time employment off the farm.[30]

Most of the studies remained in administrative file drawers. Funds were not available to carry out Federal development plans. The financial, political, and social problems they addressed were too complex for quick solution. The submarginal land and the relocation programs were curtailed before they were able to have much positive impact, but a few of their goals were achieved by the Forest Service as a byproduct of expanding the Southern Appalachian National Forests.

The Tennessee Valley Authority

The most famous and in many ways the most important of the New Deal development programs was the Tennessee Valley Authority. While the impact of TVA on eastern Tennessee as a whole was very great, most mountain people were on the fringes of the development during the 1930's. TVA made its presence felt most strongly in the mountain valleys that were flooded by its dams, including many small farms. The Tennessee River and its tributaries rise in the Appalachian Highlands, so mountain people in Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama encountered TVA as a land acquisition agency.

Unlike the Forest Service, TVA could not wait until people were ready to sell, since dams could not be completed until all of the land they would flood was acquired. To speed up the process of land acquisition, TVA developed its own procedure. As soon as the engineering staff had determined what land would be needed, the Land Acquisition Division sent out field appraisers to inspect the property. The recommendations of the field appraiser were reviewed by a committee of three, who decided upon a fair price. A TVA employee then submitted the price to the landowner. If the proposal was not acceptable to the landowner, condemnation procedures would be started immediately. This was called the "no-trading policy," since TVA would not negotiate over price with the landowner.[31] The method was efficient, and in most cases fair, but it gave the mountain people an impression of arbitrariness. They were allowed no scope for their customary bargaining.

More problems arose when the farmer attempted to find a new farm home. The owner of a small farm with a cabin and a few rough outbuildings would get little for it. If he wished to remain nearby, he would be competing with others who had also lost their homes the same way. For example, about 3,000 families were moved out of the Norris Reservoir area. Vacant farms were often almost nonexistent even before the TVA purchases. In many cases the displaced mountaineer soon used up the money he had received for his land in higher daily living expenses, and his family was without both land and money.[32]

TVA land acquisitions also markedly decreased the limited amount of good farm land available in the mountains. As one wife put it, "Now the dam water will cover all the bottoms and leave just the hog ridges for farming. That dam will just about ruin this here country."[33]

Figure 47.—Nantahala River Gorge above junction with Little Tennessee River and Fontana Lake, the Tennessee River Authority power and flood control reservoir built during World War II which borders Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Note Winding Stair Road at right, and road, railroad, and town in valley. Nantahala National Forest, Swain County, N.C., 1935. (NA:95G-310077)

One major objective of TVA land acquisition was "to leave the people . . . at least as well off as they were before TVA entered the picture."[34] This modest objective was met in some cases, but efforts to assist in the relocation of individuals and communities displaced by TVA activities were not always successful. Pressure to get the dams built limited the amount of time that could be spent in planning relocation projects, and funds for relocation assistance were limited.

Some TVA programs had positive effects on mountain people. TVA demonstration farms and reforestation projects helped to improve the use of the remaining land. Electricity generated at TVA power plants reached into some of the mountain communities, making possible a more modern way of life, including labor-saving equipment for both housewife and farmer.[35] TVA encouraged and promoted many programs for the economic improvement of all parts of the Tennessee River watershed. However, the affected communities identified TVA most clearly with dam construction and the trauma of land acquisition.

In the long run many mountain people have reaped their share of the economic development brought about by TVA. Economic developments during the war years and continuing expansion of the potential of the Valley area first recognized by TVA have contributed further economic benefits to the region. However, these benefits have rarely affected mountain communities directly, since people had to move to urban industrial centers to participate in most economic opportunities. The social and political changes that New Deal planners hoped TVA would bring failed to happen on a significant scale. TVA remained chiefly a producer of cheap fertilizer and electric power.

The TVA lakes also contributed to the slow conversion of the mountains from a place to live to a vacation or recreation area. Today children and grandchildren of mountain people who live and work in Chattanooga or Knoxville are affluent enough to own a piece of land for a second home. They spend their weekends and vacations in the mountain area where their families may once have lived.[36]

Figure 48.—Swimming and boating at Lake Winfield Scott, Tennessee Valley Authority power and flood control reservoir in the Blue Ridge Mountains of North Georgia between Dahlonega and Blairsville. Located on the Chattahoochee National Forest, it has tent and trailer camping and picnicking facilities, and private summer cottages under special-use permit leases. (Forest Service photo F-458534)

New Deal Expands National Forests

In June 1933 President Roosevelt signed an Executive Order providing $20 million to purchase more land for National Forests in the East. This was the beginning of extensive forest expansion during the New Deal. While much of this money was used to develop new National Forests in regions that had, at that time, few significant publicly owned forest areas, the older National Forests of the Appalachian region were consolidated and enlarged as well.[37] Expansion of these forests provided employment for a small army of surveyors, timber experts, land purchase agents, and their attendant assistants, clerks, and secretaries. They rented or purchased locally everything from office space to mules, and were therefore welcome in the small towns where they made their headquarters.

Although the purchase process was time-consuming, the Federal Government paid for the land it optioned. Since the National Forest Reservation Commission (NFRC) had to approve land purchases for National Forests, there was an unavoidable delay of 6 to 8 months, and sometimes it was a year or more, before legal issues related to a land purchase could be settled and payment actually made. These problems remained as serious as they had been when the initial purchases were made 20 years earlier. For this reason, it was until 1935 and 1936 that the economic impact of payments for forest purchases was actually felt. Hundreds of small landowners received their payments, thus bringing some cash into the local economies. Timber, pulpwood, mining, and land investment companies also benefited from Federal purchase of lands for which there was otherwise no market.

New National Forest land meant increased employment for local mountain people, chiefly through the Civilian Conservation Corps. Emergency Conservation Work, the parent agency of the CCC, provided $10 million from its funds for forest purchases in the East in 1934. Robert Fechner, director of the program, had concluded that money spent for increased eastern forest purchases would spare CCC the

Figure 49.—The National Forests, and Purchase Units (diagonally shaded areas), of the Southern Appalachian Mountains in 1934. Large areas are shown contemplated for addition to the National Forests, which would more than double their acreage. There is a new Purchase Unit in Kentucky, the Cumberland, which became the National Forest of that name in February 1937, and a new one in southwestern Virginia, the Clinch, which later became a Ranger District on the Jefferson National Forest. The new Sauratown Purchase Unit in North Carolina was cancelled within a year. The Shenandoah National Forest was renamed George Washington in 1932 when the National Park was formed in the same vicinity. The Natural Bridge National Forest was transferred to the George Washington in 1933. The Enoree Purchase Unit in South Carolina, plus the Long Cane (not shown) later became the Sumter National Forest. (Forest Service map and photo)

Figure 50.—The National Forests and Purchase Units of the Southern Appalachians in 1935, showing the new Purchase Units in Ohio and Indiana for the first time. (U.S. Geological Survey map; Forest Service photo)

problems and costs of transporting men from the East to the sparsely populated Western States where most National Forest land was located. One major purpose of this purchase fund, then, was to create employment.[38]

The total allotment for land purchase in 1935 was $15 million, but available funds dropped sharply in 1936. An average of $3 million per year was available nationwide from 1936 to 1941. The demands of wartime then brought about another drastic drop in forest purchase funds.

Since CCC labor was available to develop picnic areas and camp grounds, the Forest Service gave increased consideration to the acquisition of lands which would expand the recreation potential of the eastern forests. Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior and a member of the NFRC, believed, like other Interior officials before him, that all Federal recreation areas should be managed and controlled by the National Park Service. The role of the Forest Service, he said, should be confined to growing trees. In spite of his determined opposition, many land purchases were made which added to the scenic beauty of the National Forests and improved their facilities for hiking, camping, hunting and fishing.

In most cases the recreation benefits were played down and timber and watershed management functions of the land to be purchased were emphasized, largely to avoid Ickes' opposition. For example, the highest-priced piece of land in the Nantahala was purchased from the Gennett Lumber Co. in 1936 and 1937. This tract, which became the Joyce Kilmer Memorial Forest, contained a magnificent stand of virgin timber. In justifying the high purchase price, the Forest Service carefully calculated the value of the timber, though there was no intention ever to cut this unique stand.[39] The value of the tract for scientific study was also pointed out.

Most of the lands acquired were cutover or heavily culled, and purchase prices of badly damaged land were sometimes less than $2 per acre. These purchases fit more closely with the older Forest Service practices of getting the most land for the money and of restoring land best suited to timber production to its natural use. The purchase of damaged lands also provided work for the CCC and would contribute in the long run to watershed management, another original National Forest purpose.

Benefits to Counties Vary Greatly

While owners of land were often glad to see the Forest Service in the market for major purchases, two issues were raised which led some to view major expansion of the National Forests with alarm. One group was led by Austin Cary, a pioneer in the development of sound forestry practices for southern forests, especially the coastal pinelands used for turpentine production. Cary had been employed by the Forest Service for many years, but had never accepted the idea of large-scale Federal ownership of land. He wanted only small experimental tracts in Government ownership and believed, like Carl Schenck before him, that private forest owners could be convinced to manage their lands responsibly.[40]

Figure 51.—Construction work on State Route 106 on Scaly Mountain between Highlands, N.C., and Dillard, Ga., in summer 1937. Job was done under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (ERA), which became the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in 1938. (NA:95G-352573)

Cary served as a focal point for those who feared a Government takeover of the forests. A delegation from the Society of American Foresters, which addressed NFRC at its January 22, 1936, meeting, recommended that the Forest Service be permitted to purchase lands only if they were not likely to be properly developed by private owners. The key to much of their argument was a desire for special credits to permit forest owners to survive their present economic problems without having to sell their land. A Forest Service representative pointed out in response that the purchase program planned by the Forest Service would leave 90 percent of the forest lands in the Eastern United States in private ownership. Federal domination of timber growing did not appear to be a serious threat.[41]

Another issue raised at this meeting was far more important in its implication for the people of the Southern Appalachians. This was the problem of removal of land from the tax base of already hard-pressed counties. The Forest Service was well aware of the problem, especially in the areas of the mountains where it was acquiring new land. Forest Service payments to local governments in the past had been a percentage of revenue from the sale of timber. Much of the land now being acquired would take several generations to regrow, so the counties could expect no funds in the immediate future.

In response to the criticism that it was bankrupting the southern mountain counties, the Forest Service prepared a group of careful studies of the finances of representative counties. One of the counties studied was Macon County, N.C., a rural, mountainous area included in the Nantahala National Forest. In 1936, when the study was made, 43 percent of the area of the county was in Federal ownership and the rest, except an area of about 1,000 acres in the towns of Franklin and Highlands, was included in the area of proposed additions to that forest. It would require many years to restock the forest in Macon County, since its American chestnuts had suffered fatal damage from the Chinese blight and other species would have to be developed to replace them. The principal forest-related occupation in the county in 1936 was the salvage of dead chestnut stumpage.

Figure 52.—A natural area seen from Rattlesnake Rock, Cherokee National Forest, Tenn., in 1937. White pine and other conifers are mixed with northern hardwoods. (NA:95G-352605)

Although the State of North Carolina had taken over the major portion of school and highway costs, the county was, in effect, virtually without funds. Services were minimal, and the rates of tax delinquency very high. The condition of county records was so poor that an exact picture of its financial situation was impossible, but the report concluded that the county had probably gained more than it had lost through the presence of the National Forest. Benefits included road construction and maintenance, development of recreation areas, free-use permits granted to county residents, use of Forest Service telephone lines, and employment on the forest. The report estimated that the county had received directly $12,500, chiefly in money spent for roads, and that it could have collected, at most, $8,000 in taxes from the Nantahala National Forest lands if they had remained in private ownership.[42]

Another representative mountain county was Johnson County, Tenn. It was also completely rural, but its farms were somewhat better than those of Macon County. However, tax defaults were common, and the county was also in debt. About 21 percent of the county had been purchased for the Unaka National Forest (now the northern Cherokee). Almost all of the rest was included within the planned future Forest boundaries, but in 1936 it did not seem likely that more land would be purchased soon. The report, which was less thorough than the study of Macon County, concluded that the county had lost about $3,300 in taxes and gained roads worth $8,250 per year in the years immediately preceding 1936. Other benefits such as recreation areas and employment of local residents were not estimated in this report.[43]

While Johnson County would undoubtedly have liked more tax money for operating expenses, the presence of the forest did tend to reduce many county expenses. The principal county expenditures were for law enforcement, roads, and schools. For the 21 percent of the county land already in the National Forest, no county funds were spent on roads, and the need for both schools and law enforcement was low because few people lived there.

In spite of the conclusion that local government had generally not lost much or even had gained by the presence of National Forests, the Forest Service and other Federal land agencies continued to work on a plan for reform of the method of payment to local government. The problem was that income from the 25 percent payment plan fluctuated too greatly for counties to use the money in their financial planning, and that some counties got no money because National Forest land was not yet productive.[44] It proved impossible to come up with a new plan satisfactory to all concerned and it was to be many years before a basic change was made in the payment method.

While large tracts were purchased in the Southern Appalachians during the Depression, it was the purchase of smaller tracts to consolidate the Forests which had the most visible impact on the mountain people. The files of the NFRC

Figure 53.—Rocky Face Mountain, overlooking forested Mill Creek valley, near Dug Gap in Armuchee Ranger District, Chattahoochee National Forest, near Dalton, Ga., in 1941. (Forest Service photo F-411617)

Figure 54.—New Wild Acres Hotel near Mt. Mitchell, N.C., on Pisgah National Forest, operating under a special-use permit in March 1930. (NA:95G-238080)

for 1935 and 1936 bulge with the records of hundreds of individual land purchases, some as small as 8 acres, many less than 200 acres. These acquisitions benefited the forests by improving fire control, game management, prevention of pollution and trash problems and in many other ways. Local governments benefited since they no longer had to worry about providing schools and roads in the areas. (They generally had made no provision for sanitation.) The more affluent small landowners benefited by acquiring cash to start over elsewhere on better farm land. Tenants and the poorer landowners were a serious problem. Many of them remained and became tenants on the forest.

Many Small Landholders Pose a Problem

The acquisition of these small parcels of land was often a complex process. First, as two decades before, few of the landowners had a clear idea of the location of the boundaries of their land. Even where boundaries were indicated by a creek or a road, the owner often had no idea of the exact number of acres he held. The Forest Service could not tell a mountain man how much money he would receive for his farm until it had been surveyed, since the purchase price would be determined by establishing the value per acre and multiplying by the number of acres. Many people felt cheated when the survey showed that they held fewer acres than they thought, and the payment for their property was therefore smaller than they had expected. On the other hand, nearly as many small landowners were pleasantly surprised to discover that they held title to more land than they realized. For example, an elderly farmer in Madison County, N.C., claimed 40 acres when he agreed to sell. Survey showed that he actually possessed 106 acres.[45]

Figure 55.—Point Lookout, a special-use roadside stand concession on old State route 10 on Pisgah National Forest east of Asheville, in March 1930. (NA:95G-238161)

A sample of 50 purchases made in 1935 for the Cumberland National Forest in Kentucky revealed only one case in which the amount of land claimed by the seller agreed with the amount a survey showed that he possessed. Many of the differences were large in proportion to the size of the tract being sold. The numbers of overestimates and underestimates were about equal.[46] Purchases for the Unaka and Nantahala Forests in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia all showed similar discrepancies—occasionally quite large—between the number of acres claimed by the seller and the number of acres determined by survey.[47]

These confusions over land boundaries were one facet of another complicating factor. Many of the mountain people did not have clear title to their lands. Inheritance, previous sale of a portion of the land, and inadequate local recordkeeping all contributed to this problem. A landowner often wished to sell land with title defects. Since the Government could not acquire the land unless the title could be cleared, this had to be done by "friendly" condemnation.

In contrast to the land acquisition policy of TVA, the Forest Service continued to follow its established rule of never condemning the land of an unwilling seller. Most of its condemnation cases were solely to clear title. The land was acquired at a price previously agreed on. Occasionally there was conflict over the amount to be paid for a piece of land, but land was never condemned when the owner did not want to sell at all.

Consider, for example, the case of Homer Frisbie, at times a guide to hikers in Bear Creek Cove, near Hangover Mountain, Graham County, N.C. Frisbie lived with his family in a two-room log cabin on his 3-acre "farm." He had a 2-acre corn field, a garden including potatoes, beans, and rhubarb, and livestock—one cow, four calves, one pig and "about fifty chickens." Frisbie supplemented his food by hunting and fishing.

Frisbie, however, did not exactly "own" his land. County records revealed that Frisbie and his wife held a 1/30 undivided interest in a 98-acre tract optioned by Sam Sparks and others. Since the owners of the other 29/30 interests wanted to sell, a "friendly" condemnation suit had been filed. Frisbie became alarmed and obtained the help of visitors who wrote letters on his behalf, including a Chicago attorney.

One solution was for Frisbie to remain on his 3 acres and farm it with a special-use permit, but losing title to the land. Frisbie refused, wanting either to retain ownership or to obtain title to some other suitable land. North Carolina law stated that a condemnation without Frisbie's consent would be void, since he was using the tract as a home. The Forest Service might have agreed to allow Frisbie to retain title, but his plot was the last piece of a tract of nearly 30 square miles that the Forest Service had put together to establish a wildlife management area and to preserve its wildness. The tract contained the largest stand of virgin timber in the Nantahala forest. The Forest Supervisor was, naturally, eager to move Frisbie out.

Frisbie finally agreed to accept a 9.7-acre tract of Federal land in exchange. Settlement of the case took about 9 months, extensive legal correspondence, and the consideration of diverse interests. The value of the Frisbie land so acquired was only $35.00[48]

One wonders what would have happened if Homer Frisbie had not received legal help. But in another case, stubbornness won out without legal help.

In 1934 Mrs. Hester Jane Truitt, a widow, signed an option to sell her land and cabin, in Swain and Macon counties, N.C., for $1.75 per acre. She was assured of help in finding a new home to buy when she received payment. Title to the 99.4-acre farm was clouded, requiring condemnation. There were delays, and payment was not ready until March 1937. By then Mrs. Truitt realized that she would not get relocation assistance, and she could not find a new farm to purchase with the money she was entitled to. So she simply refused to accept payment and remained where she was.

In November 1940, 44 months later, an attorney for the Justice Department Lands Division visited Mrs. Truitt to see why she had not accepted payment. A portion of his account of the visit follows.

> Mrs. Truitt, whom I judge to be about 65 years of age, lives on the condemned property with her daughter, whom I judge to about 35 years of age. Leaving my car at the nearest road approach to the premises, I climbed a rugged mountain trail about three-fourths of a mile up to Mrs. Truitt's cabin. The cabin is located in a small field, possibly three and one-half acres in total area, in which were a few scragly fruit trees, a pig pen, and a crude cow-shelter, and apparently two acres of corn stubble. The ground indications were that the corn had been cultivated largely by use of the hoe. I saw three head of cattle and several chickens about the place. Every pound of supplies used in the house or on the land that comes from the outside has to be carried up the path by which I climbed . . . The whole appearance from a physical appraisement looked about as hopeless to sustain human occupants as any I ever came in contact with; and my own origin was in the rugged Blue Ridge Mountains.

Figure 56.—Bent Creek Forest Camp, overnight public recreation site on Pisgah National Forest near Asheville, N.C., in March 1930. (NA:95G-238168)

> Mrs. Truitt said she had been waiting a long time for my visit and she wondered what kind of man would come there to tell her that she must leave her home that she had helped to clear out of the woods with her own hands and where she had reared a large family of children. She just wanted me to tell her what kind of government I was working for, which through its (forestry) representatives promised her and her neighbors if they would petition for the establishment of the Government Forest they would be paid enough for their lands to enable them to get better placed in the valleys; and that after she so petitioned, would send me around to offer her less than one hundred dollars after taxes for the home she had occupied for forty years. What kind of home would that amount buy for her and her daughter, who had many years to live after she, Mrs. Truitt, would be gone, she asked?
>
> The conclusion of the matter was that she flatly declined to touch a cent of the award; and said that when she moved from those premises she would be carried feet-foremost.[49]

It was finally decided to remove her tract from the condemnation and return the $173.95 to the U.S. Treasury.[50] Lacking both an influential advocate and a legal leg to stand on, Mrs. Truitt nevertheless retained her land through sheer stubbornness.

While Mrs. Truitt actually retained title to her mountain farm, so that her daughter could also continue to live there after her death, some elderly residents sold the land to the Forest Service but reserved lifetime rights.

They continued to occupy their homes until they died, although the Government immediately acquired title to the land. The price paid for the land was reduced in such cases, and the occupants became subject to forest regulations on burning and trash disposal. Since the Government held title to the land, no State or local taxes would have to be paid. In some cases the Forest Service required that no change be made in the use of the land without the district ranger's permission. A cash payment plus the right to remain in their homes gave some financial security for such older residents in their last years. Life interests were granted only to those over 65, thus ensuring that complete control of the land would pass to the Forest Service before long. Examples occurred in all of the Southern Appalachian forests, but the number was small.[51]

Forest Service as Landlord; Sublimity Project

As early as 1934, Forest Service administrators realized that their extensive program of forest land purchase would create problems for people, especially tenants and squatters, occupying the land. Many of these people were trying to make a living from unsuitable land only because they had no place else to go.

A policy established in September 1934 stated that all persons occupying land acquired for the National Forests could continue to live there by paying a "special-use fee." This fee generally would be slightly less than the taxes payable on the land if it were in private ownership. Holders of special-use permits for residence and cultivation would be subject to land use requirements intended to minimize damage to the land, including restrictions on fires, trash disposal, timber cutting, and whatever else the district ranger thought necessary or enforceable.[52]

At that time it was hoped that rural resettlement programs might find new and better homes for many of these people. With the end of that hope, the Forest Service became a more permanent landlord. Even in 1934 provision was made for isolated pockets of good farm land within National Forests. Permanent authorization of special use for such areas was permitted, as long as this did not interfere with forest management.[53]

The mountain forest that had the greatest number of tenants was the newly created Cumberland National Forest in Kentucky, where purchases began in 1933. The one resettlement project, Sublimity, intended to provide better homes for those who had been displaced by the establishment of the forest, was a very limited success.[54] The Sublimity Forest community was planned, constructed, and managed by the Forest Service with funds provided by the Resettlement Administration and later the Farm Security Administration.

Forest work needed by Sublimity residents to supplement their farm and garden income was never adequate. The high standards set for housing and social services made the cost per family prohibitive. Families carefully selected from a number of applications became disillusioned with the project and left. Between 1937 and 1945, 103 families lived in the project. The average period of occupancy was 18.8 months, and the average rate was 73 percent or 48 of the 66 homes in the community.

A 1947 Forest Service report on the project, written after it had been terminated, recommended that the "establishment of rehabilitation communities on or in connection with national forests be discouraged." The author of the study concluded that Sublimity had been useful as an experiment, but that organized, managed communities were not workable either socially or economically. Socially, "improvements" in the peoples' lives and attitudes were difficult to make and required constant supervision to maintain. Economically, the project closed with a net loss of $73,870, an unacceptable cost for a small project.[55]

One forest officer commented, "Sublimity to me was a nightmare, much more depressing from a psychological point of view than World War II."[55] No one wished to repeat the Sublimity experiment, including the local people who refused to apply for homes there or voted against it by simply moving out.

Lumber and shingles from dismantled CCC camps were used to improve some of the Sublimity homes. Longrange plans were made to improve homes, outbuildings, and the farmland itself, but funds for this work were always very limited. Forest

Figure 57.—Mountain farm family at their cottage in Currens Valley, Smyth County, Va., Jefferson National Forest, in November 1939. (NA:95G-390771)

Service personnel felt a responsibility to the people, but they were uncomfortable in a "social work" role.

> What type of structures should the Forest Service provide its tenants? What should our standards be? The TVA, so Richards told us, has spent from $400 to $1500 for each set of improvements owned and rented by the Government under similar conditions under the TVA. Forest Service expenditures on cases sampled during our trip were from $35 to $122 per case. These expenditures resulted in placing the properties in as habitable a condition as the general run of improvements occupied by the better tenants and the smaller owners in the same neighborhood. Should we attempt to raise these standards? Should we provide something besides bare board walls inside the house and floors as well as ceilings that the housewife will be especially proud of? Should we be so "extravagant" as to provide bright colored paints for the exterior of the dwellings? In addition, what kind and what use of incentives should be used to encourage these people to raise their standards? Such problems are over the head of the average forester but are quite probably everyday matters to the trained social worker. For this reason, we would join the Region in suggesting the assignment of a sufficient number of trained social workers to this field until a satisfactory plan and procedure for handling these cases has been developed.[57]

Forest officers understandably wanted to turn the problems over to someone else.

Dealing With Forest Residents

While Forest Service officers may have been uncomfortable in their roles as "landlord," they were more at home in dealing with local people in other ways. Technical personnel, clerical workers, and unskilled labor were usually local residents. The district ranger (or his staff, if any) was the "boss" for these workers, a role in which the forest officers were generally comfortable and quite successful.[58]

Forest Service officers also dealt with people who requested special-use permits. The poor squatters and tenants mentioned earlier occupied their homes and land under special permits, sometimes free, sometimes paying a small fee. Similar permits were issued for a multitude of uses from resort hotels and industrial developments to cutting firewood or fenceposts. A Forest Service report in 1940 concluded that:

> It is probable that all of this special use business is so much taken for granted that it has little influence on the attitudes of people except when they are refused some desired privilege. Such disapprovals result in more or less hostility and resentment.[59]

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Figure 58.—Successful hunters with their buck deer after a special Forest Service-regulated hunt on Pisgah National Forest, N.C., in fall 1939. (NA:95G—397105)

Figure 59.—Guide Bud Graves of Tellico Plains, Tenn., holding his dogs as he waited to be checked into hunting area for Forest Service-regulated wild boar hunt on Cherokee National Forest in fall 1941. (Forest Service photo F-414169)

Figure 60.—This 300-pound Prussian wild boar was the largest taken in the fall 1944 hunt regulated by the Forest Service in Tellico Wildlife Management Area, Cherokee National Forest, Tenn. Hunter was L. W. Galloway of Kingsport, Tenn. (Forest Service photo F-433225)

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Some hostility and resentment also stemmed from the establishment of wildlife management areas where hunting was restricted, since local residents often were accustomed to hunting as a supplement to their food supply. Hunting has never been prohibited on National Forests, but the forest lands are subject to State laws regulating hunting and fishing. Limits on the hunting season and on the hunters' bag are often resented, as are hunting license requirements.

Active game management in the Appalachian highlands generally dates from the 1930's, so this was a new source of problems at the time. The purpose of the controls was to improve hunting and fishing in the forests and preserve the possibility of such sports for the future. Game animals had been shot out or starved out of much of the newly acquired land and restocking had to take place. However, there was good hunting in the better forested older areas. No Federal fee was charged for hunting and fishing in the National Forests, but about this time residents were required to obtain a State hunting or fishing license for the first time, which was an annoyance to many.

Fire control and land acquisition remained the two principal areas of activity where forest officers came in contact with local people. Fire prevention publicity, organization of fire crews, investigation of man-caused fires for prosecution—these tasks occupied much of the time of many forest officers.

Figure 61.—Blackened spots where boy is standing show how a farmer's land-clearing brush fire got away in a high wind in 1942 to burn 2,000 acres of the adjoining Cherokee National Forest, the margin of which is visible in foreground. (Forest Service photo F-419862)

Figure 62.—A local farmer serving as a fire warden for the USDA Forest Service on the Daniel Boone (then Cumberland) National Forest, Ky., in August 1940. The Forest Service furnished such wardens with a telephone in their homes, to report forest fires. (Forest Service photo F-400243)

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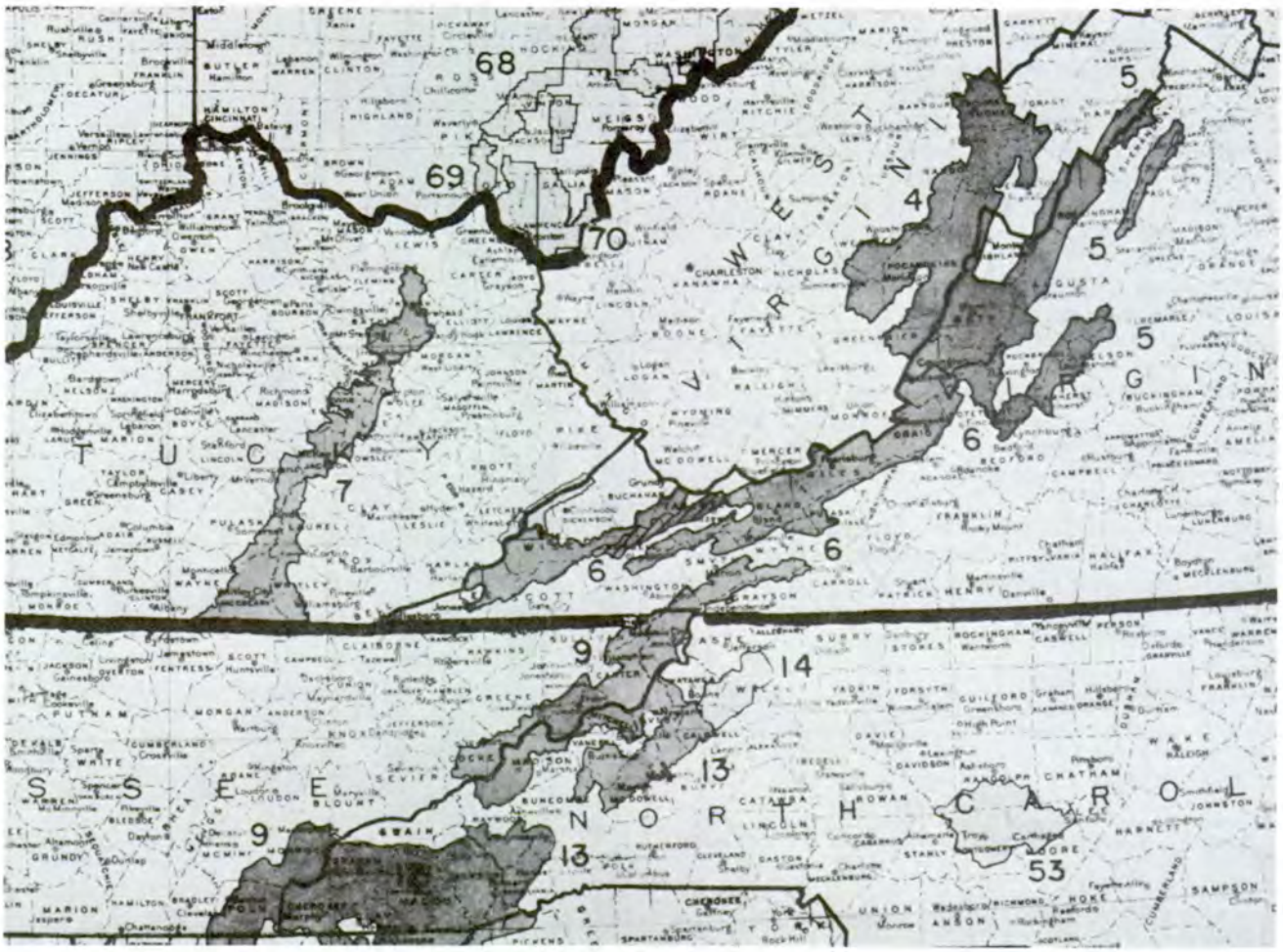


Figure 63.—The National Forests, and Purchase Units (lighter blocks), of the Southern Appalachian Mountains in 1938 show only a few changes from 1935. The major additions were taking place in the Gulf States. (U.S. Geological Survey map; Forest Service photo)

Figure 64.—The National Forests and Purchase Units of the Southern Appalachians in 1940, showing the consolidations of 1936. The forests and units in North Georgia had been combined to form the Chattahoochee, those in Tennessee to form the new enlarged Cherokee, and those in South Carolina to form the Sumter. The Unaka was divided along State lines among the Cherokee, Pisgah, and Jefferson National Forests in 1936. The units north of the Ohio River are Purchase Units, except the Shawnee, which had just been established. National Parks are also shown. (Forest Service map and photo)

Because of the extensive land acquisitions in the 1930's, related activities occupied relatively more time and led to more individual contacts with people than in recent years. It was a long, drawn-out process. As in the early years, after a purchase area was established, forest officers would interview landowners in the area regarding their interest in selling their land. Since prices offered were generally not high, much discussion would result. The forest officer would also have to

explain the Forest Service process of land acquisition and forewarn the seller of the possibility of delay in consummating the purchase. Once an option was obtained from a willing seller, a survey crew would retrace old survey lines, conferring with all adjacent landowners to help locate the corners and check the accuracy of the survey. A crew would then come in to inventory the timber and classify the soil to determine the value of the land for forest purposes. The relations of these crews with local people could be touchy.

> In the early states of such work, forest officers are in danger of being mistaken for 'revenuers' and most take some pains to make their identity known to residents.[60]

Further negotiations often would result, sometimes over a considerable period of time. If the landowner decided to accept the final offer made to him, a final survey would be made to establish permanent corners and mark lines. The results of this final survey could lead to trouble if the lines were not where the owner thought they should be. As we have already seen, this was often the case. Still another source of trouble remained.

> Final payment is made to a man for the land he has sold. Much ill will results from preposterous delays in making final payment because of highly technical legal demands from legal authorities regarding title, squatters on land, etc. Although Forest Service has fought for years for a more rational handling of title work, little real progress has been made until just recently.[61]

Figure 65.—Tallulah (until 1931 called Clayton) Ranger Station, Clayton, Ga., in 1935. The District was then part of Nantahala National Forest. The Georgia portion of the old Nantahala was transferred to the new Chattahoochee National Forest on July 9, 1936. (NA:95G-310056)

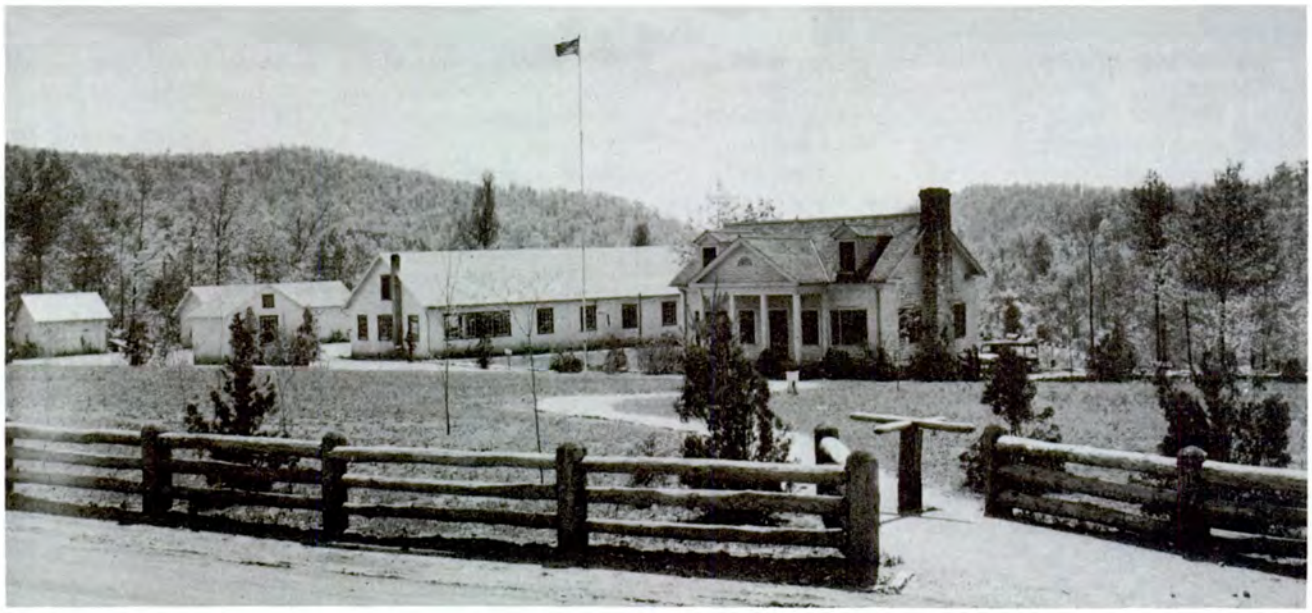
On large tracts of land purchased from absentee owners there were often squatters who had been there for years and had, or thought they had, some claim to the land. Numerous grievances arose out of all these situations.

One Week on the Job With a Ranger

A Memorandum of Inspection from the Cherokee National Forest shows how some of these interactions with people fit into the weekly routine of a district ranger.[61] Hiwassee District Ranger J.W. Cooper, accompanied by the Assistant Forest Supervisor, E.W. Renshaw, toured his district in mid-April 1938, handling a variety of problems. The first stop on their tour was Hiwassee Beach, where the operator of the beach (a special-use permit holder) had requested that the Forest Service install a telephone. The ranger pointed out that the Forest Service could only install telephones needed for fire control purposes, but he suggested that the local residents might want to build their own telephone line. They could use the existing Forest Service telephone poles if they wished.

The two officers then checked the complaint of the man who had protested that Forest Service telephone line maintenance had destroyed trees and shrubs close to his summer cabin. Cooper concluded that the CCC had probably done a little more clearing than was necessary when they built the line in 1935, but nothing could be done about it.

The next day Cooper spent several hours with a junior forester who was conducting a "visible area study," to help plan lookout tower locations. Cooper and Renshaw then proceeded to the Tumbling Creek area to investigate a boundary dispute with a landowner who claimed that an Experimental Project crew had placed a weather observatory and a weir (for stream observation) on her property. Relations with this woman had become "rather strained." There was much difficulty in checking the boundary, as the line had never been painted and the corner marker had been destroyed.



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Ranger Cooper and Assistant Supervisor Renshaw then returned to a nearby Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp where they found that a crew had been out fighting a forest fire. The next day they went to the site of the fire to investigate. They found stumps and logs still burning, so they called the crew back to put it out, and then checked the site for clues. Clear evidence remained that the fire had started from a campfire built by fox hunters. The ranger backtracked on the hunters and found the farmer's yard where they had parked their car. The farmer identified it. Through the car's license number the hunters were traced and eventually a conviction was secured.

A district ranger, dealing with land acquisition, timber sales, fire suppression, telephone lines, lookouts, information, special-use permit complaints, and a host of other issues, was the backbone of forest administration. He generally had the greatest influence on the image held by local people of the Forest Service. During the week described above, the ranger interacted with a recreation facility operator, two vacation home owners, a CCC camp, and a group of fox hunters—possibly not local since they had come by car and thus the neighboring farmer was willing to give evidence against them. This list raises questions as early as 1938, about the kind of people who lived near, or used, National Forest land. There is little interaction with a traditional mountain community; rather, the ranger was dealing with people who had a recreational interest in the forest. The farmer, who was the only fulltime resident, was extremely helpful in the investigation of the origins of the forest fire.

Conditions varied somewhat from forest to forest, and in parts of the same forest. Perhaps at another time of year the contacts would be different. A ranger in Kentucky, where the Cumberland National Forest had a large number of tenants, would probably have been interacting more with a community of mountain people at that period. The pressure on the land to provide the necessities of life was apparently greater in the Cumberland then than in some of the longer-established forests along the crest of the Appalachians.[63]

Figure 66.—Blue Ridge Ranger Station office and warehouses near Blairsville, Ga., when new in 1938. Station was moved to Dahlonega in 1952 and name was changed to Chestatee. Chattahoochee National Forest. (NA:95G-386658)

Figure 67.—Ranger explaining use of anemometer (wind gauge) in forest fire control to businessmen from London and Berea, Ky., at Bald Rock fire tower, Sublimity Ranger District, Daniel Boone (then Cumberland) National Forest, in June 1938. (NA:95G-365420)

Figure 68.—Steel lookout tower secured by steel cables, topped with an 8- x 8-foot lookout house and walkway on all sides, on Chestnut Mountain, Armuchee Ranger District, Chattahoochee National Forest, south of Dalton, Whitfield County, Ga., completed in 1941. (Forest Service photo F-411612)

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Reference Notes

(In the following notes, the expression "NA, RG 83" means National Archives, Record Group 83, Records of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics (USDA); "NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC" means National Archives, Record Group 95, Records of the Forest Service (USDA), Office of the Chief, National Forest Reservation Commission; and "NA, RG 96" means National Archives, Record Group 96, Records of the Farm Security Administration (USDA). "WNRC, FSR" means Washington National Records Center, Forest Service records. See Bibliography, IX.)

1. 50 Stat. 188; 64 Stat. 473; 50 Stat 525. Harold K. Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service: A History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975), pp. 327, 328.

2. Glen Lawhorn Parker, *The Coal Industry: A Study in Social Control* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1940), p. 67.

3. National Archives, Record Group 83, Records of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics (BAE), USDA, Forest Service, Soil Conservation Service, and Bureau of Agricultural Economics: "Preliminary Examination Reports," Yellow Creek Watershed, 1939; Pee Dee River Watershed, 1938; New River Watershed, 1940; Roanoke River Watershed, 1941; Big Sandy River Watershed, 1940. These reports contain much useful economic information on the mountain areas where these rivers and their tributaries rise.

4. Duke University, Perkins Library, Gennett Lumber Company, Papers, Box 24, Andrew Gennett to C. W. Savage, Murphy, N.C., October 15, 1934.

5. Ignatz Pikl, Jr., *A History of Georgia Forestry*, p. 25. See also note 3, "Preliminary Examination Reports."

6. National Archives, Record Group 95, Records of the Forest Service, Office of the Chief, National Forest Reservation Commission, Minutes, January 11, 1934.

7. NA, RG 83 (BAE), "Preliminary Examination Reports," Pee Dee River Watershed 1938. Although counties did not make adjustments readily to the lower land values of the Depression, in most cases land was taxed at a fairly low rate.

8. Harry Caudill, *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, Chapter 13.

9. Cratis D. Williams, "The Southern Mountaineer in Fact and Fiction" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1961), p. 101.

10. Washington National Records Center, Forest Service Records, Accession No. 59A1532, Forest Service Memo: "Social Aspects of National Forest Management" by John H. Hatton, Assistant Regional Forester (Region 2), June, 1934.

11. NA, RG 95, Office of the Chief, Supervision, 1929-35, General, Memo, E. A. Sherman, Associate Forester, to Regional Foresters, December 9, 1932.

12. Elwood R. Maunder, *Dr. Richard E. McArdle: An Interview With the Former Chief, U.S. Forest Service, 1952-1962* (Santa Cruz, Calif.: Forest History Society, 1975), p. 84; and Robert F. Collins, *A History of the Daniel Boone National Forest* (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1975), pp. 262-263.

13. Edwin Nourse, Joseph Davis, and John Black, *Three Years of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration* (Washington, D.C., 1937).

14. National Archives, Record Group 96, Records of the Farm Security Administration, Correspondence, Records of Regional Director, Region 4, 1935-40, AAA Land Policy Section, Division of Program Planning, W.D. Nicholls, University of Kentucky College of Agriculture, to L. C. Gray, Division of Land Economics, Land Policy, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, April 14, 1934.

15. NA, RG 96, Farm Security Administration (FSA), W. D. Nicholls to L. C. Gray April 6, 1934; L. C. Gray to W. D. Nicholls April 12, 1934. See note 14.

16. NA, RG 96, Farm Security Administration (FSA), Records of the Regional Director, Region 4, Land Policy Section, Division of Program Planning, AAA, 1934-35, "My Experiences While Working on the Submarginal Land Program in Knox County, Kentucky" by W. P. Mayhew, Field Supervisor, November 10, 1934. Also similar reports prepared by Elmer Pritchard, Edward S. Amis and Dr. Wayne T. Gray, field clerks, in November, 1934.

17. NA, RG 96, FSA, Mayhew, "My Experiences in Knox County," Region 4, Land Policy, AAA, 1934-35.

18. NA, RG 96, FSA, Records of Region 4 Land Policy Section, Division of Program Planning, AAA, Report—1934, Kentucky Ridge Area.

19. NA, RG 96, FSA, Correspondence of the Regional Director, Region 4, 1935-40. Tilford E. Dudley, Chief, Legal Division, The Land Program, F.E.R.A., to Carl C. Taylor, Regional Director, Land Policy Section, AAA, February 7, 1935.

20. NA, RG 83, Bureau of Agricultural Economics (BAE), Appalachian Regional Office Records, 1935, Kentucky 184.

21. NA, RG 83, BAE, Appalachian Records, 1935, Kentucky 184.

22. Interview with Dr. Billie DeWalt, Winchester, Ky., July 27, 1979. Dr. DeWalt was employed by the Forest Service to do a community study in the Red River Gorge area.

23. NA, RG 96, FSA, Correspondence of the Regional Director, Region 4, AAA, 1935-40, Resettlement of Land Utilization Clients, Report, September 29, 1936, Kentucky Ridge Forest Project, L.U.-Ky 1.

24. NA, RG 96, FSA, Region 4, Resettlement Division, AAA, 1935-40, List of Projects, 1936, and C. B. Faris, Assistant Regional Director, to Mack J. Morgan, Resettlement Representative, Lexington, Ky., April 7, 1936.

25. NA, RG 96, FSA, Correspondence 1935-40, Land Utilization Projects, Region 4, File of letters dealing with the need to move people off all Land Utilization Project lands by May 31, 1938. W. P. Mayhew, Project Manager, Pineville, Ky., to Howard H. Gordon, Regional Director, FSA, Kentucky Ridge Forest Project.

26. WNRC, Forest Service Records, Accession No. 95780002, Report on Proposed Extension of the Pisgah National Forest, May 9, 1934.

27. NA, RG 96, FSA, Correspondence of the Regional Director, Region 4, AAA, Joseph C. Kircher, Regional Forester, to Dr. Carl C. Taylor, Regional Director, Division of Program Planning, AAA Lands, October 27, 1934.

28. NA, RG 96, FSA, Correspondence of the Regional Director, Land Policy Section, Division of Program Planning, AAA, Region 4, Paul W. Wager, Regional Assistant, Land Policy Section, AAA, to J. C. Kircher, U.S. Forest Service, May 14, 1935. Paul W. Wager, Acting Regional Director, Resettlement Administration, to J. C. Kircher, July 11, 1935. The Cherokees worked out a separate agreement with the Park Service. Conflicts over the need to help tenants and sharecroppers as well as farm landowners led to the resignation of a number of "social reformers" from the AAA in the Spring of 1935; W. E. Leuchtenberg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal.* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), pp. 139-142.

29. Rexford Tugwell, "The Resettlement Idea," *Agricultural History* 33 (1959): 159-164.

30. NA, RG 83B, Bureau of Agricultural Economics (BAE), Land Utilization Projects, Regional Files, 1934-45, Appalachian Region. See especially Nantahala-Cherokee Project and Preliminary Report of Land Use Conditions in Cherokee County, North Carolina, January, 1939.

31. Marguerite Owen, *The Tennessee Valley Authority* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 67-68.

32. Arthur E. Morgan, *The Making of the TVA.* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1974), pp. 75-79. Morgan and others had many ideas about social and political development of the region through TVA. Most of their ideas were never carried out. See also Clarence L. Hodge, *The Tennessee Valley Authority: A National Experiment in Regionalism* (Washington: American University Press, 1938), for efforts made to cooperate with and assist local communities and interest groups.

33. Brewer and Brewer, *Valley So Wild.* p. 259. The dam she referred to was the Fontana. See also Alfred J. Gray "Land Use Aspects of Reservoir Problems," in G. Donald Hudson, *et al*: "Studies of River Development in the Knoxville-Chattanooga Area, *Economic Geography* 15 (July, 1939).

34. Charles J. McCarthy, "Land Acquisition Policies and Procedures in TVA," *Ohio State Law Journal* (Winter, 1949).

35. Vladimir Eugene Hartman, "A Cultural Study of a Mountain Community in Western North Carolina" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1957) p. 109. See also Owen, *The TVA.* p. 27.

36. Interview with Russell Griffith and Bruce Jewell, headquarters, Cherokee National Forest, Cleveland, Tenn., July 17, 1979.

37. NA, RG 95, Records of the Forest Service, Office of the Chief, National Forest Reservation Commission (NFRC), Minutes, June 9, 1933. The information in the following section is chiefly derived from NFRC minutes. Specific citations will be provided where appropriate.

38. NA, RG 95, Office of the Chief, NFRC, Minutes, November 21, 1934.

39. Land Acquisition Records, National Forests of North Carolina, Asheville, N.C.

40. Roy Ring White, "Austin Cary and Forestry in the South" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1960), pp. 231-239.

41. NA, RG 95, Office of the Chief, NFRC, Minutes, January 22, 1936.

42. WNRC, Forest Service Records, Accession No. 60A851, Report on Macon County, North Carolina, 1936.

43. WNRC, FSR, Acc. No. 60A851, Report on Johnson County, Tenn., 1936.

44. WNRC, FSR, Acc. No. 58-A64, Memo from R. C. Hall, Director, Forest Taxation Inquiry, to R. E. Marsh, Assistant Chief, "Department Contributions Policy" June 18, 1943.

45. NA, RG 95, Office of the Chief, NFRC, Minutes, July 30, 1935, Unaka Forest Purchase Records.

46. NA, RG 95, Office of the Chief, NFRC, Minutes, July 30, 1935, Cumberland Forest Purchase Records.

47. NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC, Minutes, July 30, 1935, Unaka and Nantahala Forests Purchase Records.

48. NA, RG 95, Land Acquisition (LA), Condemnation Cases, 1939-46, Region 8, John A. Massen to Hon. Mastin G. White, Office of the Solicitor, USDA, May 31, 1940; L. L. Bishop, Assistant Forester to John A. Massen, June 1, 1940; L. F. Kneipp, Assistant Chief, F.S. to J. Kircher, Regional Forester, August 7, 1940; J. Kircher, Regional Forester, to Chief, September 10, 1940; John E. Burch, Acting Chief, Land Acquisition, to Regional Forester, September 30, 1940; Memorandum for Mr. Kneipp, Acquisition, Nantahala, September 27, 1940; Memorandum for Supervisor, Nantahala, August 13, 1940.

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51. NA, RG 95, Office of the Chief, National Forest Reservation Commission, Minutes, Cherokee Forest Purchase Records, July 30, 1935; Pisgah Forest Purchase Records, April 2, 1936; Nantahala Forest Purchase Records, June 30, 1941; Chattahoochee Forest Purchase Records, June 4, 1940.

52. Washington National Records Center, Accession No. 72A3386, Forest Service Records, L. F. Kneipp, Assistant Forester, to John E. Burch, Secretary, NFRC, October 17, 1934.

53. WNRC, Forest Service Records, Acc. No. 72A3386, F. A. Silcox, Forester, to Regional Foresters, September 27, 1934. See also, Collins, *A History of the Daniel Boone National Forest*, Chapter 30, pp. 219-224.

54. Forest Service Regional Office Records, Atlanta, Ga., Lands Division, "Notes of Observations During a Trip Through Eastern Kentucky," May 22, 1940, Supervision—Cumberland National Forest. "History of the Sublimity Forest Community Situated in Laurel County, Kentucky," prepared by W. E. Hedges, 1947, pp. 5-8, 34, 80, 81.

55. Forest Service Regional Office Records, Atlanta, Ga., Lands Division, Hedges, "History of Sublimity," 1947.

56. Edward Ritter to W. E. Hedges, Jan. 17, 1947, filed with "History of Sublimity."

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58. Washington National Records Center, Accession No. 60A931, "A List of Different Kinds of Things the Forest Service and Forest Officers Do Which Influence Residents," August 12, 1940.

59. WNRC, Acc. No. 60A931, "A List of Different Things"

60. WNRC, "A List of Different Things"

61. WNRC, "A List of Different Things"

62. NA, RG 95, CCC Camp Records, Memorandum of Inspection, Hiwassee District, Cherokee National Forest, April 18, 1938, E. W. Renshaw, Assistant Forest Supervisor, Camp Old Hickory, Tenn.

63. Forest Service Regional Office Records, Atlanta, Ga., Lands Division, "History of the Sublimity Forest Community," p. 73. In 1938, 80 free permits were issued to destitute families living in the Cumberland Forest. Several hundred additional holders of residence permits paid a small fee.

Chapter IV

The Civilian Conservation Corps

In 1933, shortly after his inauguration as President, Franklin D. Roosevelt sent to Congress an urgent request for legislation to put unemployed young men to work in conservation jobs. FDR and others had been considering such a program for several months and when Congress passed the Emergency Conservation Work Act on March 31, 1933, they moved swiftly to get the program started. Just 5 days later Robert Fechner was appointed Director of Emergency Conservation Work to head the program. The first Civilian Conservation Corps camp was occupied in less than 2 weeks. By July, 300,000 men were in CCC camps all over the United States.[1]

At first, the Forest Service was the sole CCC employer; later it employed at least half of the men. Its camps were the first established and often the last closed down, some of them existing from 1933 to the end of the CCC in 1942. In contrast, other camps were usually dismantled and moved when they completed a project, often in less than a year. The Forest Service, which for years had been short of funds and manpower for tree planting, timber stand improvement, recreation development, building telephone lines, firefighting, road and trail building, and scores of related jobs on the Forests, had responded eagerly to the opportunity. Forest supervisors promised to put young men to work as soon as they could be recruited and brought to the forests.

Other agencies supervised significant numbers of CCC camps in the Southern Appalachian Highlands. One was the new Soil Erosion Service of the Department of the Interior, headed by Hugh H. Bennett, also created in 1933. Enrollees planted trees and shrubs to help hold the soil in place and built small dams to help lessen floods, mostly on private lands. These camps are difficult to trace, as they were often temporary, and moved to a new location when their work was completed. At the strong urging of a coalition of agricultural and forestry groups, Roosevelt transferred SES to the Department of Agriculture in March 1935 and had it renamed Soil Conservation Service.[2] The National Park Service had many CCC camps in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park (16 in 1934 and 1935) and along the Blue Ridge Parkway. Other CCC camps worked on new State parks. The tasks performed by these camps were similar to those of the National Forest camps with the exception of timber stand improvement. The Tennessee Valley Authority provided work for men in about 20 camps in Tennessee and Kentucky building check dams and planting trees. TVA camps did their work both on TVA-owned lands and adjacent private land.

The Army, experienced in handling recruits, was given the job of processing the young men and operating and maintaining the camps. There was no drill or military training, but Army Reserve officers at first had to maintain discipline, arrange leisure-time activities, and provide suitable food, clothing, and shelter.

The CCC had an especially strong impact on the southern mountains and their people, so it is appropriate that the first CCC camp was located in an Appalachian National Forest.[3] As we have already seen, the CCC was indirectly responsible for the enlargement of the Southern Appalachian National Forests. The desire to find more places for the CCC to work in the East accelerated the process of acquiring more land for the forests, and $10 million in additional forest purchase funds came directly from the budget for CCC, Emergency Conservation Work. The CCC program was so successful and met so much approval nationwide that when emergency authorization for the program expired in March 1937, Congress passed new legislation continuing the program and giving it a more permanent status. Many hoped that CCC would continue after the Depression was over. As it turned out, CCC lasted only for a little over 9 years. Enlistment declined in 1941 as war industries attracted young workers. The CCC was disbanded starting in 1942, soon after the United States went to war.

Many Camps in Appalachia

CCC camps, usually with 150 to 220 enrollees each, were clustered thickly in the National Forests of Southern Appalachia.[4] The arrival of so many young men in the rural mountain counties created tensions, especially since the first CCC recruits were chiefly unemployed youth from the larger towns and cities of the States in which the camps were located. Accustomed to different standards of behavior and a different way of life, they were considered "foreigners" in the mountains, though many of them were still in their native State. Later this picture changed as the CCC recruited more young men from the neighboring farms and small towns. However, in lightly populated counties with lots of forest, local boys were often outnumbered in the camps. In the middle and late 1930's many boys came from heavily populated and urbanized New Jersey and New York, States with more unemployed youth than their forests could keep busy. These boys, many from tough big-city neighborhoods, found the southern mountains and people as strange as the natives found them.

Initially, CCC enrollees were unmarried, 17 to 21, unemployed members of families on relief or eligible for public assistance, not enrolled in school (the CCC was not a "summer job"), in good physical condition and of good character. The few World War I veterans accepted later usually had separate task-oriented camps. Both blacks and whites were enrolled, but were rarely in the same camp. The mountains had no black camps, because CCC administrators concluded large groups of young black males, would not be welcome. It was also more convenient to locate black CCC camps where there were lots of prospective enrollees.

Each camp had one to three reserve Army officers and technical personnel responsible for work supervision, including foresters, engineers, and experienced foremen. There were also a few local experienced men (L.E.M.), usually men who previously had worked for the Forest Service.

Hiring of technical personnel was at first under political control. The Project Supervisor for each camp was selected from a list of men approved by the local congressman. These jobs were much sought after since they paid quite well for the time, $1,200 to $1,800 per year. At first some project supervisors made more money than the local district ranger to whom they reported, but salaries were evened out later on. Eventually many supervisory personnel became Forest Service employees subject to Civil Service regulations. Even in 1933 and 1934 political approval for project superintendents did not cause serious difficulties. A former Forest Supervisor on the Nantahala recalled that because so many well-qualified men were unemployed, it was not difficult to select them from the congressmen's lists. This particular Forest Supervisor also remembers little difficulty in getting political approval for his own candidates for CCC jobs if there was no one suitable on the approved list.[5]

Many of the early enrollees did not work out because of the nature of most CCC work. An early inspection report from a camp on the Pisgah National Forest reported 41 "elopements" (unauthorized departures) from the camp during the late summer and early fall of 1933. The reasons given were the isolation of the camp and the hard outdoor work, unfamiliar to the former cotton mill hands sent in the camp's first allotment of young men.[6]

By 1936 there had been a shift to enrollees more familiar with outdoor labor. A survey made in January 1937 showed about one-fifth from farms and a third from small towns (less than 2,500 population). The shift seems to have been a natural and sensible one, and in part reflects the extension of relief and other welfare programs to some rural and semi-rural areas during the New Deal. There were no relief programs in most rural counties before 1933.[7]

One Project Supervisor at a National Forest camp observed another very definite change in the enrollees during the years 1933 to 1938. He wrote that during the first 2 years of the CCC most of the enrollees he worked with were young men in their early 20's who at one time had been employed. Some of them had useful skills, such as carpentry or truck driving. He thought that these early enrollees were willing workers who had been demoralized by unemployment, but could be organized to work well without extensive training.

By 1939 the CCC camp was receiving a different type of young man.

> The majority of present day "Rookies" might be called products of the depression. From 16 to 22 years old, most of them quit school before completing the grammar grades, except for a few who attended vocational school from 1 to 3 years. Many admit they have loafed from 1 to 7 years and don't really know how to do anything.[8]

The effects of the Depression on school budgets and on the morale of young people had been devastating. For many enrollees, developing the physical strength and mental concentration necessary to do a full day's work was the most important part of their training in the CCC.

Many Enrollees Were Illiterate

For other enrollees the CCC provided an opportunity to acquire education. CCC education reports reflect serious efforts, usually successful, to teach illiterates the fundamentals of reading and arithmetic. For mountain boys especially, basic education filled a real need. One camp in Kentucky reported in 1940:

> Due to the fact that practically all men enrolled in the company from seven local surrounding counties where educational facilities are limited, a major emphasis must be placed on Literacy Education. Twenty-five men enrolled in the company during the past year had never previously attended school. Sixty others were illiterate.[9]

Teachers for those in need of basic education were sometimes provided by Works Progress Administration (WPA) funds; sometimes other enrollees served as instructors. The use of enrollees as teachers was possible because there was a wide variation in educational background among the young men. In 1939 a camp near Morehead, Ky., reported sending eight young men to Morehead State College. Four enrollees were attending the local high school.[10]

The education the boys needed was not always available. The educational advisor from another camp in Kentucky reported that 76 men in his company had completed the 8th grade but no high school instruction was available. He was tutoring 11 men whom he classed as "semi-literate."[11]

Academic classes were not the most important part of the CCC educational effort. A nationwide education report for 1937 stated that about 60 percent of the classes in CCC camps were vocational because ". . . job training and vocational courses were the most popular in the camps . . . and had the strongest holding power."[12] Only 33 percent of enrollees nationwide attended academic classes.

Work Projects Under Forest Service

The Forest Service was responsible for job training related to the work projects. The camp Project Superintendent was responsible for training in each camp. Forest Service staff, especially district rangers, were instructed to help camp supervisory personnel learn to use the education method recommended by the Forest Service. This method, generally, was to break each job into a number of simple steps and then coach the enrollees through the task step by step until they understood how to do it.[13]

A carefully prepared little pamphlet, "Woodmanship for the CCC," was printed by the Forest Service and usually issued to each enrollee.[14] It went through a number of printings and was always in demand. "Woodsmanship" explained clearly, with

Figure 69.—Camp Woody (F[Forest Service]-1), first Civilian Conservation Corps camp in Georgia, at Suches, Chattahoochee (then Cherokee) National Forest, in 1934. (Photo courtesy of Milton M. Bryan)

many illustrations, how to use an axe or crosscut saw safely, and how to recognize potential hazards such as poison ivy. Other materials were developed to teach enrollees the basics of firefighting. Always the emphasis was on safety.

CCC boys were given some training and valuable experience as truck drivers, rough construction workers, operators of road and trail-building machines, cooks, and tool clerks. Some received special training as truck mechanics. Young men also developed leadership skills as leaders and assistant leaders of work groups. In the later years of the CCC many of the Forest Service technical personnel supervising CCC enrollees were former enrollees themselves.

A 1939 report from a camp in Tennessee listed the jobs that former enrollees reported that they had obtained as a result of training acquired in the CCC. These included filling station operator, skilled foundry worker, laborer, many truck drivers, mechanic, grocery store helper, railroad worker, sawmill hand, auto assemblyline worker, rock crusher operator, clerk in a laundry.[15] In come cases references from project supervisors helped former "Three C-ers" to get jobs by assuring prospective employers that they were honest and hard working. Job placement was important since CCC enrollees could remain in the Corps for a limited time only, 6 months to 2 years.

Pay for CCC enrollees seems very low by present-day standards—$30 per month. This limited amount would buy many necessities in the 1930's, when a loaf of bread cost 5 cents and a quarter would often buy 10 pounds of potatoes. For these young men $30 plus food, clothing, and shelter seemed a reasonable wage. Regular enrollees were given $5 per month for spending money; the remaining $25 was sent home to their families. In this way many became breadwinners for parents and younger brothers and sisters. Regular CCC enrollees at first signed up for a period of 6 months, after which they were allowed another term. Later, they were permitted to continue in the Corps for 2 years.

In addition to their wages, CCC enrollees received food, clothing and shelter at the camp.[16] Records of weekly menus indicate that the CCC boys ate well. Certainly the quantities of food were planned to satisfy appetites developed by hard outdoor labor. The quality presumably was affected by the skill of the camp cook, but since fresh fruits and vegetables, milk, and meats were purchased from local merchants and farmers, quality and variety were available. Staples such as flour and lard came from Army Quartermaster Corps.

The camps themselves were usually roughly built collections

of wooden buildings, often unpainted. One building, or sometimes a series of small cabins, provided quarters for the officers in charge of the camp, for the project supervisors in charge of work, and the camp educational advisor. The largest building in a camp would be the kitchen and dining hall, with a recreation room either in the same building or nearby. The boys were housed at first in tents, then in rough wooden barracks, sometimes with bathroom facilities attached. Some camps had separate bath houses. There would usually be several sheds for trucks, road machinery, and storage. The buildings were heated in winter by wood- or coal-burning stoves. Buildings at these camps hastily constructed of green lumber in 1933 were in bad repair by 1940, but other camps were more solidly constructed, especially later buildings built by the CCC boys for their own use. Some of the more permanent camps had classroom buildings and athletic fields for leisure time activities.

Weekly Recreation Visits to Town

Most of the camps were close enough to towns to permit weekly recreation visits. Such visits were welcomed by the boys and by local merchants as well. Theater owners could count on a good audience for the motion picture when the CCC came to town. Some camps were actually located on the outskirts of small towns like Hot Springs, N.C. Other camps in the most rugged mountain districts were almost inaccessible. In 1939 an inspector noted that one camp near Laurel Springs, N.C., was 18 miles from the nearest telephone. The camp was also without telegraph or radio communication. Consequently, he recommended the construction of a telephone line to be used for fire control and to obtain assistance in emergencies.[17]

A rough idea of how many boys were affected by the CCC can be obtained from table 3, which gives some enrollment figures for 3 years and indicates as well the size of the CCC at its beginning (1934), peak enrollments at the height of the program (1937), and declining enrollments (1941). Declines were not so great for the Southern Appalachian States, especially Georgia and Kentucky, as they were in some areas of the country, but by the end of 1940 there were fewer camps and the remaining ones were below strength.[18]

Table 3.—Civilian Conservation Corps: Numbers of Residents and Nonresidents Enrolled in Camps in Each of Five Southern Appalachian States; Residents of These States Enrolled in Other Regions, 1934, 1937, 1941

State	1934	1937	1941
Kentucky			
Total residents enrolled in CCC camps (nationwide)	4,495	5,571	5,414
In Far West (beyond Great Plains)	1,068	669	587
In Appalachians	820	1,224	660
In other regions	2,607	3,698	4,167
Out-of-State residents in Kentucky Appalachian camps	0	725	740
Tennessee			
Total residents enrolled in CCC camps (nationwide)	5,779	7,649	6,831
In Far West (beyond Great Plains)	0	43	827
In Appalachians	1,086	2,282	1,994
In other regions	4,691	5,324	4,010
Out-of-State residents in Tennessee Appalachian camps	3,248	126	143
North Carolina			
Total residents enrolled in CCC camps (nationwide)	6,820	8,542	6,219
In Far West (beyong Great Plains)	0	116	118
In Appalachians	3,839	1,355	684
In other regions	2,981	7,071	5,417
Out-of-State residents in North Carolina Appalachian camps	448	1,306	561
South Carolina			
Total residents enrolled in CCC camps (nationwide)	3,802	6,258	4,466
In Far West (beyond Great Plains)	0	192	185
In Appalachians	588	603	452
In other regions	3,214	5,463	3,829
Out-of-State residents in South Carolina Appalachian camps	0	241	158
Georgia			
Total residents enrolled in CCC camps (nationwide)	6,899	6,654	6,556
In Far West (beyond Great Plains)	0	381	1,143
In Appalachians	2,359	776	565
In other regions	4,540	5,742	4,848
Out-of-State residents in Georgia Appalachian camps	184	96	124

Source: National Archives, Washington, D.C., Record Group 35, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Station and Strength Reports.

Two examples serve to illustrate further the impact of the CCC on the young enrollees. In 1934 a young Tennesseean, B. W. Chumney, enrolled. He intended to go to college later, but needed a job to earn expenses. However, his temporary job became a career. He remained on the Cherokee National Forest until his retirement in 1977. For the first 7 years he was employed by the CCC, though his duties in timber management and fire control remained similar when he was shifted to regular Forest Service employment in 1941.

Chumney participated as a fire dispatcher in the application of many new firefighting techniques, from the use of radio dispatching in the 1930's to helicopters and flying water tankers in the late 1960's and early 1970's. During his career he saw the Cherokee National Forest grow from a patchwork of eroded, cutover slopes to the magnificent and valuable stands of timber that comprise much of the forest today.

The Cherokee became Chumney's hobby as well as his job. He is a recognized expert on the history of the forest and has devoted much effort to collecting information about it. A staunch believer in Forest Service management practices, Chumney has preached fire control, timber stand improvement, and careful timber cutting to his neighbors and acquaintances for more than 40 years. Practicing what he preached, he used his savings to buy timber land which he managed carefully according to the practices he learned in the Forest Service.[19]

For other young men, the CCC provided only a few months' employment in the outdoors, but often with much benefit. One case history from the "Summary of Social Values 1933-1934" tells the story of Johnny S., a North Carolina tenant farmer's son who spent 6 months in the CCC. Johnny's family lived in an isolated area. The children (Johnny was the oldest of 10) had little schooling and almost no contact with the world outside their family. Johnny learned to read and write a little at the CCC camp and developed enough skill in the woods to get a job near home when he returned.

The county welfare director concluded his report:

> Johnny has been home for some time now and all reports from him are that he "is holding his head high." He helped his father make a crop this year and received a share of it for his own. He made a great deal of money and bought a secondhand car. The neighbors say that he takes the family to church every Sunday and is now helping them to see beyond the little road that stretches in the front of their door.[20]

Johnny returned to his native area and even to his father's occupation, tenant farming, but for him, as well as for those who found new careers through the CCC, the experience provided a widening of outlook and opportunity for new skills. Johnny's brief experience away from home, according to the County Welfare director, marked the change from boy to man.

These two examples illustrate the wide variety of young men who found employment in the CCC. Anyone, from a semi-literate squatter to the Forest Supervisor himself, may have been a "Three C-er." And, most important, this shared experience helped the Forest Service for many years to build trust and friendships in the mountains. As the generation that served in the CCC retires and dies, this nostalgic common bond is being lost.

Large Camps Close to Towns Cause Some Friction

Most CCC camps sent truckloads of young men into the nearest town once or twice a week for recreation, often a visit to the local movie theatre. The boys were usually free to wander about town and spend their limited pocket money in the stores. Sometimes they attended services at local churches, though often neighboring clergymen were invited to conduct services at the camps and there were official chaplains assigned to groups of camps. After 1937, when the CCC became a more permanent organization and increased its emphasis on education, some boys attended local high schools and, in a few cases, colleges. CCC boys were also taken on recreation trips to see local landmarks, and to other camps or nearby towns to play baseball games.

The degree of social impact a camp had varied greatly from place to place. Smaller, more isolated camps might go almost unnoticed except by those who were employed there or who did business with the camp. Larger camps, and those very close to towns, made their presence felt continually, sometimes with unfavorable results for all concerned.

The most notorious case was Camp Cordell Hull, Tennessee F-5, Unicoi County.[2] This camp illustrates most of what could go wrong. In spite of the many problems, however, the camp remained in use throughout the life of the CCC, since there was much work to be done in the area. The camp also had an unlimited supply of pure drinking water (often a problem at other camps) since it was located on the site of the Johnson City waterworks. Because of its convenient location, much of the time the camp housed two companies of CCC—about 400 young men.

During the period of most serious trouble, 30 to 100 of the regularly enrolled young men were local, from Unicoi or neighboring counties. Thirteen local skilled men were employed by the Forest Service as supervisors for various projects.

A routine inspection of the camp in January 1934 reported all was well and that relations with the surrounding community were "very favorable," but as the weather improved in the spring, conditions deteriorated rapidly.

According to the military men assigned to run the camp, the locals used it as a ready-made lucrative market for prostitutes and moonshiners. The camp commander blamed lax local law enforcement for the situation and refused to cooperate with the local sheriff when he came to arrest CCC enrollees at the camp.

Local people did not want drunkenness in the camp, but at the same time turning in moonshiners was against their custom. As a former county sheriff put it:

> There is some in the [CCC] camp that sells liquor. I can throw a rock from my barn and hit one of them . . . I am personally acquainted with him, and it would hurt his feelings if I said anything about it.[22]

It would appear that the situation was also exacerbated by factionalism within the camp, for when a formal complaint was filed against the Army officers in charge, one of the complainants was the educational advisor. The complaint alleged misbehavior of the enrollees and failure of the officers to cooperate with local law enforcement officials. Other complainants were four neighboring residents and the county sheriff.

When the Army investigator from Ft. Oglethorpe, Ga., came to sort out the situation in July 1934, evidence indicated that the Army officers and the sheriff were all to blame. Testimony he collected showed that the four local residents had been enraged by the remarks yelled at local women and girls by CCC boys driving past in trucks. They also complained that CCC boys had disrupted two church services.

The county sheriff reported two serious incidents. The first resulted from a fist fight at a "wiener roast" in Unicoi. A CCC boy pulled a knife, seriously wounding a local boy. The knife-wielder was arrested, but escaped from jail and was hidden by his friends at the camp for several nights until he could arrange to get away. The local boy was believed to have started the fight.

The other was a "highway robbery" incident. A Johnson City man had picked up three CCC boys who were hitchhiking. He had a jug of whiskey which he offered to share and apparently all four had quite a bit to drink. The complaint contended that the boys then knocked him out (they said the whiskey did it) and took his car, which was hidden near the CCC camp. The CCC boys claimed that the incident, while regrettable, was really far less serious. Feeling against the sheriff was running high in the camp at that time and the camp commander refused to let him search the camp for suspects.

The CCC enrollees and their commander were angered by what they perceived as the sheriff's "double standard"—arresting them for drunkenness, but ignoring the illegal whiskey sales which caused it. The sheriff blamed moonshining on "bad times" and said wherever men congregate they will manage to get liquor; to him it was a normal occurrence.[23] The citizens also testified that there had been some troubles with local girls who hung around the camp. As one neighboring resident put it:

> It seems that all hours of the night they are out, and if I understand it right there has been quite a few girls that has happened with bad luck. That is a misfortune to our community.[24]

The people of Unicoi County seem to have been reluctant to assume responsibility for the behavior of their own citizens toward the CCC camp, expecting the Army to prevent serious trouble by disciplining the enrollees. The Army officers, on the other hand, had to try to control about 400 vigorous young men without using military discipline. It was a difficult task, certainly not made easier by the ready availability of moonshine whiskey and other distractions. It is not clear how the camp commander was to control their behavior when on leave.

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the whole acrimonious affair was that no one wanted the camp removed. All the complainants agreed that it was "a good thing for the county." The sheriff even protested that the camp commander had tried to get him in trouble with the local merchants by refusing to let the boys go into Erwin, the county seat. (The commander did later let local enrollees take a truck to Erwin to vote against the sheriff.) The camp was considered beneficial because of its contribution to the local economy.

Testimony also was unanimous that the Forest Service had nothing to do with the enrollees' misbehavior and was not responsible for the trouble. The complaint was entirely against the Army. The Army investigator concluded that nothing further needed to be done, since the camp commander had already been replaced, and he hoped for better relations with local citizens. No further serious disturbances were reported from Camp Cordell Hull. The personnel changes and increased efforts to keep the boys busy after working hours helped to improve community relations.

Although the Forest Service was not held responsible for the CCC's drinking problem in this case, it appears certain that a few temporary local employees who could not resist the chance for easy money in the bad times were often directly involved in moonshine distribution. In many camps the whiskey was covertly brought in by local experienced men (L.E.M.) or technicians. District rangers tried to eliminate men who were habitually drunk or who sold liquor to the enrollees. As the Supervisor of the Cherokee pointed out to a trail building foreman he had been forced to fire:

> Regardless of the excellent caliber of an employee's services, the Forest Service cannot condone drinking by its employees on the job and at CCC camps. Instructions have been repeatedly issued to all employees cautioning him in this respect.[25]

Even firing a local foreman who peddled moonshine on the side was not as simple an issue as it might seem. The Forest Service was committed to doing its best to relieve unemployment in the mountain counties. Forest supervisors and district rangers were very anxious not to have "outside" CCC enrollees push local men and boys out of the available jobs on the forests. If a man was fired, often he could not find a job. Many local men had been employed by the Forest Service before CCC was established and firing them gave the impression that they were being pushed out of work by the CCC.[26]

Though for obvious reasons documentation of the practice does not exist, conversations with former district rangers and indirect evidence suggest that illegal stills were frequently overlooked as long as they did not cause fires and the owner did not harvest timber illegally to fuel his still. Such tolerance would maintain local goodwill and prevent trouble. Moonshiners may have been surprised by the ban on sales to CCC men.

Enrolling and employing local men contributed directly to the drinking problem. The more local men there were in a CCC company, the more connections they had to obtain moonshine. One company commander in Kentucky noted in 1935 that some men had to be discharged and others disciplined for over-indulgence.[27]

Both drinkers and sellers became angry about efforts to control the use of liquor. Moonshiners saw the CCC camps as one of the best places to get hard cash for their product, though both the Army and the Forest Service tried to discourage them. According to one report, when a camp first opened at Pine Ridge, Ky.:

> . . . the Moonshiners used to come on pay day and ask the camp commander to collect their booze bills for them. When they were ordered off the grounds they got sore on everybody.[28]

While the liquor problem never disappeared entirely, it did become less serious in the later years of the CCC.

In the early years of the CCC, the Forest Service was troubled by the requirement that they release even the most satisfactory of the local experienced men after only 6 to 12 months of employment. Supervisory personnel were not subject to these time limitations, and this caused resentment. In 1935 the Forest Service secured the approval of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work to keep the L.E.M.'s employed indefinitely where they were needed. It had been pointed out that many of the L.E.M.'s were former part-time Forest Service employees who had depended for work on the forest for years.[29]

Best Enrollees Get Forest Service Jobs

The Forest Service was able to arrange regular jobs for outstanding enrollees as well. A 1937 report on jobs for former CCC enrollees stated that the largest number had found jobs as machine operators or truck drivers; the second largest category of regular employment was with the Forest Service. In January 1937 the Forest Service reported that a Civil Service position, that of junior assistant to technician, had been created just for the CCC boys. Those who placed highest in the exam filled the available positions.[30] The agency was able to reward the most competent and interested CCC boys with permanent good jobs. The promise of more permanent jobs for their young men greatly helped to build local support as well as high morale in the camps.

Another way in which the CCC sought to create good feelings among its neighbors was by various kinds of festivities held to celebrate the "birthday" of the CCC in April of each year. There was even competition to see which camp could hold the most original party. They often included a picnic, open house, tours of work projects, and entertainment by enrollees. Some camps used these parties to preach the message of fire control, since the CCC camps were heavily involved in firefighting. Other camps used the parties as recruiting devices, seeking to convince young men visiting the camp to join the CCC. The parties were well publicized locally.

At one such party, the "CCC Fox Chase and Barbecue" at the 200-man Camp Old Hickory, near Benton, Tenn., on April 5, 1938, 1,500 people from Reliance, Archville, Greasy Creek Caney Creek, Etowah, and Cleveland joined the families of Cherokee National Forest personnel to feast on barbecued beef and pork, with trimmings. A foxhound show judged by a prominent citizen drew 68 mixed entrants, but a planned fox chase was cancelled for lack of a fox.[31]

In 1938 Camp Old Hickory had been in existence for 5 years and local residents were thinking of it as a permanent fixture. They were certainly familiar with the work it had done. If a family from a neighboring town decided to picnic in the Forest, they would drive on a stretch of road built by the CCC, and use the rest rooms and picnic tables built by the CCC as well. The caretaker at the picnic ground would be a trained CCC enrollee. If a farmer adjacent to the Forest started a fire to burn brush, it would be reported by a CCC youth manning a fire tower. If the fire threatened to spread into the Forest, it would be extinguished by a CCC crew trained in fighting forest fires. And if the farmer had misjudged the wind, and the fire began moving toward his house or barn, he could call for help from the CCC fire crew.[32]

Major Work Is in Fire Control, Road, Trails, Campgrounds

Much of the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps was related, directly or indirectly, to the control of forest fires in the mountains.[33] Ever since the first land acquisition in 1912, the Forest Service had been convinced that control of fires was essential to the improvement of the forests. This was contrary to local practices of burning to remove debris, encourage forage growth or kill insects and snakes. Though much of this deliberate burning had been stopped as a result of Forest Service educational efforts, mountain people were often careless with fire when they burned brush on their own land. Hunters, fishermen, and campers sometimes failed to put out their fires. Finally, arson as a form of malicious mischief or to get work was popular in some mountain areas.[34]

The existence of the CCC gave the Forest Service a pool of manpower that could be trained to fight fires and was quickly available when fire broke out. The final report prepared when the CCC was disbanded concluded that "During the nine and one quarter years of the Corps, CCC enrollees became the first line of fire defense."[35] All were given basic firefighting instructions and indoctrinated in the Forest Service dictum that fires should be prevented.

CCC youths built fire observation towers and manned them during the months of high fire danger. The towers, located high in the mountains in carefully chosen locations, made it possible to spot fires quickly and send in a fire suppression crew before they became large enough to cause serious destruction. Such towers were used until the mid-1960's when most of them were replaced by light patrol planes.

Fire towers had telephone and, later, radio connections to district ranger offices to report fires. The construction of telephone lines was another important CCC task. The telephone lines not only made reporting fires quicker, they also made possible the rapid assembly of firefighting crews where needed. Forest Service telephones were also available for use by local people in emergencies. This was much appreciated in areas where few people had private telephones. In some areas lines for private telephones were installed on the telephone poles put up by the CCC for Forest Service lines.

One of the biggest jobs undertaken by the CCC in the Southern Appalachian forests was road and trail construction. The enrollees built high-quality roads in some areas to open up the forest for timber harvesting or recreation, but many of the roads they built were of the type known as truck trails or "fire roads." These single-lane dirt roads could serve as firebreaks, but more important, they made it possible to bring truckloads of men and equipment quickly to the site of a forest fire. With the modern advent of new fire-control techniques, many of the old "fire roads" have been abandoned and others have not been maintained for lack of funds, but for 40 years the truck trails built by the CCC were a vital element in forest fire protection.

Because funds for road building had always been scarce in the mountain counties, the CCC roads were often an important benefit to small local communities and to isolated farmers. In Harlan County, Ky.:

> The CCC built the road from Putney to the Pine Mountain Settlement School, primarily, of course, for fire protection. Its construction has resulted in rather heavy traffic consisting mostly of forest products finding their way to market. Before this road was built there was no means of getting out to the railroad. The School has been considerably enlarged and improved.[36]

By this time, 1941, the market for timber had recovered, and local residents in areas newly opened up by transportation improvement could get a good price for forest products.

Many Recreation Facilities Built

Although it was not their original purpose, the "fire roads" did much to open up the forests to recreational use by hunters and hikers who still gratefully use them today. The development, especially after World War II, of four-wheel-drive vehicles such as jeeps made these trails even more popular. CCC men also built trails for hiking, especially short ones to spots of particular natural beauty of interest, often providing bridges and steps for visitors also.

Figure 70.—Beulah Heights fire tower, a temporary structure of southern yellow pine with a 7- x 7-foot cabin, built by Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees. Daniel Boone (then Cumberland) National Forest, Ky., shown in April 1938. (National Archives: Record Group 95G-365411)

Valuable work was done by the CCC on the famous Appalachian Trail, the Maine-to-Georgia trail which follows the crest of the Appalachian Range. In the Pisgah National Forest about 60 miles of the trail were maintained by the CCC from 1933 to 1942. One section, from Hot Springs to Waterville, N.C., was relocated and 26.2 miles of new trail built. In the Chattahoochee National Forest about 100 miles of the trail were maintained, a new shelter was built, and a spring was improved. The CCC maintained 93.4 miles of Appalachian Trail in the Cherokee National Forest and constructed several new shelters for camping along the Trail.[37]

Since road building and automobile ownership were making the forests more accessible for recreation, the Forest Service put some of the CCC boys to work building campgrounds. A campground might include shelters, toilet facilities, picnic tables, fireplaces, parking lots, and water supply systems. The CCC also built and erected signs to direct visitors to the facilities and to points of interest. Bathhouses were built at

Figure 71.—Hayes Lookout, Nantahala National Forest, N.C., a low wooden enclosed structure with a 6- x 6-foot cabin, built by Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees in 1939. (NA:95G-396050)

Figure 72.—A Civilian Conservation Corps enrollee tempering a pick head in an open forge at Lost Creek CCC Camp (F-26), near Norton, Va., in Clinch Ranger District, Jefferson National Forest, in June 1938. (NA:95G-367179)

some good swimming areas. The first caretakers and lifeguards for the facilities came from the CCC ranks.

In the newly purchased areas of the forests another CCC task was razing "undesirable structures," the cabins and outbuildings left behind by former owners or occupants, to prevent their use by squatters. In some cases windows and roofs were removed and the uninhabitable cabin was left to decay slowly. In later years only a few foundation stones and the base of a chimney remained to mark the site of a former mountain home.

The CCC was often referred to by the press as "Roosevelt's Tree Army." Tree planting was a much-publicized CCC activity. In the Southern Appalachian most of the tree planting was done by the TVA camps to control erosion and to beautify the margins of the lakes created by damming the rivers. The CCC planted seedling trees raised in TVA nurseries on private land if the owner promised to maintain and protect the infant forest. As woodlands planted by the CCC began to grow successfully, they gave needed encouragement to the TVA forestry program by showing that reforestation could work.[38]

There was no extensive planting of young trees in the National Forests of the Southern Appalachians. In most cases natural reproduction encouraged by the heavy rainfall could be relied upon to restock cutover lands within forests.[39] CCC crews did much timber stand improvement work, removing diseased or damaged trees and less valuable species to give more room for the development of desirable timber. Such work often greatly enhanced the value of a stand of trees, increasing the quantity and improving the quality of saleable timber. CCC boys helped combat deadly tree diseases, notably white pine blister rust. The crews learned to recognize and destroy the currant and gooseberry bushes which serve as an alternate host for the blister rust fungus. They also helped fight the bark beetle infestations which often severely damaged timber in the forests.

Federal administrators who placed emphasis on the educational role of the CCC sometimes argued that too much time was spent working.[40] Would it not be better for illiterates to spend more time learning to read? Whey should classes be confined to evening hours when the boys were often tired and ready to relax? The CCC position varied but work generally was considered by most important part of education for the CCC enrollee. "Book learning" definitely took second place.

Benefits to Local Areas

Throughout the life of the CCC, there was continual debate about the quantity and quality of work accomplished.[41] Since CCC enrollees had to be trained for the work they performed, they naturally accomplished less than would a crew of already skilled laborers. Some Forest Service employees, especially project superintendents, argued that it would have been better to use the money spent on the CCC to employ local skilled workers to do the jobs performed by the CCC on the forests. In spite of efforts to employ as many local people as possible through the CCC, there was always some feeling that the CCC took jobs away from them. In truth, there is some doubt whether the Forest Service, Park Service, TVA, SCS, or State agencies that employed the CCC would have been able to get funds to have the same work performed by ordinary wage labor. CCC labor was cheap, even though the boys might not accomplish as much as skilled workmen.

Figure 73—A 26-year-old white pine plantation thinned and pruned the previous summer by Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees to encourage fast quality timber growth. Nantahala National Forest, N.C., in 1940. (NA:95G-396044)

The quality of work done by the CCC naturally varied from site to site; much depended on the vigilance and skill of the project superintendent. There were cases of loafing and of slovenly work performance, but these were balanced by examples of hard work resulting in well-built trails and buildings. The Forest Service and other "employing agencies" tried to encourage the enrollment of young men who would make good workers. They sometimes accused the local welfare and employment offices of enrolling the "worst first," because these young men appeared to be more in need of help. Many young men who enrolled in the CCC required job training and had little or no work experience. However, most of them learned the skills they needed and became good workers. Others left. Efforts were made to reward those who worked well with promotion to crew leader or to skilled jobs. Where there were large numbers of repeat enrollments, work output tended to improve because less training was required.

One advantage that the CCC had over many New Deal "make-work" projects was the the work was "real." Good project superintendents and district rangers made sure that the enrollees were told why the project they were working on was necessary. For example, they were shown how their particular truck trail or telephone line fitted into the plan for fire control in the district.

Although the CCC presence in the Southern Appalachians was sometimes disruptive, on the whole the program brought the mountains multiple benefits. The CCC employed thousands of local men, providing wages, education, and a sense of accomplishment. Thus, perhaps more than any other New Deal program, the CCC contributed much to human dignity in a time of dire economic need.

In addition, the CCC altered the landscape of the Southern Appalachian forests and parks. The fire towers, trails, roads, and campgrounds it built and the trees it planted, thinned, and protected were improvements that controlled fire, enhanced the forests' beauty, and made the mountains more accessible.

The overall impact of CCC camps on local communities, society, and culture can best be evaluated by a comparison. Even before the turn of the century mountain communities had been influenced by the temporary presence of logging or construction camps. Thus, adaptation to the presence of camps similar to those established by the CCC was not new. Railroad building, logging, and mining all brought large groups of "foreigners," chiefly young males, into the mountains. The impact of these groups on mountain culture and society was chiefly economic and often temporary. These is no evidence that the impact of CCC camps was any greater, or more lasting, but the program did ease conditions at a very critical time.

Reference Notes

(In the following notes, the expression "NA, RG 35" means National Archives, Record Group 35, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps; "NA, RG 95, CCC" means National Archives, Record Group 95, Records of the Forest Service (USDA) Records Relating to Civilian Conservation Corps Work, 1933-42. See Bibliography, IX.)

1. Wayne D. Rasmussen and Gladys L. Baker, *The Department of Agriculture* (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1972), 34, 35; 89-91.

2. NA, RG 95, CCC, General Correspondence, Information, Emergency Conservation Work, *What ABout the C.C.C.?*, 1937, 1933-42, Information, Records of CCC Work. The CCC newspaper *Happy Days* is another source of stories about CCC, though few of these pertain to the region under discussion here.

3. Camp Roosevelt, near Luray, Va., in the George Washington National Forest, 120 miles from Washington, D.C.

4. The following account of the CCC is based on information in Record Group 35, National Archives. Investigation Reports and Education Reports for camps in the National Forests were used, and specific citations are given where necessary. John Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-42: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1967), Chapter 5, "The Selection of Negroes." Black camps were not welcome in most areas of the country and were limited in number, mostly in the Deep South.

5. Interview with B.W. Chumney, July 18, 1979, Cleveland, Tenn.; Interview with J. Herbert Stone.

6. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Neill McL. Coney, Jr., special investigator, Report on [CCC camp] N.C.F-5, Mortimer, N.C., Nov. 12, 1933.

7. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Education, June 30, 1937. "Federal Aid for Unemployment Relief," Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Manufactures, U.S. Senate, 72nd Congress, 1st Session, on S 174 and S 262 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932).

8. James R. Wilkins, "The Charges We Watch," *Service Bulletin* 23: 7 (April 3, 1939). (USDA, Forest Service, Washington, D.C.)

9. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Education, Elbert Johns, Camp Kentucky F-13, McKee [Jackson County], Ky., Jan. 30, 1941.

10. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Education, Earl C. May, Camp Kentucky F-4, Clearfield, Ky. March 11, 1939.

11. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Education, Carl G. Campbell, Camp Kentucky F-9, Stanton, Ky. Oct. 21, 1941.

12. NA, RG 35, Report of Director of CCC Camp Education for year ending June 30, 1937.

13. NA, RG 95, CCC, CCC Personnel (Training).

14. NA, RG 35, CCC, USDA, Forest Service, "Woodmanship for the CCC," Washington, 1934, subsequent editions to 1940.

15. NA, RG 95, CCC, CCC Personnel (Training), Monthly Education Reports 1939, Camp Old Hickory, Tenn.

16. Menu and building descriptions are taken from Inspection Reports cited earlier.

17. NA, RG 35, Inspection Reports, Neill McL. Coney, Jr. to Assistant Director, CCC, Oct. 2, 1937, North Carolina F-7; Neill McL. Coney Jr. to Assistant Director, CCC, April 7, 1939, North Carolina NP-21.

18. NA, RG 35, CCC Station and Strength Reports 1933-42. The records of the following CCC camps were examined for this study:

Kentucky: Camp Lochege, F-4, Morehead, Rowan County; Camp Woodpecker, F-9, Stanton, Powell County; (No name), F-13, McKee, Jackson County; Camp Bell Farm, F-14, Bell Farm, McCreary County; and Camp Bald Rock, F-15, London, Laurel County, all in Cumberland (now called Daniel Boone) National Forest: Camp Elkhorn, S-82, Hellier, Letcher County (Flat Woods area), and (No name), S-84, Crummies (Harlan County Game Refuge), both State camps; also several Tennessee Valley Authority camps.

Tennessee: Camp Old Hickory, F-3, Archville (Benton), Polk County; Camp Cordell Hull, F-5, Unicoi, Unicoi County; Camp Evan Shelby, F-11, Bristol, Sullivan County; and Camp Turkey Creek, F-17, Tellico Plains, Monroe County, all in Cherokee National Forest; also several TVA camps.

North Carolina: Camp Grandfather Mountain, F-5, Mortimer (Edgemont), Avery-Caldwell County; Camp Alex Jones, F-7, Hot Springs, Madison County; and Camp John Rock, F-28, Brevard, Transylvania County, all in Pisgah National Forest; Camp Coweeta, F-23, Otto, Macon County; and Camp Santeetlah, F-24, Robbinsville, Graham County, both in Nantahala National Forest; and Camp Meadow Fork, NP-21, Laurel Springs, Alleghany-Ashe County, Blue Ridge Parkway.

Georgia: Camp Woody, F-1, Suches, Union County; Camp Crawford W. Long, F-7, Chatsworth, Murray County; Camp Lake Rabun, F-9, Lakemont, Rabun County; and Camp Pocket Bowl, F-16, La Fayette, Walker County, all now in Chattahoochee National Forest. (At the time, F-9 was in Nantahala, and F-1 and F-7 were in Cherokee National Forest.)

South Carolina: Camp Ellison D. Smith, F-1, Mounain Rest, Oconee County, then in Nantahala National Forest, now in Sumter National Forest.

(In this list, F stands for National Forest, NP stands for National Park, and S for State-operated camps.)

19. Interview with B.W. Chumney, July 19, 1979, Cleveland, Tenn. "Forest Fire Fighter" *Cleveland Banner*, Cleveland, Tenn., March 30, 1978.

20. NA, RG 35, 1933-1934, Appendix D—Case Histories, North Carolina, "Summary of Social Values."

21. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Tennessee F-5, Unicoi, Tenn.

22. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Tennessee F-5, Testimony of George W. Buckner, July 29, 1934.

23. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Tennessee F-5, Testimony of Sheriff M. F. Parsley, Erwin, Tenn. July 29, 1934.

24. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Tennessee F-5, Testimony of Alf T. Snead, Limestone Cove, Tenn. July 29, 1934.

25. NA, RG 95, CCC, Donald E. Clark, Forest Supervisor, to W.M. Felker, November 24, 1934, Camp Old Hickory, Tenn.

26. NA, RG 95, CCC, General Integrating Inspection Report, Region 8, 1937.

27. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Kentucky, F-9, Stanton, Ky., C.H. Mackelfresh to T.J. McVey, Sept. 17, 1935.

28. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Kentucky. T.J. McVey to J.J. McEntee, Sept. 17, 1935.

29. NA, RG 95, CCC, Memorandum for Hiwasee Project Superintendents from J.W. Cooper, Sept. 14, 1935, Camp Old Hickory, Tenn.

30. NA, RG 95, CCC, News Release, March 6, 1937, Information, General 1933-42; Circular letter from A.W. Hartman, CCC Regional Office, Dec. 2, 1937, CCC Personnel (Training), Camp Old Hickory, Tenn.

31. NA, RG 95, CCC. This account of the "Fox Chase and Barbecue," April 5, 1938, is taken from local newspaper accounts found in the CCC Personnel Training file, Camp Old Hickory, Tenn.

32. NA, RG 95, CCC, Memo to District Rangers from Forest Supervisor, Cherokee National Forest, June 9, 1938, National Forest Development and Protection; Fire Reports to Forest Supervisor, Cherokee N.F., 1935; CCC Inspection Reports, 1933-42, Camp Old Hickory, Tenn.

33. The following acount of work performed by the CCC is derived from records cited in notes 4 and 32.

34. John Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-1942,* pp. 121-125; Michael Frome, *The Forest Service,* p. 20; Ignatz Pikl, Jr., *History of Georgia Forestry,* pp. 19, 28, 33. Summaries of work performed in the individual camps are found in the Inspection Reports cited earlier.

35. NA, RG 35, "CCC in Emergencies."

36. NA, RG 95, CCC, Information, General, K.G. McConnell to G.T. Backus, In Charge, State CCC, May 23, 1941.

37. NA, RG 95, CCC, Information, Special, H.E. Ochsner, Forest Supervisor, Pisgah, Memo for Regional Forester, May 24, 1938. W.H. Fischer, Forest Supervisor, Chattahoochee, Memo for Regional Forester, March 16, 1938; P.F.W. Prater, Forest Supervisor, Cherokee, Memo for Regional Forester, May 13, 1938.

38. Marguerite Owen, *The Tennessee Valley Authority* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 30-33.

39. NA, RG 95, CCC, Personnel (Training), P.F.W. Prater—Forest Supervisor, Cherokee National Forest, Memo on ECW Education (Conseration), April 27, 1937, CCC Camp Old Hickory, Tenn.

40. John Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps.* pp. 47-54 and 162-168.

41. The following discussion of the CCC's accomplishments is based on the surviving records of the camps listed in table 3.

Chapter V

Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the Blue Ridge Parkway

The New Deal decade of the 1930's introduced the Southern Appalachians to yet another Federal agency interested in land acquisition: the National Park Service. Compared to the Forest Service, the Park Service presence in the region is minor; yet it has engendered considerable public awareness and controversy. Although the Park Service operates several small parks, monuments, and historic sites in the Southern Appalachians, its presence is most visible in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the Blue Ridge Parkway.[1] The creation of both parks, which occurred between 1928 and 1940, differed considerably from the creation of the area's National Forests.

The National Park Service was established in August 1916, as a result of a conservation campaign similar to the one leading to the Weeks Act several years earlier. Since the creation of Yellowstone Park in 1872, 13 National Parks had been created from the lands of the public domain. These had been under the jurisdiction of the General Land Office of the Department of the Interior, but some, like Yellowstone, had been supervised by the Army and others scarcely managed at all. Under the chief sponsorship of the American Civic Association, conservationists, civic groups, and legislators nationwide rallied behind the idea of scenic preservation, and promoted a separate agency to manage the parks on an active basis.[2]

The purposes of National Parks differ from those of National Forests (originally called forest reserves). The principal difference is that the parks stress preservation and the forests stress "wise use" of their natural resources. National Parks are areas of special national significance; many exhibit unusual natural scenic grandeur. The Act of 1916 which organized them under a National Park Service states that they were created "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."[3] In a National Park the forest is left essentially as it is; if trees mature, they are not harvested; if they fall, they are left to rot.[4] No timber harvesting, grazing by domestic livestock, mining, or hunting is allowed in National Parks, but fishing may be permitted, and individual dead trees that pose a hazard may be removed.

The National Forests, as is explained in Chapter VIII, are and have long been managed for a variety of public uses and needs. The so-called Organic Administration Act of 1897 provided for protection and management of the forests to insure favorable water flow and a continuous supply of timber for the needs of the Nation. In 1905 Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson emphasized that "all the resources . . . are for use" and directed the Forest Service to manage the forests so "that the water, wood, and forage . . . are conserved and wisely used . . . [for] the greatest good to the greatest number in the long run."[5] The first major uses of the forests were providing wood for local settlers and industries, and forage for grazing of local domestic livestock. Before long it was recognized that the forests were also important for public recreation activities and as habitat for diverse forms of desirable wildlife. Later on the Forest Service pioneered in setting aside special areas as wilderness. The principle of multiple uses, begun under Gifford Pinchot, first Chief of the Forest Service, thus developed. It is explained in detail in Chapter VIII.

Although certain land-management goals of National Parks and National Forests are somewhat similar—such as encouraging visitors and providing some facilities for them, encouraging and protecting wildlife, controlling dangerous fires, and preserving wilderness—the two agencies do have basic differences that can result in conflict at times.

The Forest Service and National Park Service have often been competitive. Their rivalry dates from Pinchot's successful negotiations for transfer of the forest reserves from Interior to Agriculture in 1905. The Forest Service opposed the creation of the National Park Service in 1916, believing that a separate agency was not needed to manage the country's most outstanding scenic areas, that the Forest Service could do the job just as well. Many such areas have been transferred from the Forest Service to the Park Service. A few National Monuments are still supervised by the Forest Service. Rivalry between the two services has continued to the present, rising in intensity during years when a merger of the two services or a large land transfer is proposed.[6]

The land acquisition policies of the two agencies differ as well. Units of the National Park System are created by individual acts of Congress; there is no legislation comparable to the Weeks Act authorizing general, ongoing land acquisition for the National Park System. In addition, until the 1960's, National Parks that had not been set aside from the public domain were acquired by State, local, or private agencies, and title was subsequently transferred to the United States. Thus, the lands for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park were purchased by specially formed park commissions in Tennessee and North Carolina; lands for the Blue Ridge Parkway were purchased by the States of North Carolina and Virginia. Some lands for the Parkway were transferred from the Forest Service.

Most important, eastern National Parks have been created through the power of eminent domain; unwilling sellers have had their lands condemned. In contrast, eastern National Forests have been created only with "willing buyer-willing seller" acquisitions. Since a National Forest is a multipurpose area to be used by man, taking all the land within a given forest boundary has not been considered necessary. A National Park, as an area of scenic preservation, usually must be wholly controlled to be preserved. Thus, acquisition of land for a park usually erases human enterprise and culture from the landscape.

Figure 74.—Great Smoky Mountains National Park, view from State Line Trail looking down Forney Creek watershed southeastward toward Little Tennessee River, in 1931. (National Archives: Record Group 95G-259049)

Origins of Great Smoky Mountains National Park

After lying dormant for almost 20 years, the movement for a National Park in the Southern Appalachians came to life again during the winter of 1923-24. Since becoming first director of the National Park Service, Stephen T. Mather had favored an eastern park; for several years the Service had been considering possible sites. At a dinner at the prestigious Cosmos Club in Washington in December 1923, Mather, Congressman Zebulon Weaver of Asheville, and others resolved to press for a park in the Southern Appalachian region. In 1924, the Secretary of the Interior appointed a special Southern Appalachian National Park Committee to study potential sites.[7]

At the same time, pro-park groups were coalescing in the region itself. In Knoxville, Tenn., Willis Davis, manager of the Knoxville Iron Co., along with a small group of businessmen and attorneys, formed the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association for the purpose of raising interest in, and money for, a National Park and a road through the Smokies. Meanwhile, a group of North Carolina citizens reactivated interest in a Southern Appalachian park. In 1924, the State legislature created the North Carolina Park Commission for the purpose of securing a National Park in North Carolina. At first the North Carolina group preferred the site of Grandfather Mountain and Linville Gorge; however, after the national committee recommended the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia and the Great Smokies as the best sites for Appalachian parks, the North Carolina Park Commission shifted its focus to the Smokies.

The national committee was convinced of the suitability of the Smokies as a location for a National Park not only on account of its scenery but also its forests: "The Great Smokies easily stand first [in park sites] because of the height of mountains, depth of valleys, ruggedness of the area, and the *unexampled variety* of trees, shrubs, and plants."[8] It was the largest area of original forest remaining in the eastern United States.[9] Indeed, the "unexampled" tree cover had made the Smokies a loggers' paradise. Timber companies had been operating in the mountains for 30 years; in 1925, fully 85

percent of the area was timber company-owned. Although much of the land had been clearcut or culled, the steepness and remoteness of the area had delayed extensive logging in places; at mid-decade about one-third of the Smokies was judged to be still primeval forest.

Preservation of this unique forest was the goal around which an intense campaign began in 1925 in both Tennessee and North Carolina. In 1925 there was no Federal authority to purchase land for a National Park, as there was for a National Forest. Thus, wrote Mather, "the only practicable way National Park areas can be acquired would be donations of land from funds privately donated.[10] Each State set out to raise at least $500,000 toward initial land acquisition. Donations were sought from all levels of society, across both States. An earnest newspaper campaign began urging the importance of the Great Smoky Park. The appeals were to both esthetics and economics: preservation of the forest from inevitable destruction by the timber companies was urged; at the same time, the economic rewards of tourism to the area were assured. The park promised to be a tremendous boon to the mountain region, in the cash it would bring to businesses, in the employment it would offer, in the population increase the area would experience.[11]

Opposition to the creation of a National Park in the Great Smoky Mountains was vehemently expressed by a majority of the area's lumber companies. Indeed, the idea was anathema to them. They proposed instead the creation of another Appalachian National Forest: a compromise that would provide a scenic recreation site while allowing lumbering to continue.

Chief among the opposition spokesmen was Reuben B. Robertson, president of Champion Fibre Co. of Canton, N.C. Champion owned nearly 100,000 acres of spruce and mixed hardwoods in the very center of the Smokies which the company had bought from smaller companies about 10 years before. About 9,000 acres of the tract had been logged, but most was virgin timber.[12] Robertson began a publicity campaign via newspapers and pamphlets to counter the park enthusiasts. Although his primary motivation was to protect the economic interests of Champion, his arguments were also based on the value of scientific forestry. Since most of the Smokies were cutover or culled, he reasoned, they should not be left to the course of nature but managed under sound principles of silviculture. The Forest Service was, to Robertson, clearly the preferable land management agency.[13]

Support for Robertson's position was, if not widespread, at least strong. North Carolina lumber companies almost universally sided with Champion. Andrew Gennett, of the Gennett Lumber Co. of Asheville, agreed too, but proposed a compromise 100,000-acre park along the crest of the Smokies *within* the boundaries of a National Forest.[14] In Tennessee, the movement for a National Forest as an alternative to a park was led by James Wright, a landowner in Elkmont and attorney for the Louisville-Nashville Railroad. The movement was initially strong enough to defeat the first bill in the Tennessee legislature to buy a tract from the Little River Lumber Co.

Sentiment for a National Park, however, was ultimately stronger, although it is difficult to gauge the degree of public awareness of the park-vs.-forest issue. The newspapers, at least, carried the debate. Horace Kephart, of Bryson City, N.C., author of *Our Southern Highlanders*, argued against Robertson in an article in the Asheville *Times* of July 19, 1925:

> . . . if the Smoky Mountain region were turned into a national forest, the 50,000 to 60,000 acres of original forests that are all we have left would be robbed of their big trees. They would be the first to go.
>
> Why should this last stand of splendid, irreplaceable trees be sacrificed to the greedy maw of the sawmill? Why should future generations be robbed of all chance to see with their own eyes what a real forest, a real wildwood, a real unimproved work of God, is like?
>
> It is all nonsense to say that the country needs that timber. If every stick of it were cut, the output would be a mere drop in the bucket compared with the annual production of lumber in America. Let these few old trees stand! Let the nation save them inviolate by treating them as national monuments in a national park.[15]

Indeed, Kephart reminded his readers, the Forest Service did not want a National Forest in the Great Smokies; the earlier purchase unit there had been dissolved and options to purchase relinquished. Others argued that a National Forest could not compare to a park in the tourist trade it would bring. As Dan Tompkins, editor of the *Jackson County Journal*, expressed the sentiment, "We have examples of national forests in Jackson and most of the other mountain counties, and if a single tourist has ever come here to see them, we've missed him."[16]

In the end, the arguments against lumbering, and for scenery, recreation, and tourism, were stronger. Local response to the fund-raising campaign was seemingly enthusiastic; by the end of 1925, several hundred thousand dollars had been pledged. Although a considerable amount of money was raised, the base of support for the movement is difficult to ascertain. As with the first Appalachian park movement, the second one was principally an urban, professional coalition, led by the business leaders of Asheville and Knoxville. The roles of publishers Charles A. Webb of the Asheville *Citizen and Times* and Edward Meeman of the Knoxville *News-Sentinel* were certainly key to the campaign's success. The movement was well organized, and its appeal was broader than that of the earlier park movement. Although there were undoubtedly small landholders and people employed in lumbering who opposed the coming of the park, their spokesmen were few; their opposition was overwhelmed by the momentum of the park idea.

First Tract Purchased in 1925

In 1925 the first tract of land for the Great Smokies park was purchased: 76,507 acres from the Little River Lumber Co. for $3.57 per acre. One-third of the $273,557 purchase price was paid by the City of Knoxville, two-thirds by the State of Tennessee. The tract was essentially the lands that had been optioned for purchase as a National Forest 10 years earlier. Most had been heavily cut, and lumbering was underway on the remaining acres. In fact, Col. W. B. Townsend, owner of the lumber company, sold the tract with timber rights for 15 years to all trees over 10 inches in diameter.[17]

On May 22, 1926, President Calvin Coolidge signed a bill passed by the 69th Congress authorizing Federal parks in the Blue Ridge and Great Smoky Mountains, all land for which was to be purchased with State and private funds.[18] The Great Smoky Mountains National Park was originally to be 704,000 acres. Once 150,000 acres were purchased, administration by the National Park Service would begin; once a minimum of 300,000 acres was purchased, the park could actually be developed.

The next 2 years involved a search for purchasing funds. Early in 1927, North Carolina appropriated $2 million for park land acquisition; Tennessee followed with an appropriation of $1.5 million. In 1928, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., offered $5 million from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation on a dollar-for-dollar matching basis. Although finances remained tight, the Rockefeller grant assured that acquisition could begin on a large scale.[19]

Land acquisition for the Great Smoky Mountains Park took approximately 10 years, although certain condemnation suits were not resolved until the 1940's. The total area of the park contained more than 6,600 separate tracts. Over 5,000 were small lots that had been auctioned or sold for summer homes; almost all were in Tennessee. About 1,200 tracts were small mountain farms from 40 to several hundred acres in size; most were in Tennessee as well. The majority of the land was in a few large tracts held by timber companies, primarily in North Carolina. Among them were the Champion Fibre, and the Suncrest, Norwood, William Ritter, Montvale, and Kitchen lumber companies. Because most of the smaller tracts were in Tennessee, land acquisition there was more difficult and time-consuming. North Carolina park acquisition was almost complete by 1931; by 1934 only a 60-acre tract remained to be purchased. Tennessee on the other hand, was actively acquiring tracts as late as 1938.[20]

The authority for land acquisition was in the hands of the North Carolina and Tennessee park commissions. Verne Rhoades, former Forest Service officer, was executive secretary of the North Carolina Commission. At first the commissions were reluctant to take land by condemnation, but gradually they realized that it was necessary in some cases. The timber firms often asked prices the commission could not pay, and some of the smaller farmers were as resistant to selling as the timber firms. If an owner were particularly stubborn, he was permitted to sell his property at a lower price and become a lifetime tenant. The tactic was often used to determine which owners were clinging to their land out of genuine love and which were trying to drive hard bargains.[21]

Lumber Companies Violently Oppose Selling Lands

Some lumber companies expressed determined opposition to the purchase of their lands. In 1928 the Suncrest Lumber Co., having been asked to halt logging operations, and anticipating condemnation, challenged the constitutionality of the North Carolina Park Commission and its right to condemn. In a series of court battles the Commission won not only its right to force timber operations to halt, but also its right to condemn in State courts. In 1929, Suncrest closed its logging operations completely, but the tract was not purchased until 1932, when litigation over the price of the tract was resolved. The North Carolina Park Commission paid $600,000 for the almost 33,000-acre tract.[22]

The opposition of Champion Fibre Co. to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park at first had been fierce; however, after the North Carolina park appropriation of $2 million was passed, Robertson relented, and Champion subsequently suspended logging operations on its tract. Preliminary negotiations to purchase the property were begun in late 1929, but it soon became apparent that the park commissions and Champion placed vastly different values on the land. In January 1930 the Tennessee Park Commission began condemnation proceedings to acquire its share of the tract. Tennessee valued the 39,549 acres on its side at from $300,000 to $800,000; Champion claimed the acreage was worth between $4 million and $7 million. Champion based the figures on the incomparable quality of the area's spruce timber and the almost total dependence of the Canton mill on this spruce. Indeed, the Canton mill and rail lines had been built specifically to handle the spruce. Robertson's perspective in 1929 was that the loss of the spruce supply would mean an end to the sulphite mill. As he recalled later, in spite of the desirability of the park for the State and community, "we had a duty to our stockholders to protect their investment."[23]

In November 1930, a Sevierville jury awarded Champion $2,325,000 for the tract as well as $225,000 in damages to the Canton mill. Tennessee, outraged, threatened to appeal the case. Champion was not satisfied either; Robertson wanted $4 million for the tract.[24] Two months later he announced that Champion would resume logging on the Tennessee property; with that, the Tennessee Park Commission appealed the jury's decision.

The problem was finally resolved when National Park Service director Horace Albright called Champion and park commission officials to Washington. There, in spite of bitter personal disagreement between Robertson and Col. David Chapman of the park commission, a settlement was reached. Champion was paid $3 million for its 92,814.5-acre tract: over $32 per acre. In spite of Robertson's predictions, Champion's mill at Canton did not close. Over the course of the next decade the company perfected a process of making high-quality paper from pine fiber as a substitute for spruce. In

fact, pine, available from the Piedmont, proved to be a cheaper resource than the Smoky Mountains spruce, and assured a much more profitable operation.

On the whole, the small farmers and lot holders, if not eager, were often willing to sell their land for the park. There were, of course, exceptions, some of whom were as resistant to the park as Champion and Suncrest. The lines of battle were drawn over prices: the disparities between values placed on land by the park commissions and those by the landowners were often wide.

The Cades Cove Settlement

Probably the most famous condemnation cases involved selected tracts in the Cades Cove area of Tennessee. Cades Cove, a wide valley surrounded by some of the Smokies' highest peaks, was a settlement of farms that had been passed down through families for several generations. John Oliver, who owned 375 acres in Cades Cove, absolutely refused to sell; condemnation proceedings began in 1929 but the case was not settled until 1935. The apparent source of Mr. Oliver's hostility to the park was a particular person on the acquisition team, who was subsequently replaced. Mr. Oliver was paid $17,000 for his farm, over $45 per acre.[25]

The Tennessee commission tried a series of tactics to persuade the Cades Cove opponents to sell. Ben Morton of Knoxville, whose father had been a respected physician in the area, was sent to Cades Cove as ambassador of goodwill. It was in response to Cades Cove opposition that the commission began allowing especially resistant oldtimers to remain lifetime tenants on their land if they sold at a lower price.

Other pockets of recalcitrant owners were the Elkmont and Cherokee Orchards areas of Tennessee, where some cases were not settled until the late 1930's. One especially well-known condemnation case concerned the 660-acre property of W. O. Whittle, not far from Gatlinburg. Whittle valued his land at $200,000; park estimators offered no more than $40,000. The case was in litigation until 1942, when a federal jury awarded Whittle $36,700, over $55 per acre.[26]

Other opposition to the park took the form of general disgruntlement with the Tennessee and North Carolina park commissions. In North Carolina, $51,000 in park funds had been lost in the 1931 failure of an Asheville bank. Over the next few years of the Depression, the expenditures of the commission often seemed extravagant. Protest was strong enough to effect change. In 1933, North Carolina reduced the size of the commission and appointed a new set of commissioners; in Tennessee, the commission was abolished and its duties transferred to the Tennessee Park and Forestry Commission.

Roosevelt Gets CCC Money For Park

In spite of these changes, the prices paid for land were often higher than anticipated and, even with the Rockefeller grants, the commissions ran out of funds twice. In December 1933, President Roosevelt secured $1,550,000 in CCC funds for the park, most of which went to pay for North Carolina lands. Several years later more funds were required. In 1937 Tennessee Senator Thomas McKellar attached to a bill appropriating money for lands in the Tahoe National Forest in Nevada, an amendment providing almost $750,000 to complete purchases in the Smokies. The bill passed in 1938.[27]

In general, the prices paid for park land were high, especially compared to prices paid for National Forest lands during the same years. Prices for large tracts in the Pisgah, Cherokee, and Nantahala National Forests during the 1930's averaged between $3 and $10 an acre. Even the incomparable "virgin" timber of the Nantahala forest's Gennett tract brought only $28 per acre. In the Smokies, Champion's land sold for $32 an acre. Companies other than Champion were paid well for their land. Suncrest's tract was settled in 1932 for over $18 per acre. In 1933, the Ravensford Lumber Co. tract, over half of which had been cutover, sold for over $33 per acre. In 1935 the large Tennessee tract belonging to the Morton Butler heirs was settled for over $15 per acre; the owners were outraged at the low price.[28]

To some degree, land values for the park were inflated by demand. The stated goal of buying all the land within the park boundaries undoubtedly encouraged some landowners, confident that the government would eventually buy, to hold out for higher prices. Built into some of the prices, of course, were the costs of litigation, damages, and delay. For example, when the Sevierville jury awarded a settlement to Champion Fibre, they included $225,000 for damages for the company's railroad and mill.[29] Nevertheless, considering that most of the Smokies' timberland had been cut and that Depression prices prevailed over the region, the discrepancies were large.

Land acquisition agencies were aware of the high prices being paid. In 1935 the Agricultural Adjustment Administration discussed cooperating with the Park Service in acquiring submarginal land in Haywood County, N.C., which could then be added to the park. The Forest Service also was enlisted to help. Samuel Broadbent, Supervisor of the Pisgah National Forest, felt the Forest Service could acquire a half dozen tracts along the Pigeon River at more moderate prices than the park commission, and pledged cooperation with the Park Service and AAA.[30] However, according to Roger Miller of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park headquarters, the Forest Service never acquired any land for the park.[31]

The Park's Effects on the Mountain People

In 1931, the headquarters of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park was established at Gatlinburg, Tenn., and the park was developed slowly. In 1936, after more than 400,000 acres had been acquired and turned over to the Federal Government, the Park Service assumed responsibility for land acquisition. In 1940 the park was dedicated by President Roosevelt.

Until most of the area within the park boundaries was consolidated, land management was fragmentary and difficult. Protecting the area from fires, vandalism, and hunting was the major management activity. It was particularly difficult to stop mountaineers from hunting on grounds they had used for that purpose for generations. Incendiary fires also plagued the first park rangers. Fire control improved over the decade with construction of fire towers and fire control roads by the CCC. During 1934 and 1935 there were 16 CCC camps active within the park, with over 4,000 men employed.[32]

In slightly more than a decade, there was an almost complete change in landownership within the park area. The timber companies either closed down, as Suncrest did, or resumed operations elsewhere. (The vast majority—85 percent—of the land was held by 18 lumber companies.)[33] Altogether, about 4,250 people, or 700 families, were affected by the creation of the park.[34] Most small farmers and their families in the Smokies settled on farms in adjacent parts of Swain, Sevier, and Graham counties, or in nearby villages. Gatlinburg, for example, which was a hamlet of only 75 people in 1930, grew to 1,300 residents by 1940, almost entirely as a result of park outmigration.[35]

In 1934 a survey of Tennessee families whose lands had been acquired for the park was undertaken by W. O. Whittle for the University of Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, to ascertain the impact of relocation on the lives of the people involved. Information was obtained on 528 families, and 331 were personally interviewed. The survey revealed that most families had relocated on adjacent land. Only 2.6 percent of the families moved to other States, and 22 percent to other counties. Fifteen percent retained temporary or life occupancy within the park boundaries.[36]

In general, the survey found that for the 331 families interviewed, movement from the area of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park increased tenancy, decreased the average acreage held, and increased unemployment. Yet most relocated families also were closer to church, schools, and stores in their new locations, and found agricultural conditions more favorable. Overall, 54 percent of the families interviewed regarded the conditions of their former and new locations to be equal.

Land acquisition and outmigration continued at a trickle over the decades of the 1940's and 1950's, as boundaries were adjusted and most difficult cases settled. The pattern of outmigration was similar to that of the 1930's. In 1982 the park contained 515,000 acres or 208,600 hectares, about 805 square miles, with about 2,600 acres of inholdings yet to be acquired.[37]

Economic Boom Benefits Only a Few

The economic boom that park enthusiasts had promised was slow to arrive, and some would question whether it ever came at all. Although the annual number of visitors to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park increased over the years to over 3 million, the money left by them went only to a small portion of the local population. The Gatlinburg area, for example, virtually exploded in commercial acreage, number of businesses, gross business receipts, and residential subdivision, but the beneficiaries of this growth were few. Most of Gatlinburg's business district was owned for many decades by a few prominent families: the Ogles, Whaleys, Huffs, and Reagans. Thus, "the benefits of commercial land ownership, primarily in the form of contract rents, are flowing largely to a small group of local residents."[38] Others who invested in Gatlinburg were outsiders: either large, nationally based chains, in the case of businesses, or vacationers and subdivision developers, in the case of residential land. Meanwhile, for those who were dislocated by the park, the benefits of tourism were meager, if not nonexistent.[39]

The grievances against the park were sometimes specific, as in the case of many Swain County residents over the non-completion of a highway which the Federal Government promised to rebuild. Swain County is almost 82 percent federally owned: one half of the county is within the park, and half the Cherokee Reservation is in the county; much of the remaining land is part of the Nantahala National Forest. TVA's Fontana Dam, built in 1943, backed Fontana Lake halfway across the county. Several people who lived on park or TVA land relocated in the interstices of the National Forest.[40]

In 1940, even after the park was dedicated, park officials and park enthusiasts wanted to include one more major tract within park boundaries: almost 45,920 acres north of the Little Tennessee River in the area of Fontana, N.C.[41] The tract belonged to the North Carolina Exploration Co., a subsidiary of the Tennessee Copper Co. It was traversed by North Carolina Highway 288, from Bryson City to Deal's Gap. Acquisition of the land would ease the administration of park regulations against hunters and poachers, and would help fire control. The value of the land, however, was exorbitantly high for the Park Service.

TVA Acquires Fontana Dam Site

During World War II, TVA acquired 44,000 acres of the tract for Fontana Dam. The lake created by the dam cut off Highway 288. TVA agreed to rebuild the road, but had insufficient funds to do so. Thus, a convenient exchange between Federal agencies occurred. TVA gave the remaining land to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. (At the same time, TVA transferred acreage south of the lake to the Forest Service.) The Park Service now had the regular boundary it desired, down to the shores of Lake Fontana, and in return agreed to rebuild Highway 288. Thus, TVA relinquished its responsibility for building a road, the Park got its desired land, and the people of the area were given a promise.[42]

In 1982 the promise was still unfulfilled. Only 6 miles of the road was built from Bryson City into the park. At one point construction was halted because of the legal question of the right of the National Park Service to build a nonaccess road through the lands of the North Carolina Exploration Co. In 1979 the road was not being built because of the environmental hazards it might bring. Excessive cutting and

filling would be required on steep slopes; the mineral content of the soil would cause a dangerous runoff. Anakeesta, the predominant mineral, has been known to cause deadly pollution in mountain streams.[43]

The people of Swain County are not receptive to this reason for the Park Service's failure to rebuild its highway. They believe that their county has inadequate access from outside and, therefore, cannot participate in whatever benefits accrue from park tourism. In addition to access from without, residents have lost access to areas within the park that were homesites and farm sites. About 26 family cemeteries have been cut off from access by road; they can be reached only by boat across Fontana Lake, and then by foot or horseback up the mountains. Off-road vehicles are prohibited in the park.[44]

It was not the intent of the Park Service to eliminate the former culture of the Smoky Mountains region. In fact, the settlement of Cades Cove has been preserved as a historical area, with an operating grist mill and country store. Nevertheless, because the park has no permanent inhabitants and because the field and forests cannot be used as they formerly were, the park bears no sign of an active culture. The same can be said of the Blue Ridge Parkway, to be considered next.

Blue Ridge Parkway, a New Deal Project

It was not long after the establishment of National Parks in the Blue Ridge and Great Smoky Mountains that the idea developed to connect the Shenandoah National Park to the Great Smoky Park by a scenic mountain highway. Congressman Maurice Thatcher of Kentucky had promoted the idea as early as 1930. Since 1931 the Skyline Drive had been under construction in the Shenandoah National Park. The road had proved a welcome source of employment for the mountain regions particularly hard hit by the Depression; the idea of extending this roadway from the Shenandoah Park to the Smokies seemed logical, even inevitable.

The Blue Ridge Parkway was actually conceived during a meeting at the Virignia Governor's mansion in Richmond in September 1933. Although no single person can be credited as Parkway originator, Virginia's Senator Harry F. Byrd was instrumental in the inaugural phase of the project, convincing Interior Secretary Harold Ickes, and therefore President Franklin Roosevelt, of the Parkway's value. Official reaction to the proposed highway was immediate and almost universally enthusiastic. Within 2 months $4 million had been allotted for the Blue Ridge Parkway, and plans for its construction begun.[45]

The beginnings of the Parkway present a contrast to those of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Coming in 1933 at the Depression's depth and with the New Deal's optimistic launching, the Parkway passed immediately into the Federal domain. It was, from the beginning, not just a National Park but a relief project, and was supported and orchestrated from Washington.

With FDR's blessing, money for Parkway construction was allotted in December 1933 by the Special Board for Public Works under the National Industrial Recovery Act. This Federal funding was assured after the States had agreed to purchase the necessary right-of-way of 200 feet and deed it to the Federal Government. Secretary Ickes assigned the Parkway to the jurisdiction of the National Park Service, which was to cooperate with the Bureau of Public Roads in its construction.

Initial local reaction to the proposed highway was almost unanimously favorable. Hundreds of letters were received by Federal and State officials from mountain residents offering their land for rights-of-way, requesting that the Parkway be routed through a particular town or piece of property, or asking for employment in highway construction. One such letter received by North Carolina Congressman Doughton from a resident of Sparta pleaded for "us people that lives along the crest of the Blue Ridge . . . cut off from the outside world . . . We would be glad to give you the Right a way to get the Road."[46]

The Parkway was welcomed especially as a source of economic relief. Part of its appeal was undoubtedly its relative immediacy, but the boost anticipated was short-term, in contrast to the economic boom anticipated from tourism to the Great Smoky Park not a decade previously. The tourism the Parkway would bring in the future was secondary to the employment the Parkway would offer right away to absorb the labor surplus of the mountains. According to the Asheville *Citizen*, other Federal agencies and relief programs could not equal the Parkway in the quantity and type of economic assistance offered:

> The National Industrial Recovery Act would do little for them [the mountain residents] because they had relatively few industries; the Agricultural Adjustment Act could not offer much aid because their small farms had no important staple crop; the Tennessee Valley Authority could offer little immediate help, if ever; the creation of Shenandoah and the Great Smoky Mountains National parks and a series of national forests had removed much property from the tax books and had halted the timber work which had employed thousands. Thus, a great local construction project, such as road building, appeared to be their only salvation.[47]

Opposition expressed toward the construction of the Parkway was scattered and feeble. Certain conservation groups registered concern about the highway. *Nature Magazine* in a 1935 editorial protested that the Parkway would ruin the landscape and allow careless dispersal of trash; Robert Marshall, who a few years later became Recreation Director of the Forest Service, expressed worries at a 1934 meeting of the American Forestry Association that the Parkway would destroy wilderness areas.[48] Certain owners of summer mountain cabins, threatened with the loss of their private retreats, protested the road. On the whole, however, in the middle of the 1930s the Blue Ridge Parkway was a much-applauded, happily anticipated regional gain.[49]

The selection of the route of the Blue Ridge Parkway absorbed nearly a year of bitter wrangling between North Carolina and Tennessee for Federal favor. The final choice of a route along the higher mountain ridge in North Carolina, by Grandfather Mountain, and by Asheville, to enter the Great Smoky Park at Cherokee, was made by Secretary Ickes in late 1934. Actual acquisition for the Parkway began shortly after the final route selection was announced.[50]

The National Park Service required that for every mile of parkway, 100 acres be acquired in fee simple, and 50 acres of scenic easement be controlled. The average width of the right-of-way strip was to be 1,000 feet, and no less than 200 feet. Although Virginia never accepted these requirements, for the most part North Carolina did. Both States had the power to condemn by eminent domain; in North Carolina, simply posting the Parkway's route through a given county at the county courthouse established the right to title. In Virginia, the acquisition procedure was the same as for other State roads.[51]

Altogether 38,000 acres in North Carolina and 23,500 acres in Virginia were acquired for the Blue Ridge Parkway. The Parkway deliberately bypassed existing communities; thus, for the most part, the land acquired was in the most remote and sparsely populated areas of the mountain counties. Many of the people whose land was affected lived in small isolated cabins or on meager subsistence farms. In some cases, area residents had never heard a radio.[52] The surveyors for the path of the Parkway often found the land as remote and inaccessible as had the early Forest Service surveyors 20 years before.

Parkway Land Acquisition Proves Difficult

In both States, in spite of the eagerness that initially greeted announcement of the Parkway, acquisition of both rights-of-way and scenic easements proved much more difficult than anticipated. This difficulty was due partly to popular confusion and misunderstandings about what the scenic easement and right-of-way for a National Parkway imply. In the case of a right-of-way, title is held by the Park Service; in the case of an easement, the landower continues to hold title but relinquishes to the Federal Government certain controls over the use or appearance of the land. In both cases, roadside development, commercial frontage, and access are strictly prohibited. Thus, a landowner selling a right-of-way or easement received no direct benefit from the Parkway, save the one-time payment for the land. Furthermore, there may have been a discrepancy between those who wrote the editorials proclaiming a county's eagerness for the roadway and those whose land actually lay in the Parkway's path. It was probably easy for a mountain county in 1934 to applaud the coming of the Parkway *in general,* but not so easy for individual mountaineers 2 years later to accept that *their* particular tract would be taken.

Although many residents were pleased to sell their mountain land at a time of economic deprivation, some counties had scores of condemnation cases during the acquisition process.

Figure 75.—Tiny dilapidated log cabin, similar to many encountered on the right-of-way of the Blue Ridge Parkway and in Great Smoky Mountains National Park. This one was on lower slopes of Flat Top Mountain, between Troutdale and Konnarock, Va., in July 1958, near the present Mt. Rogers National Recreation Area, east of Damascus, near the Tennessee and North Carolina State lines. (Forest Service photo F-487199)

Figure 76.—View from Blue Ridge Parkway showing mountain farm home, and fields and forest lands encountered along the route. Forests were heavily culled, and many farm fields were worn out and returning to brush. This scene, taken in 1948, is on lower slopes of Sharp Top in the Peaks of Otter region of the Jefferson National Forest near Roanoke, Va. (Forest Service photo F-452145)

Tales of mountaineers' fierce resistance to land sales echo those of Cades Cove in the Great Smokies. One owner, for example, challenged the constitutionality of the North Carolina law appropriating the purchasing funds; one refused to move a barn from the acquired right-of-way and had it sliced down the middle instead; one threatened a bulldozer with a double-barrel shotgun. Some landowners were ultimately able to avoid losing their land. As in the Great Smoky Park, several grants of lifetime tenure were given as exceptions to elderly people whose families had held the land for generations and who were especially resistant to moving. In addition, some summer homeowners were persuasive enough to have the Parkway re-routed around their tracts.[53]

It must be remembered that most landowners sold only a strip or corner of their land; except where the original acreage was small, losing a strip did not necessarily infringe on the privacy or coherence of a tract. Poor mountaineers obviously suffered more than large landholders. In some areas more than a strip of land was involved where special developments were planned along the 477-mile Parkway route: recreation sites for camping and picnicking; service areas for lodging, eating, and automobile service. For them, at least several hundred acres had to be acquired.

The effect of acquiring special development park areas on the lives of the people who had resided there suggests what some other mountaineers along the Parkway route experienced. Families forced to give up their farms were suddenly confronted with the necessity of finding new homes and, in some cases, new employment. For some, the process of relocation was relatively easy; for others, relinquishing their land brought confusion and helplessness. Five of the special service areas became part of a Land Use Project funded by the Resettlement Administration in May and June 1936. The five areas totaled 5,300 acres, most of which was optioned for purchase by the summer of 1937. A total of 39 families had lived on the acreage and, with option for purchase, had moved on their own or were helped to relocate.[54]

The North Carolina special service areas were in Alleghany, Wilkes, and Surrey counties, none of which had had any National Forests or other Federal land project. Of the 13 North Carolina families who were affected, 10 moved on their own. Most of them did not move far. Several owned other tracts nearby on which they settled; 3 became tenants on neighboring farms. In May 1937, 3 of the families still remained on the park land, but none was to be allowed to stay longer and all needed Resettlement aid to relocate. These 3 families had been farming plots of less than 20 mountainous acres; their cash incomes averaged less than $100 per year. The families averaged 6 members; their housing was sub-standard at best. Although all were poorly educated and untrained, they were regarded by welfare workers as having "a tenacious and fighting spirit." None had ever been on relief before.[55] The 3 families wished to resettle on farms close to their current homes. They were expected to be paid between $4 and $10 per acre for their lands; all were expected to need help in finding land and employment.

The summary of proposals and recommendations regarding the people displaced by the park areas may speak for other mountaineers all down the Parkway route:

> The majority of families living within the park areas were living on submarginal land, and most of the persons living there were the owners of the tract on which they lived. The families themselves felt that in selling their land they had done a service for the government. They are worried and at a loss to know the reason for the great delay in being paid, and the necessity for a relief status before they can get work in the park. In the majority of cases the only asset the family had was the farm on which they lived. They will receive so small a sum for their land that it will be impossible for them to continue as self-supporting citizens unless some aid is given. In many cases advice in buying new land is necessary in order that the family will not be influenced to buy land that will not meet their needs and on which they cannot improve their condition.[56]

In general, it appears that for the poor mountaineers whose lands were taken for the Parkway, compensation was meager and slow to arrive. Some may have felt they helped their Government, but they were confused and upset about the delay in payment for their land. For the poorest, dislocation seems to have necessitated relief payments and a welfare status. Even for those who profited nicely by their land sales, the long-term benefits may have been limited. Profits from sale of land with inflated values are often illusory when the seller tries to reinvest in comparable land.[57]

The Blue Ridge Parkway did, however, bring employment to the region, supplying numerous jobs from 1935 until World War II. Four CCC camps employing about 150 boys each were established along the route of the Parkway; the Emergency Relief Administration sponsored several building projects as well. Private contractors on the Parkway were required to use as much local labor as possible; laborers had to be recruited from the relief and unemployment rolls of the counties through which the road was built. It has been estimated that of all the hard labor the Parkway involved, only 10 percent was imported from outside the immediate region.[58]

Actual Parkway construction began in September 1935, almost 2 years after authorization, on a portion of the Parkway near the North Carolina-Virginia line. More than 100 men from the relief rolls of Alleghany County, N.C., were recruited. Eventually, local men were hired to help in surveying, land clearing, fence building, planting, erosion control, truck driving, and construction of recreation and service facilities. Wages were the minimum 30 cents per hour, which was generally far more than was obtainable elsewhere in the area.

As a long-term employer, however, the Blue Ridge Parkway served a limited role. After construction was completed, the Parkway continued to employ, and still does, local residents in the service areas, for maintenance, repairs, and grounds keeping, but the staff is not large.

Parkway Bypasses Mountain People

Aside from the initial money received for the sale of land and scenic easements, and the Depression employment it supplied, the Blue Ridge Parkway bypassed the people of the Southern Appalachians. The Parkway forbids roadside development and commercial establishments, minimizes access, avoids existing communities and arterials, and prevents new ones from encroaching. A visitor can travel the entire Parkway and, except for exhibit areas preserved by the Park Service, scarcely see a sign of the mountain culture the road has displaced. Like the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the land acquisition for, and the management of, the Blue Ridge Parkway have done little to preserve or enrich the culture of the Southern Appalachians.

Forty years later it is still important to recall the impact of the New Deal on the Southern Appalachian highlands. The coming of largescale lumbering had altered the economy and the landscape of the region in the years following the turn of the century. The alterations made by the New Deal were just as profound, but very different. Earlier change came from increasing exploitation of resources and people. The New Deal marked the first real attempt to protect them. However, New Deal programs were ultimately unable to change entirely the pattern of thoughtless exploitation of resources such as timber and coal. The people and the land benefited from the New Deal, but it was not enough.

In the mountains as everywhere in the United States, the New Deal brought agencies of the Federal Government directly into the lives of ordinary people for the first time. For the first time people were encouraged to think that Federal programs might solve their local problems.

The National Forests had been in the mountains for 20 years, but they had had limited visibility and impact. Much of the land purchased earlier was cutover timber land with few inhabitants. As the forests were expanded during the New Deal, they became more important to the economies of the neighboring counties and began to push aside some local residents. Forest expansion was only part of the large Federal land acquisition carried out by various agencies. The Park Service and the Tennessee Valley Authority in particular bought numerous small tracts of land from mountain people. The number and complexity of these land purchases guaranteed that many sellers would be left with a grievance against "the government."

The benefits of the land purchases are often more readily visible to those removed from the scene by time or distance. Today the economic development programs, electric power, erosion and flood control brought about by TVA have made an obvious contribution to life in the Southern Appalachian region. The Great Smoky Mountains Park and the Blue Ridge Parkway are national treasures enjoyed by millions of visitors every year. The National Forests have become increasingly important for outdoor recreation and as places where Appalachian hardwoods can grow for future generations. In the 1930's in mountain neighborhoods it was often easier to think of families displaced and rural villages gone than of the future benefits available to those who remained.

Although there were some problems and conflicts, the CCC generated more good will than any other Federal program of the '30s. Employment provided by the CCC was invaluable to many mountain families. Welfare programs could have a demoralizing effect on the mountain people, as Caudill points out in *Night Comes to the Cumberlands.*[59] But the CCC was not a "something for nothing" program. By encouraging work and learning, it provided a valuable antidote to the hopelessness the Depression had added to an area already beset with economic problems.

It is difficult to evaluate the impact of the growing recreation use of the mountains. The potential for enjoyment of the mountains was preserved and greatly increased by New Deal developments. Long frequented by the wealthy, mountain resorts became more accessible to the automobile-owning middle class. The park, parkway, and forest recreation provided are a blessing to those, often from urban areas, who use them; but they are a mixed blessing to mountain people. Tourist business can contribute to a local economy, but the contribution is rarely a large one, as many people of the region were to realize in the 1960's and 1970's.[60]

It was the Forest Service, with its emphasis on long-range production of a renewable resource, that contributed the most to the preservation of possibilities for the old mountain way of life. The lands it took over generally remained open for traditional uses such as wood gathering, hunting, fishing, and berrying. The Forest Service and the CCC together provided the best job opportunities for mountain men during the Depression years. The growing timber promised employment for the future as well.

Reference Notes

(In the following notes, the expression "NA, RG 83, FHA" means National Archives, Record Group 83, Farmers Home Administration (USDA). See Bibliography, IX.)

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37. Telephone interviews with Roger Miller, Gatlinburg, Tenn., November 15, 1979, and February 18, 1982. The principal inholding is a 2,300-acre tract owned by Cities Service Corp., just north of Fontana Lake. The other very small scattered tracts are the park borders and may be deleted.

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