Mountains for the Masses

A History of Management Issues in Great Smoky Mountains National Park

Theodore Catton

MOUNTAINS FOR THE MASSES WAS COMMISSIONED BY GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS ASSOCIATION AT THE REQUEST OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AS PART OF THE PARK'S 75TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION.

As one of the largest and wildest national parks in the East, and as America's most visited national park, Great Smoky Mountains has a history that is both dramatic and highly influential.

Unlike most western parks, which were carved from vacant, public domain or national forest lands, this national park had to be purchased entirely from private landowners. The acquired area covers more than half a million acres, equivalent to half the state of Rhode Island. While 85 percent of this area was owned by logging companies, it also encompassed more than 1,000 family farms.

Making a park and a wilderness from settled and logged-off lands had both political and environmental consequences. Throughout this history, the issues of preserving mountain culture, designating wilderness, protecting wildlife and biodiversity—all while managing roads, trails, campgrounds, and other facilities for millions of annual visitors—had to be recognized and resolved.

Mountains for the Masses

A History of Management Issues in Great Smoky Mountains National Park

Theodore Catton

Mountains for the Masses:

A History of Management Issues in Great Smoky Mountains National Park

Theodore Catton

Environmental History Workshop

Prepared for
Great Smoky Mountains Association
P. O. Box 130
Gatlinburg, TN 37738

Published in the United States by Great Smoky Mountains Association. Great Smoky Mountains Association is a private, nonprofit organization which supports the educational, scientific, and historical programs of Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Our publications are an educational service intended to enhance the public's understanding and enjoyment of the national park. If you would like to know more about our publications, memberships, guided hikes and other projects, please contact:

Great Smoky Mountains Association
P. O. Box 130
Gatlinburg, TN 37738
(865) 436-7318
www.SmokiesInformation.org

ISBN # 978-0-937207-78-9

Editors: Steve Kemp and Kent Cave
Book Design: Joey Heath
Historic photographs courtesy Great Smoky Mountains National Park Archives
Editorial Assistance: Cyn Slaughter and Julie Brown
Printed and bound in the USA
01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09

Table of Contents

Introduction

Great Smoky Mountains National Park is a place of majestic mountain views, delightful waterfalls and tumbling streams and wondrous biological diversity. The park is habitat for 100 different species of trees, 60 species of mammals, 200 species of birds, and some 1,500 species of flowering plants. The area's warm southern latitude, humid mountain climate, and variations in elevation combine to make it a rich tapestry of ecotypes and microenvironments. Some one-third of the park's forested area has never been logged, and the park's natural zone, which is managed as de facto wilderness as defined by the Wilderness Act, covers more than 400,000 acres, making it one of the largest wilderness areas in the eastern United States. The park's outstanding interest to science is recognized by its designation as both an International Biosphere Reserve and a World Heritage Site.

The park also features one of the nation's largest collections of rustic buildings. Some of these buildings were long ago dismantled, moved, and reconstructed in new locations. Others still stand in their original settings. Log cabins and barns, grist mills, country churches, and isolated cemeteries serve to remind the park visitor that this landscape was once home to a considerable population of mountain farm families. These cultural features form historical enclaves within what is predominantly a wilderness park.

People come to Great Smoky Mountains National Park at all times of year to sightsee, hike, camp, fish, swim, ride horseback, backpack, and learn about nature. The summer months are the most popular time to visit the park, while the height of fall color brings a late surge of visitors to the Smokies before the relative calm of winter sets in. Receiving nine to ten million visitors annually, this is the most popular park in the national park system. Much of the park's phenomenal popularity stems from its central location in the eastern United States. It is roughly equidistant from the Atlantic Seaboard, the Gulf Coast, the Mississippi River Valley, and the Great Lakes Region. With the help of an interstate highway system that effectively shrinks travel distances, the park is said to be within a day's drive of two-thirds of the nation's population. Meanwhile, the park receives a large amount of use from the growing population located just one to two hours away. This more proximate geographic area includes East Tennessee and Western North Carolina as well as Atlanta, Georgia.

The park's eastern character is a major theme in this administrative history. Heavy visitation is just one of several features of Great Smoky Mountains National Park that have set it apart from the run of national parks in the western states. As only the second national park established east of the Mississippi River (after Acadia) it was the first big national park to be made from private lands. Unlike most western national parks, which were carved from vacant public domain or national forest lands, this national park had to be purchased entirely from private landowners. It required a complicated and attenuated process to bring this park into existence. Three congressional acts formed the outlines of the process: an authorizing act in 1926, an establishing act in 1934, and a supplemental act to facilitate land acquisition in 1938. Park Service administration of the area was initiated in 1930, but park development was supposed to wait until the land base was secured. In the meantime, the states of Tennessee and North Carolina played a crucial role in acquiring the land. Both the states and the federal government had to exercise the power of eminent domain to obtain numerous private holdings. Roughly 6,000 residents were forced to sell and vacate their homes. Even more striking than the number of people who were dispossessed of their land, perhaps, was the vast extent of these private holdings. Altogether, the acquired area covers more than half a million acres, equivalent to half the state of Rhode Island. While 85 percent of this area was owned by logging companies, it also encompassed more than 1,000 farms. Park Service officials in the 1930s and 1940s were vividly aware that much of the park area was heavily impacted by farming, grazing, and logging. They talked of al-

lowing the land to "revert to wilderness."

Making a park and a wilderness from settled and logged-off lands had both political and environmental consequences. The twin legacies of dispossession and wilderness reclamation persist into the twenty-first century. No other national park contains so many cemeteries, many of which are still visited by descendants of the people who were buried there. Sections of the park that were once farmed or logged still exhibit less biodiversity than those sections that were left untouched, and even the casual observer can detect the difference in structure between primeval and second-growth forest. Much of the park's road and trail system is built on old logging railroads.

Through the years the most important legacy of dispossession involved the federal government's unfulfilled obligation to Swain County, North Carolina. When some 44,000 acres were added to the park in the 1940s, the federal government made an agreement whereby the Park Service would attempt to build a road along the north shore of Fontana Lake, newly created behind Fontana Dam. The road proved to be ecologically unsound and incompatible with the park's wilderness values, but Swain County was never reconciled to the road's forfeiture nor was it compensated for the land. The north shore road controversy constantly played into the politics of park planning and funding and remained unresolved more than 65 years later. It was a persistent thorn in the side of park management. Whereas managers in most national parks strove for the optimum balance of preservation and use, superintendents of Great Smoky Mountains National Park often had to triangulate between preservation, use, and the government's contractual commitment to Swain County.

Swain County is one of seven counties surrounding the park; three are in North Carolina and four are in Tennessee. The park area is roughly evenly proportioned between Tennessee and North Carolina. From its inception, Great Smoky Mountains National Park was a two-state project and the federal-state relationship common to all national parks was complicated by that fact. Cooperation between Tennessee and North Carolina sometimes broke down. Park boosters in the two states accused one another of seeking advantage. North Carolina politicians often accused the Park Service of putting more money and resources into the Tennessee side of the park, which it did. With the Tennessee side attracting perhaps two-thirds of all park use, conditions were inherently unequal. Park Service efforts to be even-handed affected park development, the interpretive program, and the distribution of ranger and maintenance personnel.

Another feature of Great Smoky Mountains National Park that relates to its location in the eastern states is the important role that parkways and regional planning have played in its history. Parkways are primarily confined to the eastern United States, and no other national park has had such a close relationship to parkway development as Great Smoky Mountains. The Blue Ridge Parkway adjoins the park on the south, while the Foothills Parkway adjoins and parallels the park boundary on the north. These parkways stirred enormous interest in the states and counties and on the Cherokee Indian Reservation, and the politics of parkway development often impinged on the politics of park development. At the same time, the Park Service could not ignore regional growth issues such as the development of Interstate 40, which skirts the park's eastern boundary. Due to the management challenges posed by regional development and population pressure, Great Smoky Mountains was selected in the early 1970s as one of two pilot parks for a revolutionary experiment in planning. This planning effort had two principal features. First, it sought to integrate park and regional development plans; and second, it sought to involve public input to an unprecedented degree. In some ways, the Park Service's involvement in parkway development from the 1930s to the 1950s primed the agency for its ambitious attempt to provide leadership in regional planning during the 1970s. The attempt yielded mixed results; at the park level it finally culminated in the General Management Plan of 1982.

Park superintendents understandably eschew labeling parks as "crown jewels" or "flagships," insisting that each unit in the national park system deserves to be valued on its own merits. Still, Great Smoky Mountains National Park is by any measure one of the superlative national parks in the

United States. Arno B. Cammerer, a key player in the campaign to establish the park, glimpsed its future greatness and popularity when he predicted that Great Smoky Mountains would become a haven for all "those from the congested centers of population, the workers of the machines in the lofts and mills, the clerks at the desks, and the average fellow of the small towns," who, with only a few days' vacation at their disposal, would "get the recreation and inspiration that [their] more fortunate brothers now get out of a visit to the Yellowstone or Yosemite."[1] Since Cammerer wrote those words, Great Smoky Mountains National Park has hosted more than 400 million recreational visits — more than any other national park in the United States. And as the American people came to appreciate the ecological values of national parks more and more over the course of the next eight decades, this national park's stock rose even higher.

The preparer of an administrative history always faces a dilemma over whether to organize the subject matter chronologically or topically. A chronological telling of the park story serves to explain significant themes that make the park distinctive and it does a better job of putting the park in a wider historical, political, and geographic context. Topical chapters, on the other hand, can help make the report more analytical and useful as a reference work for park staff who are interested in getting historical background on a particular administrative function, program, or issue. This administrative history is organized with a mix of chronological and topical chapters. The first eight chapters are chronological and tell the story of the park's origins and development as a park. In these chapters the focus is on land acquisition and decisions about park roads, other infrastructure, and wilderness boundaries. Chapters Nine through Twenty are topical and deal with various components of visitor services, resource management, and external relationships. It is hoped that the first eight chapters provide context and a chronological treatment of the park's development, while the latter twelve chapters build on that context and delve into the main elements of park management other than development.

[1] Arno B. Cammerer to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., August 12, 1927, File Mr. Rockefeller, Box 6, Records of Arno B. Cammerer, 1922-40, RG 75, NA II.

Foreword

This work was commissioned by Great Smoky Mountains Association at the request of the National Park Service as part of Great Smoky Mountains National Park's 75th anniversary celebration in 2009. Most major national parks have undertaken what is known internally as an "administrative history" long before their 75th birthday, but the Smokies had never successfully completed theirs. Administrative histories are created primarily as reference tools for park management staff, but in a park as popular as Great Smoky Mountains, this one likely has value for libraries, research collections, and the interested public as well.

The main body of text of this work runs through 2008. Some of the photo captions and appendices are more current.

GSMA

Mountains for the Masses:

A History of Management Issues in Great Smoky Mountains National Park

Theodore Catton

Environmental History Workshop

Chapter One
Mountain Home

The Smoky Mountains have a rich cultural history. Vestiges of former human occupation and use can be found throughout the park, most dramatically in the form of rustic log farmsteads and water mills and isolated cemeteries. Lasting effects of the human presence on the land and biota are less obvious but no less ubiquitous. Humans shaped this environment by periodically setting fire to the forest understory, grazing livestock, introducing exotic plants and animals to the area, and clearing the forest for agricultural use. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, industrial logging brought more profound environmental changes, including a system of railroad beds that would later be incorporated into the park's road and trail system.

The pre-park cultural history of the area has significance not only in the way it shaped the natural and built environments, but also in the way it established a cultural and political context for the park after it was created. The Qualla Cherokee who inhabited the Smokies before the arrival of Europeans came to have a reservation known as the Qualla Boundary. Predating the creation of Great Smoky Mountains National Park by a century, this Indian reservation would come to border the park along the park's southern boundary. The nineteenth-century "mountain culture" of independent, self-sufficient, southern plain folk, although eventually displaced from the park area, would work its way into the regional identity and imagery of the twentieth-century Mountain South, profoundly affecting the tourist economy. Furthermore, many families who inhabited the Smokies or hunted and fished in the area in the early twentieth century would come to reside in the surrounding counties after the park was established. Park managers would take account of this large, displaced population well into its second and third generation.

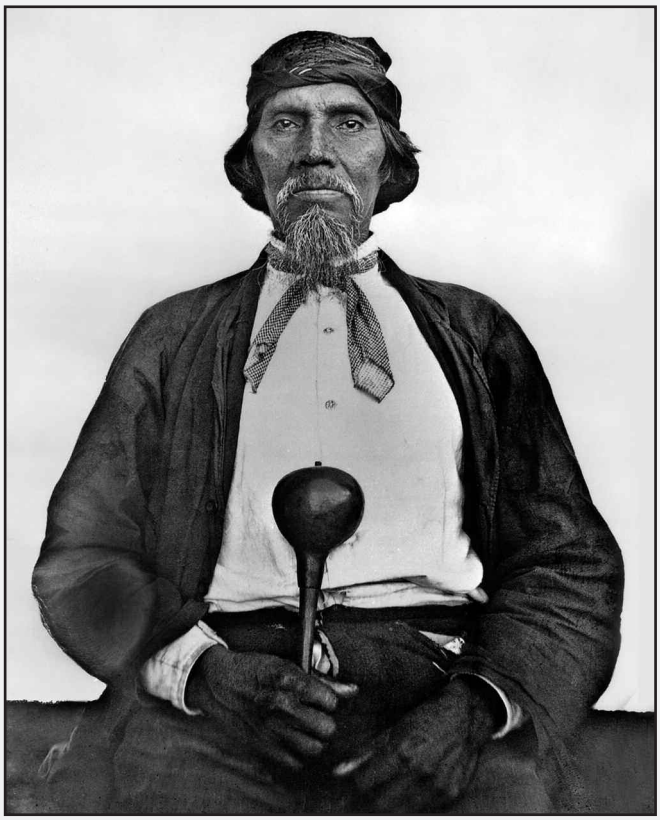
First Inhabitants

The Smokies have been home to people for perhaps 12,000 years. The first prehistoric people who entered the mountains came in pursuit of deer and elk. These early hunters followed the big game in its seasonal migrations from lowlying areas in winter and spring to mountain areas in summer and fall. They also gathered nuts and berries, hunted smaller game, and caught fish in the mountain streams. Their hunting-and-gathering subsistence patterns involved a variety of pursuits so that if one food source failed they could turn to another. As historian Daniel S. Pierce has observed, "The Smokies provided an excellent setting for such a lifestyle, as short moves up or down the mountainside enabled the people to take advantage of varied microenvironments, each with its associated plant and animal populations."[1]

Around two thousand years ago the prehistoric inhabitants of the Smokies began turning to agriculture. By this time the material culture and way of life of these resident people closely resembled the Cherokee culture of the early historic period, so they are properly called Cherokee. Initially they domesticated seed-bearing native plants such as Ira and sumpweed; then, around 1,000 A.D., they introduced non-native species such as maize, beans, and squash – cultivated plants that may have originated in Mexico. The growth of agriculture led to a population shift toward permanent lowland village sites located alongside fertile floodplains. The cultural change probably caused a decline in resident population in what is now the park area, but Cherokee living in the surrounding area still made hunting trips into the mountains.

Indians shaped their environment in a number of ways, most notably by use of fire. The Cherokee who dwelt in and around the Smokies regularly set fire to the forest to clear undergrowth and encourage the growth of grasses and sprouting of hardwoods, which in turn produced a greater abundance of deer and acorns and made the deer more visible for hunting. The Cherokee also set fires to clear areas for agriculture. They burned canebrakes, for example, in the knowledge that cane grew in soil that was also well-suited for growing maize.[2]

When European colonists arrived, the Smokies belonged to the Cherokee Nation. By the end of the eighteenth century the Cherokee adopted white religion and many white farming practices, hoping to live at peace with the United



Ayunini or Swimmer was a Qualla Cherokee with expertise on tribal history, mythology, botany, and medicine.

States. Their efforts notwithstanding, white frontier settlement brought relentless pressure to bear on the tribe. Beginning in the early 1800s, the United States government coerced the Cherokee Nation into making a series of treaties, gradually divesting the tribe of all of its lands in the East. The United States government acquired Cherokee lands in Western North Carolina and East Tennessee in the Cherokee Treaty of 1819. Less than two decades later the United States forced the Cherokee to cede the remainder of their eastern lands and accept "removal" to lands west of the Mississippi in the Cherokee Treaty of New Echota of 1835. These events created deep divisions within the hard-pressed Cherokee people. Most of those who refused to accept removal under the treaty were driven into exile under military escort a few years later in what became known as the Trail of Tears.[3]

A band of Cherokee living on the Oconaluftee River known as the Qualla, who were among the most traditional of Cherokee groups, managed to escape removal by taking the extraordinary measure of renouncing their alliance with the rest of the Cherokee Nation and declaring themselves citizens of North Carolina. This move appears, in retrospect, to have been a kind of feint so that the dominant white culture would leave them alone to maintain their traditional way of life. In a still more ironic gesture of accommodation, the Qualla adopted a white man as their leader. This "white chief," William Thomas, who owned a trading post at Quallatown (now the town of Cherokee on the eastern edge of Great Smoky Mountains National Park) interceded with the federal government in the year following the Treaty of New Echota and obtained official sanction for the Qualla to keep their homes. In time they became known as the Eastern Band of Cherokee.[4]

White Settlement

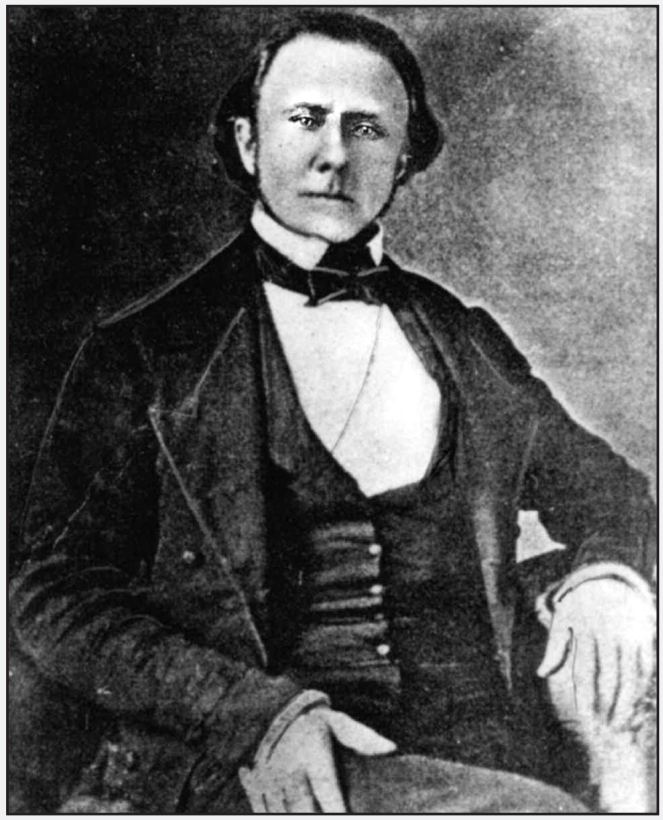
Whites began to settle in the Oconaluftee River drainage as early as the 1790s and arrived in Cades Cove beginning in 1818. After Cherokee removal in the 1830s, the pace of settlement quickened; at least a few white families occupied most of the stream valleys in the Smokies by the mid 1840s. These early settlers lived by a combination of farming, herding, hunting, and gathering. Mostly of British and Scots-Irish heritage, they practiced forms of farming and herding that were conditioned by the woodland environment found in the southern "backcountry" in the mid eighteenth century. Many elements of this "southern plain folk" culture were adopted from woodland Indian culture, such as the cultivation of corn and the use of fire to manipulate the forest understory. Other elements of the settlers' way of life, particularly those to do with stock herding, were descended from Old World antecedents.[5]

These settlers practiced a form of agriculture called "patch farming." Typically a settler in the Smokies cleared and cultivated a "patch" of about 20 acres at a time. This was about as much acreage as a man needed to support a family and took about as much labor as a man wanted to expend; if the farmer had a number of older children to work and feed then he might clear more. He made a clearing by felling, burning, girdling, and poisoning the trees. These clearings were called "deadenings" or "patches," and did not look anything like the neat, geometric fields seen in modern American farming. Rather, the clearings were filled with stumps and dead trees, with curvilinear row crops planted around them. With the light farm tools in use, stumps were no serious obstacle to plowing or threshing. Nor were dead trees a problem as long as they let in sunlight; left standing, they could be felled and chopped up for firewood at the farmer's convenience. Generally the farmer got one good crop from the land and then planted a new clearing the next year. After one or two crops the land was said to be "resting," that is, the farmer would allow it to lie fallow for about ten years. During this time livestock would range on it and the forest would begin to regenerate, both of these things tending to restore the soil.[6]

These "mountaineers," as the white farmers came to be known, introduced livestock into the Smokies. By local custom, they allowed their livestock free range in the surrounding mountains, fencing their fields in order to keep both their own livestock and their neighbors' animals from eating their crops. They raised sheep and hogs for their own consumption — for wool and tallow as well as meat — and raised cattle primarily for the market. Lacking refrigeration, mountaineers seldom butchered cattle for their own use. They ran their cattle in the high elevations during the summer, entrusting the herd to one or two herders, and at the end of the season men, women, and children ascended to the balds to join in fall roundup and a feast, in which a yearling was slaughtered, barbecued, and eaten, to the accompaniment of music and dancing. After roundup the cattle were put in temporary holding pens, sorted by their special mark (often simply a distinctive notch in the ear – an old Celtic practice), and driven to the lowlands, where they were sold to drovers. Most of the cattle raised in the Smokies eventually ended up in stockyards in northern cities.[7]

Livestock grazing, even more than setting fire to the woods, affected the environment in lasting ways. Hogs fed on mast and vegetation, competing with wildlife for these food sources, while their habit of rooting altered plant life on the forest floor. Cattle and sheep caused even more extensive changes, especially as the number of cattle swelled to several thousand and they concentrated in the high elevations for summer graze. The origins of the grassy balds in the Smokies has been long debated, with some experts arguing that they were created by livestock grazing in the nineteenth century, and others contending that at least some of the balds were created by Cherokee burning long before. Whatever the case may be, livestock grazing considerably enlarged the balds. Livestock inhibited forest regeneration after fire by their browsing and trampling, while herders who were looking after the livestock cut down trees for firewood.[8] Evidence of livestock grazing is still visible in the parallel rows of trails that contour beneath the steepest sections of the ridge tops.[9]

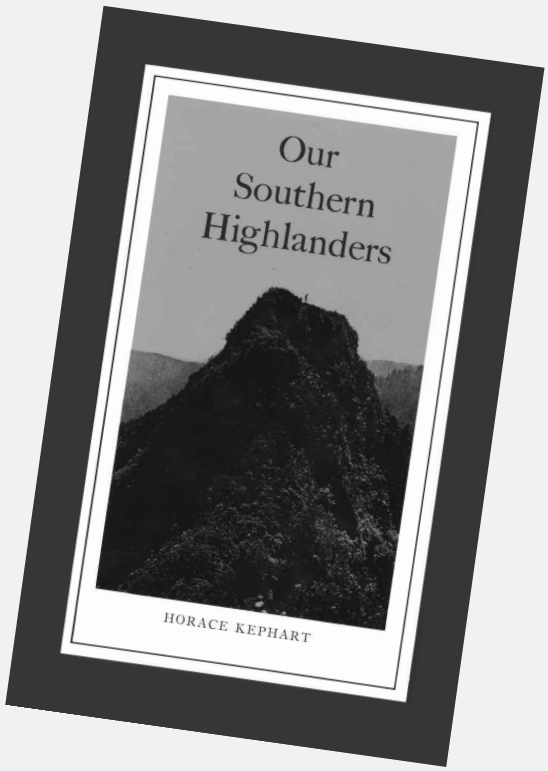
Raising cattle was the mountaineers' first cash crop. It gave them cash to buy coffee, sugar, and other items in town. Other products from the Smokies connected them more and more to the larger market economy. Pig iron was mined in the Smokies and shipped by the wagon load to Georgia and South Carolina. Medicinal herbs such as snakeroot, pinkroot, and ginseng were gathered and sold; much of it destined for the China market. With the coming of railroads toward the end of the nineteenth century, many mountaineers turned to manufacturing cross ties used in railroad construction. About the same time, the federal government began to increase the excise tax on whiskey, which created a black market for moonshine. Moonshine, or corn whiskey, long known as a domestic product in the Smokies, became an export.[10]



William Holland Thomas had a massive and diversified business empire in western North Carolina. The Qualla Cherokee adopted him, a white man, as their leader. He helped the Cherokee buy land near the Great Smoky Mountains and he commanded a Confederate army unit made up of mostly Cherokee in the Civil War.

Along with their growing involvement in the cash economy, the inhabitants of the Smokies had increasing contact with the surrounding region as a result of improvements in transportation. During the 1850s, a good wagon road was built from Knoxville through Maryville to Cades Cove. On the North Carolina side of the mountains, William Holland Thomas, the trader in Quallatown, organized construction of the Oconaluftee Turnpike from Quallatown to Indian Gap (just west of Newfound Gap). He was disappointed in his hopes that Tennesseans would build a linking road on the Tennessee side of the mountains, however, and the route eventually taken by the Newfound Gap Road remained unimproved, being little more than a stock trail.[11] During the following decades, wagon roads were built up most of the major creek drainages flowing out of the park area.

At the end of the nineteenth century the people of the Smokies confronted a paradox. Their homeland had long since ceased being a frontier. With each passing decade these



Horace Kephart worked with photographer George Masa to promote the creation of Great Smoky Mountains National Park in articles and booklets. The writer used the Smokies as a sanctuary to heal from a serious illness and became disturbed at the impacts of large scale logging on the forest and streams. His *Our Southern Highlanders* was published in 1913 and relates his adventures with the mountain farmers, moonshiners, and hunters who were his neighbors.

mountain residents were more connected to the market economy, more involved with the political and community life of the region and nation. Yet in relative terms they grew more isolated, more "backward" in the eyes of outsiders. In some respects their plight was the same as that of farmers everywhere in the United States as the agricultural sector of the economy weakened while the nation grew more urban and industrialized. But in the Smokies, as in other mountain areas of the South, the farmers' humble circumstances were more pronounced. They not only suffered declining prices for farm products, but exhausted soils, eroded farmlands, and crowded living conditions. Second - and third-generation families, finding the finite supply of fertile bottomlands already occupied, were forced to make their farms in shady hollows or rocky hillsides — or leave. Around the turn of the twentieth century, with out-migration overtaking high birth rates, the dense rural population in the mountain areas began to decline.

The hard-edged poverty found on many mountain farms was coupled with other cultural attributes that the mountain people valued. Poverty bred a high degree of self-reliance and ingenuity. Like the Cherokee, the mountaineers possessed keen knowledge about their environment and enjoyed a rich folk life. Traditional arts and crafts thrived in the Smokies. Families remained close, sharing work, leisure, and living space.

To outsiders, the mountaineers' humble lifestyle and rustic manners appeared quaint and genuine; they touched a chord of nostalgia. One outsider who developed an especially strong affinity for the Smokies and its resident people was Horace Kephart. Born in East Salem, Pennsylvania in 1862, Kephart came from Swiss stock who had hacked out farms from the Pennsylvania woods in the eighteenth century. Kephart's family moved to the Iowa prairie, where the young boy learned to play solitary make-believe games in the outdoors. After attending college and working in libraries at Boston University, Cornell, and Yale, Kephart married a girl from Ithaca, New York, started a family, and secured a librarian position at the St. Louis Mercantile Library. A penchant for drinking gradually got the better of him. In 1904, after a nervous breakdown, he abandoned his life in St. Louis and traveled to western North Carolina, where he hoped to restore his health in the wilderness and start anew.[12]

Getting off the train at a country station in Dillsboro, North Carolina, Kephart plunged into the wilderness with a gun, fishing rod, and three days' rations. Eventually he set-

tled into a deserted cabin on a tributary of Hazel Creek, where he would remain for three years. The nearest post office, Medlin, served 42 families who inhabited an area of about 15 square miles. "Our settlement," Kephart wrote, "was a mere slash in the vast woodland that encompassed it."[13]

As Kephart slowly got to know the local people, he found much to admire in them. He recorded his observations and experiences in journals, which he then reworked into numerous magazine articles and two books, *The Book of Camping and Woodcraft*, published in 1906, and his most famous work, *Our Southern Highlanders*, which appeared seven years later. By then he had left his cabin on Hazel Creek for a house in Bryson City, but he still spent summers in another cabin on Deep Creek.[14]

Our Southern Highlanders stirred wide public interest in Appalachian folk culture. Critics have charged that Kephart, despite his sympathy for the mountaineers, created a flawed portrait filled with exaggerations and stereotypes. Nevertheless, the book began a debate between interventionists and preservationists about the value and significance of this regional subculture. Interventionists argued that the nation had a responsibility to take steps, mostly in the form of economic assistance, to lift the mountaineers out of their poverty and ignorance. Preservationists, on the other hand, pleaded for the Appalachian folk culture to be given respect. In their view, the nation would be poorer if it lost the cultural diversity represented in the mountaineers' way of life. In 1918, *Century Magazine* added fuel to the debate with an article provocatively titled "The Mountaineers: Our Own Lost Tribes." A growing number of writers and artists joined the chorus of voices calling for this unique subculture to be left alone.[15]

The mountaineers did not want outside intervention in their affairs, nor did they like being a source of curiosity and nostalgia for prying eyes. But consistent with their mode of living, they sought supplemental income wherever they could get it. As tourists began to arrive in greater numbers, some mountaineers opened their homes to them while others offered their services as fishing or hiking guides. John Oliver, a farmer in Cades Cove, built a log lodge with eight guest rooms, kitchen, and dining room. In his advertising, Oliver said he would cater only to "good clean moral people; drunks and immoral people strictly prohibited."[16] Wiley Oakley, a resident of Cherokee Orchard, guided numerous tourists in the Smokies before the area became a park. His clients included Henry Ford and John D. Rockefeller, Jr.[17] Mack Thomas, a hotel keeper in Bryson City, served as a guide on the North Carolina side of the mountains. One of Thomas's clients recalled a camping trip up Deep Creek in 1912 or 1913. The party of six rode in a "high stout wagon," fording the creek eighteen times on their way to their campsite, where they spent several days fishing. Their guide "knew all the trails and streams, was a fine fisherman and a good shot and knew all about camping and could also cook," the camper remembered. "A fine fellow to have along."[18]

The Beginnings of Tourism and the First Campaign for a National Park

The tourism industry has a long history in the southern Appalachians. As early as the eighteenth century, well-to-do people began journeying over rough roads from tidewater Virginia and other distant places to western North Carolina to enjoy leisure time at mountain resorts. Most often they were drawn to warm springs, believing in the therapeutic effect of "taking the waters." The popularity of warm springs resorts grew as a number of sanatoriums were established in the region. People also favored the cooler summer temperatures found in the mountains. In the course of the nineteenth century, the southern Appalachians gained a growing reputation as a place with a mild, pleasant, and healthful climate. By the Gilded Age, the region was sprinkled with lodges and luxury hotels catering to upper- and upper-middle class sojourners.[19]

Approximately thirty miles east of the Smokies, citizens of Asheville, North Carolina strove for many years to make their city an attractive resort for wealthy tourists. Even before the Civil War, Asheville lured tourists from North and South. In 1880, the Western North Carolina Railroad was completed to Asheville and the pace of tourism development quickened. The city's population grew from a few thousand to ten thousand during the course of the decade. The first luxury resort hotel, the Battery Park Hotel, opened to tourists in 1886. Four years later the city had twelve hotels and nearly sixty boarding houses. Historian Richard D. Starnes has found that the citizens of Asheville made a concerted effort to attract not only the elite of both North and South to their vacationland, but increasing numbers of middle class tourists as well. While the luxury hotels catered to the rich, middle class families in Asheville fixed up extra rooms or turned their homes into boardinghouses in order to profit from the tourist trade. The hotel operators and citizens of Asheville advertised the area as both a health resort and a scenic pleasuring ground. In their promotional literature, Asheville was the "Gateway to the Mountains."[20]

Among the rich clientele of the Battery Park Hotel in the 1880s was George W. Vanderbilt, grandson of the industrial magnate Cornelius Vanderbilt. The younger Vanderbilt so enjoyed his sojourn in Asheville that he chose to build a palatial country residence, the Biltmore Estate, on the edge of

The industrial logging boom in the early years of the 20th century resulted in devastating fires, floods, erosion, and a public outcry to preserve what was left of the Great Smoky Mountains.

town. He employed two famous architects, Frederick Law Olmsted and Richard M. Hunt, to design the estate's French Renaissance chateau and magnificent grounds. In 1892, Vanderbilt hired Gifford Pinchot, the first American trained in scientific forestry, to develop a plan for the scientific management of his 4,000-acre private forest. Under Pinchot's direction, lumbermen made selective cuttings aimed at improving the future forest. The so-called Biltmore experiment served as the cradle of American forestry, and as Pinchot went on to become the first chief of the United States Forest Service, he was able to apply lessons from Biltmore on a broad scale on the national forests.[21]

The fertile combination of Asheville's tourism business and nearby Biltmore Forest formed a seedbed for the original campaign to create a national park in the Great Smoky Mountains — a campaign that slowly built momentum in the 1890s only to lose its way and wither in the first decade of the twentieth century. The man who spearheaded this first campaign was Dr. Chase P. Ambler, of Asheville. Soon after moving to the city from Ohio in 1889, Dr. Ambler ran across an article in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in which the author, one Dr. Henry O. Marcy, of Boston, Massachusetts, had discussed the potential of western North Carolina's salubrious climate as a treatment for disease. At the end of the article Dr. Marcy had suggested the creation of a state or national park in the area. Ambler promoted this idea among North Carolina state legislators, and in 1893 the state legislature passed a resolution urging the U.S. Congress to take action leading to the establishment of a national park in the southern Appalachians. The resolution cited the presence of a mountainous area in western North Carolina "still covered with primeval forests containing practically unimpaired the original flora," and it called for a "national park…similar to the Yellowstone Park, to be owned, controlled and maintained by the federal government in the interest of science."[22]

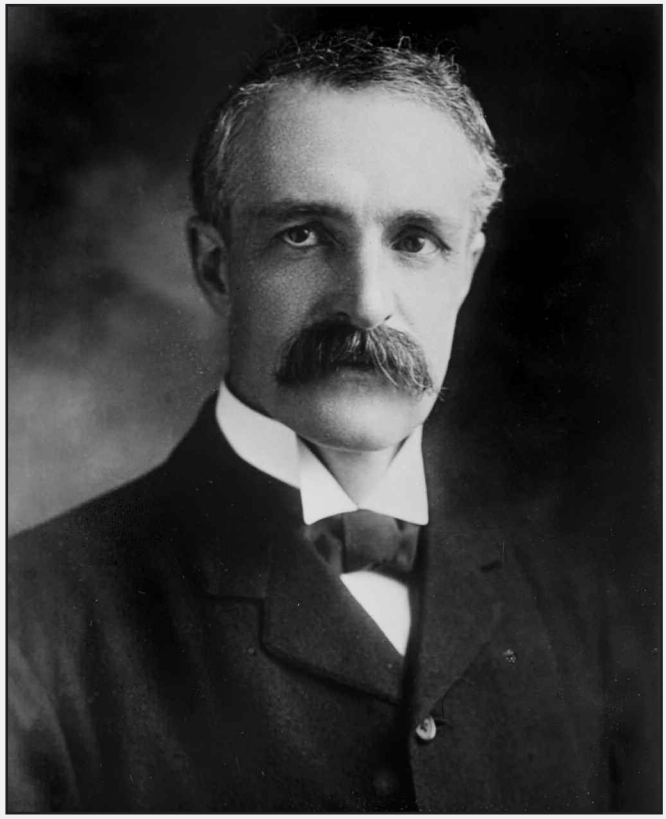
This resolution failed to get any response by Congress, as did a memorial of the North Carolina Press Association, which was introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman John S. Henderson of North Carolina a year later. While Ambler continued to advocate the establishment of a park, his efforts were not systematic until 1899, when he developed a plan with the help of a friend, Judge William R. Day. Essentially the plan consisted of a series of steps to organize local support, followed by a series of steps to engage Congress and the President. The first stage of this campaign culminated in a two-day convention at the Battery Park Hotel on November 22, 1899, which drew nearly fifty people from at least five southern states.[23]

The convention speakers soon hit on a theme that resonated strongly with their audience: the need for a national park to serve the region. "Other sections have their parks,

why not the South?" demanded Locke Craig, of Asheville, a future governor of North Carolina, who opened the convention with a long speech extolling the beauty and amenable climate of the southern mountains. U.S. Senator Marion Butler of North Carolina followed Craig on the podium. "If the government is going to have parks for all of us, then there should be one laid out here," Butler declared. "The next park should be established in the east." Butler advised the campaigners to think big, be audacious, go to Congress for a large appropriation with which to buy a half million acres. "Let us not ask for a park for the South," he said. "We might ask for a Southern park, but let us ask for it as a national park." Congressman W. T. Crawford of North Carolina picked up the theme in another way. "It is well known that Yellowstone National Park has not met the expectations of the people generally," he stated. "It is said that there is no month there without ice. We have everything here that would induce people to travel through a national park, and spend a few weeks." Crawford observed the difficulty of getting any money for national parks past the tight-fisted chairman of the House appropriations committee, "Uncle Joe" Cannon of Illinois, whose pat answer to all such requests was "not a cent for scenery." But, he noted slyly, Cannon was a native North Carolinian.[24]

On the second day of the convention it was decided to incorporate a permanent organization aimed at securing a national park. Locke Craig suggested that it be named the Southern National Park Association to encourage broad regional support for the initiative. Ambler preferred to call it the Southern National Park and Forest Reserve Association to leave the door open to either land designation. In the end it was named the Appalachian National Park Association. George S. Powell, president of the Asheville Board of Trade, was elected president of the association. But in an immediate postscript to the convention, which underscored how closely this first national park movement was aligned with forestry, 25 of the convention delegates rode in carriages to the Biltmore Estate for a tour of the new Biltmore Forest School.[25]

Indeed, although the convention had focused on the desirability of a national park in the southern Appalachians, Ambler's views had already begun to shift toward the potential of a national forest, or "forest reserve," instead. His thinking clearly showed the influence of Gifford Pinchot, who was now head of the Division of Forestry in the U.S. Department of Agriculture, as well as his fellow convention delegate, Carl A. Schenck, Pinchot's successor at the Biltmore experimental forest and founder of the Biltmore Forest School in 1898. Pinchot advocated a utilitarian basis for protecting forests in government ownership. Rather than holding the public forests inviolate, Pinchot would manage them for use — allowing selective cutting that would enhance forest reproduction and maintain the forest resource for future generations. The scientific forestry espoused by both Pinchot and Schenck impressed Ambler, who thought the southern Appalachians showed unique potential to be developed both for tourism and timber production at the same time. Indeed, with its mild climate and potential for year-round forestry operations, the area appeared well-suited to become the home of an eventual national school of forestry.



Gifford Pinchot was the first American to be trained in scientific forestry and used his knowledge to improve the forests of Biltmore Estate. The so-called Biltmore experiment served as the cradle of American forestry, and as Pinchot went on to become the first chief of the United States Forest Service, he was able to apply lessons from Biltmore on a broad scale on the national forests.

After the convention, Ambler, Powell, and Charles McNamee of the North Carolina Geological Board prepared the Appalachian National Park Association's memorandum to Congress, explaining in detail the reasons for establishing a national park in the southern Appalachians. Describing the impressive mountains and rich diversity of flora, the attractiveness of the climate, the area's central location — "twenty-four hours from New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Toledo, and the Gulf States" — and pointing out the lack of national parks in the East, the memorandum then launched into a confusing argument that the "park would pay as a forest re-

serve," suggesting that the area could be made both a national park *and* a national forest. "The forests are very dense; the timber of valuable species, such as tulip (poplar), oak, chestnut, hemlock, and pine, and of great size," the petitioners boasted. "The undergrowth is still to a large extent uninjured by fire, and the forest, when made accessible by Government roads and managed in a scientific manner, would yield an immediate, a constant, and a comparatively large revenue."[26] The confusion between a national park and a national forest was understandable in the context of the times. In the preceding decade Congress had authorized the establishment of both national parks and forest reserves (renamed national forests in 1907). Neither type of land designation could yet be described as a system, and the philosophical breech that would soon divide preservationists and conservationists in the early twentieth century had not yet developed in 1899. Still, the memorial's imprecision on this point proved to be the undoing of this first campaign for a national park in the Smokies.

Senator Jeter C. Pritchard of North Carolina stepped forward to press the proposal in Congress. In fact, Pritchard had expressed support for the cause several months earlier, but he had insisted on remaining in the background while the campaign mustered public support with newspaper editorials, pamphlets, and petition drives. Introducing the memorial in Congress on January 4, 1900, Pritchard steered it to the Senate Committee on Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game, thereby tipping the proposal toward the forest reserve designation. Then, after consultation with Pinchot, he offered an amendment to the agriculture appropriation bill for fiscal year 1901, providing $10,000 for the purpose of investigating the potential establishment of a "national park" in western North Carolina, eastern Tennessee, and northern Georgia. One day later, Senator Butler introduced a resolution to form a commission to make this same type of survey (although he omitted Georgia). Both the amendment and the resolution were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. The committee held a hearing on the matter in April, at which members of the Association testified. The committee recommended amending the bill to provide $40,000 for "forest investigations," of which $5,000 would be used for a survey of the southern Appalachians. In this form the measure passed both houses and was signed into law by the president.[27]

By degrees, the proposal to establish a national park became a proposal to establish a forest reserve. The forest investigation was placed under the Department of Agriculture, where it was assigned to two men in Pinchot's Bureau of Forestry, Horace B. Ayres and William B. Ashe. Ostensibly directed toward investigating the suitability of a national park, the study instead placed heavy emphasis on inventorying the amount of commercial timber in the area. Virtually absent from Ayres' and Ashe's report was any mention of the rich diversity of flora and fauna. Watershed by watershed, they estimated volumes and types of trees and the price of land. Reporting on the Cataloochee Valley, for example, the two foresters reported huge stands of chestnut and oak while characterizing the valley's agricultural value as "slight" and undercounting the number of farms by about 75 percent. Moreover, they made their report to Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson, a champion of forest reserves. Predictably, in his report to President Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson recommended a forest reserve instead of a national park, adding, "it is fully shown by the investigation that such a reserve would be self-supporting from the sale of timber under wisely directed conservative forestry." Roosevelt, an ardent champion of conservation, transmitted the report to Congress with his full support in December 1901.[28]

By that date, the campaign to establish a national park had become thoroughly dominated by proponents of a forest reserve. Its name was changed to the Appalachian Forest Reserve Association. Its treasury depleted, it turned to lumber companies for financial donations. In 1905, the association folded up and turned over its membership rolls to the American Forestry Association with the final comment, "we have exhausted our resources in time, energy, and money."[29]

Although unsuccessful in its original aim to establish a national park in the southern Appalachians, this movement did lead to one very significant result. In the summer of 1901 the U.S. Senate passed a bill to provide an appropriation of $5 million for purchase of lands to establish forest reserves in the East. Although this bill did not get through the House, it laid the groundwork for the Weeks Act of 1911, which provided an appropriation of $9 million for the same purpose. Land acquisition efforts focused initially on the southern Appalachians. By 1916, the land purchase program was far enough along to permit the establishment of the first national forest in the East — the Pisgah National Forest in North Carolina. Pisgah was followed by the establishment of eight more national forests in the Appalachians by 1920. These included the Nantahala in North Carolina and the Cherokee in Tennessee — national forests that would eventually border much of Great Smoky Mountains National Park on its North Carolina and Tennessee sides respectively.[30]

The Forest Imperiled

The new Appalachian national forests were mostly composed of cutover or denuded land — they were "forests" in

name only. The timber industry in the late nineteenth century did not practice forestry on a sustained-yield basis; rather, it logged an area until there was no forest left standing and then it pulled up stakes and moved to a new area. By the 1890s, clear-cutting and wildfire had devastated virtually all of the forest in New England as well as much of the white pine lands in the Great Lakes States, and the timber industry had begun to make inroads on the southern forests. Conservationists warned the nation that it would soon face a "timber famine" and worse, catastrophic flooding in those steep mountain drainages where forests were vital to holding soil in place. These concerns led Congress to enact a law in 1891 that authorized the president to set aside forest reserves. It passed another law in 1897 that provided for the administration of forest reserves by the U.S. General Land Office. After 1901, President Theodore Roosevelt greatly expanded the amount of land in national forests (though, as noted above, these areas were confined to the West prior to the Weeks Act of 1911) and obtained congressional action to transfer their administration to the U.S. Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture. These progressive measures notwithstanding, the timber industry continued to ravage vast areas where it had acquired title to the land or rights to the timber.

When Ayres and Ashe made their report to Secretary Wilson, the logging companies were just beginning to nibble at the edges of the Smokies. Small-scale logging operations had been underway in some places in the Smokies since the 1880s, but these operations were fundamentally different from the industrial logging operations that were to take place in the early twentieth century. Historian Brown suggests that the official forest investigation by Ayres and Ashe, reported in the nation's press, may have sped the timber industry's exploitation of the area. "By calculating the tremendous timber possibilities available at bargain-basement prices, Ayres and Ashe probably helped promote the Smokies' rapid industrial development."[31] In any case, the industry was poised in the early 1900s to begin the capital-intensive process of building railroads into the mountainous terrain in order to access the Smokies' wealth of timber.

The logging that took place over the next three decades was enormously destructive. In describing what the industry did to the environment, it is important to distinguish changes in logging methods from the 1880s to the 1920s. In the early period, commercial loggers practiced selective cutting of the most valuable species. The logging operations involved small numbers of people and were financed by local capital. The loggers sought big trees of the most valuable species — mostly poplar, cherry, and ash — and generally restricted their cutting to accessible places. They used horses or mules to drag the logs to the sawmill, or to the edge of a stream where the logs could be rolled into the water and floated to their destination. Some logs were sawn into lumber in small, portable sawmills that could be moved around by horse power; others were taken to local mills in the area: Mingus Mill on the Oconaluftee River, or the Shields or Cable mills in Cades Cove. The sawn lumber was then hauled by wagon to the railroad. "The slow tempo of the early period," wrote Robert S. Lambert in a Park Service study of logging in the Smokies, "meant that nearly normal reproduction could take place in the forests. Fires, while not unknown, were small and confined to the areas near farms." Lambert contrasted this with the next period of logging, which involved railroads, clear-cutting, and devastating wildfires caused by the buildup of slash. "The cutting of the later period brought with it the seeds of the virtual annihilation of the forest."[32]

The later period was characterized by railroad logging. Railroad logging required heavy capital investment. The big logging companies moved from region to region, buying timberlands and building railroads into the woods wherever the supply of timber was sufficiently abundant and close to markets to make their large-scale operation profitable. Once they had built a logging railroad, these companies wanted to cut nearly every tree in reach of it in order to recoup their investment. They did not limit themselves to the most valuable species, but took everything at once. Lambert compiled average prices obtained for hardwood lumber harvested by the Little River Lumber Company from 1903 to 1939. Prices ranged from $65.65 per thousand board feet for cherry to just $14.49 per thousand board feet for yellow pine, but everything went to the mill. The company harvested ash, basswood, birch, buckeye, cherry, chestnut, peawood, maple, oak, poplar, white pine, and yellow pine. In addition, the company harvested hemlock which it mostly sold for pulp.[33]

Logging railroads were built up most major drainages in the park area. Branch lines were built up one tributary at a time, and when all cutting was completed in that drainage then the track was picked up and moved and laid down in the next drainage. Each railroad grade was simply abandoned after the drainage had been clear-cut. Penetrating farther and farther into the mountains this way, the industry resorted to various methods for getting logs up or down steep mountainsides or across rough terrain to the edge of the railroad as quickly and efficiently as possible.[34]

One method for getting logs down a mountainside was the log slide or chute. Men fastened boards to the logs or greased them with oil to ease their passage down the slide, then sent them on their way. Sometimes the force of gravity carried the logs downhill, in other places they were towed by horses. Dillard Wood worked on a logging chute in Hazel Creek as a greaser when he was thirteen years old. "They'd

put maybe fifty or seventy-five or more logs in that slide, the largest logs in the rear, [attached to] a j-grab and a good pair of horses," he remembered.[35] A variation of the chute was the flume, a box-shaped trough made of lumber that could hold water and float logs down a gradual incline.

Where the force of gravity could not be put to use efficiently, the logging companies employed a method of moving logs known as "skidding." Heavy cables were attached at one end to the log by a "choker," and were connected at the other end to a steam-powered wench. The log was then reeled in like a fish, skidding it over the ground. Flopping on the end of the cable, each log cut a swath of destruction. Overhead skidders improved on this method somewhat, as they were supposed to carry logs through the air with less friction. Either method, however, proved destructive. One logger who operated an overhead skidder on Lynn Camp Prong later stated, "They destroyed more timber than they got out with 'em because it just knocked the trees down and bushes and everything."[36] Trees as big as eighteen inches in diameter were uprooted by these powerful devices.

The railroad logging companies also put streams and rivers to work in moving the logs. Although this was not new in itself, the practice occurred on a more destructive scale than in the early period of logging. Loggers hauled logs to the river by team where they were "banked" at a "landing" to await high water after a rain storm. If high water was not sufficient to float the logs downstream, then the men built "splash dams" just below the landing site. The stream backed up behind the dam, making a convenient pond in which to float the logs, and then the dam was blown apart with dynamite so that the logs rushed downstream on a surge of released water. This intentional mayhem not only killed fish, it scoured out stream channels in a way that caused lasting damage to fish habitat.[37]

Beyond the devastation wrought by clear-cutting the forest, wildfires often followed in the wake of railroad logging operations. Fueled by all the slash lying on the ground, the fires burned with abnormal intensity. According to a scientific study of the national park's forest made decades after the logging era had ended, intense fires (those that resulted in stand replacement) occurred in 23 percent of the area clear-cut by railroad logging. Those burned areas accounted for 87 percent of all intensely burned areas in the park. Logging-related fires caused the most widespread disturbance in the watersheds of the East Prong of the Little River and Big Creek, where the area burned was 33 percent and 55 percent respectively.[38]

The logging era profoundly shaped the second campaign to establish Great Smoky Mountains National Park. It gave urgency to the campaigners' argument that the remaining stands of "virgin" or old-growth forest must be protected before they were destroyed. At the same time, it strained the campaigners' argument that the Smokies constituted a last, great wilderness in the eastern United States; in fact, the proposed park area did not bear so much resemblance to wilderness areas contained in national parks in the West as it did to cutover lands put into national forests under the Weeks Act. Like the eastern national forests, the park would be predicated on nature's ability to restore itself. The logging era also reconstituted the land ownership pattern in the Smokies. When a land acquisition program got underway in the 1920s, lumber companies owned some 85 percent of the park area.

[1] Daniel S. Pierce, *The Great Smokies: From Natural Habitat to National Park* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 3.

[2] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 4-5.

[3] Laurence Armand French, *The Qualla Cherokee: Surviving in Two Worlds* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1998), 45-50.

[4] Margaret Lynn Brown, *The Wild East: A Biography of the Great Smoky Mountains* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2000), 8; French, *The Qualla Cherokee*, 66-67.

[5] John Solomon Otto, "The Migration of the Southern Plain Folk: An Interdisciplinary Synthesis," *Journal of Southern History*, 51, no. 2 (May 1985): 183-200.

[6] J. S. Otto and N. E. Anderson, "Slash-and-Burn Cultivation in the Highlands South: A Problem in Comparative Agricultural History," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 24, no. 1 (1982): 133-135.

[7] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 10-11.

[8] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 12-13.

[9] Charlotte Pyle, "The Type and Extent of Anthropogenic Vegetation Disturbance in the Great Smoky Mountains Before National Park Service Acquisition," *Castanea* 53, no. 3 (September 1988): 191.

[10] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 15-21.

[11] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 18.

[12] Wilma Dykeman and Jim Stokely, *Highland Homeland: The People of the Great Smokies* (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1978), 131-133.

[13] Quoted in Dykeman and Stokely, *Highland Homeland*, 133.

[14] Dykeman and Stokely, *Highland Homeland*, 135-136.

[15] Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 428.

[16] Quoted in Brown, *The Wild East*, 84.

[17] Dykeman and Stokely, *Highland Homeland*, 134-135.

[18] Dodette Westfeldt Grinnell, "Some Memories of the Smokies and of Horace Kephart," July 1955, File H18 Biographical Data and Accounts, Box 5, General Administrative Files, Record Group 79 – Records of the National Park Service (RG 79), National Archives – Southeast Region (NASER).

[19] C. Brenden Martin, *Tourism in the Mountain South: A Double-Edged Sword* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 1-22.

[20] Richard D. Starnes, "'A Conspicuous Example of What is Termed the New South': Tourism and Urban Development in Asheville, North Carolina, 1880-1925," *North Carolina Historical Review*, 80, no. 1 (January 2003): 60. Also see Ina Woestemeyer Van Noppen and John J. Van Noppen, *Western North Carolina since the Civil War* (Boone, North Carolina: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1973), passim.

[21] Harold T. Pinkett, "Forestry Comes to America," *Agricultural History*, 54, no. 1 (January 1980): 5-7.

[22] Quoted in George W. McCoy, "A Brief History of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park Movement in North Carolina," (Asheville: The Inland Press, 1940), 6-7.

[23] McCoy, "A Brief History of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park Movement in North Carolina," 20.

[24] Quotations in McCoy, "A Brief History of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park Movement in North Carolina," 15-18.

[25] McCoy, "A Brief History of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park Movement in North Carolina," 20.

[26] Theodore Roosevelt, *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), 162.

[27] Charles Dennis Smith, "The Appalachian National Park Movement, 1885-1901," *North Carolina Historical Review* 37, no. 1 (January 1960): 56-59.

[28] Roosevelt, *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*, 167.

[29] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 42.

[30] William E. Shands and Robert G. Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted: Policy for National Forests in the Eastern United States* (Washington: The Conservation Foundation, 1977), 15.

[31] Brown, *The Wild East*, 50.

[32] Robert S. Lambert, "Logging in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park: A Report to the Superintendent," October 1, 1958, Vertical Files, Great Smoky Mountains National Park Library and Archives (GRSM), 9-10.

[33] Lambert, "Logging in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park," 12-13.

[34] Lambert, "Logging in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park," 16.

[35] Quoted in Brown, *The Wild East*, 59-60.

[36] Quoted in Brown, *The Wild East*, 60.

[37] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 27.

[38] Pyle, "The Type and Extent of Anthropogenic Vegetation Disturbance in the Great Smoky Mountains Before National Park Service Acquisition," 187.

Chapter Two

The Successful Campaign to Establish a National Park

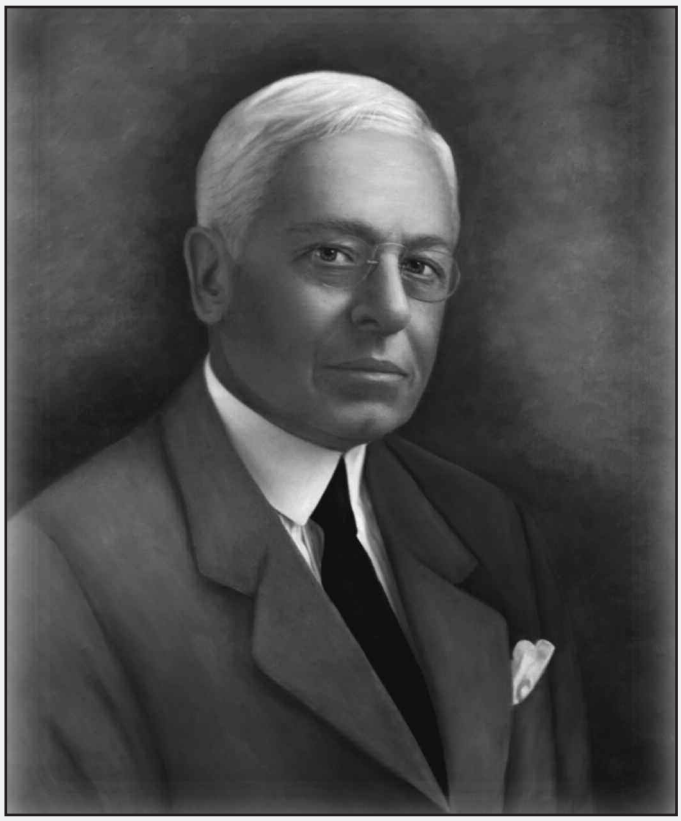
The successful campaign to establish Great Smoky Mountains National Park began anew in 1923, about two decades after the first campaign ebbed. The lapse of time made it an altogether different campaign. The inroads made by the logging industry during the intervening two decades added a sense of urgency that had been lacking in the first campaign. The rise of the automobile in American life, and the transformation of the tourism industry into an automobile-based, middle-class enterprise, gave the second park campaign more promise. In addition to these important new circumstances, the second park campaign featured a new cast. At the local level, Knoxville took center stage instead of Asheville. At the federal level, the movement was guided by the National Park Service, which had not existed in the earlier period.

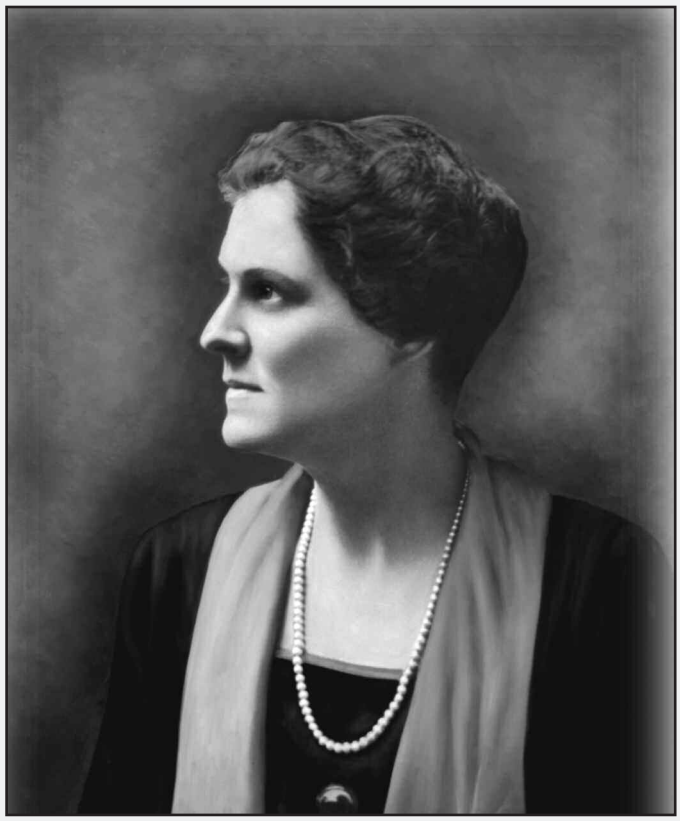
A National Park for the East

In the summer of 1923, Anne and Willis P. Davis, owners of the Knoxville Iron Company and esteemed citizens of Knoxville, Tennessee, went on a tour of the western national parks. While enjoying the splendors of Yellowstone, Anne Davis kept returning in her mind to the thickly wooded mountains near her Tennessee home. "Why can't we have a national park in the Great Smoky Mountains?" she reputedly asked her husband. "They are just as beautiful as these mountains!" After returning home, Anne Davis posed the same question to her fellow clubwomen in the League of Women Voters and the Knoxville Garden Club. She also sought to promote her idea through the good offices of her wealthy industrialist husband. Willis Davis raised the matter among his peers in the Knoxville Chamber of Commerce, the Knoxville Rotary Club, and the Knoxville Automobile Club, and wrote a letter to Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work. In 1924, Anne Davis successfully ran for a seat in the Tennessee House of Representatives where she sponsored the first state legislation aimed at creating a national park in the Smokies. The "Mother of the Park," as she has been called, had posed a seemingly audacious question: why not a national park for the East?[1]

In the mid 1920s there was but one national park in the East: a rockbound island on the coast of Maine known as Lafayette National Park, later renamed Acadia. This compared to a dozen much larger national parks in the West. The young national park system centered in the West for compelling reasons. In most people's minds, the mountains and scenery of the West were grander than in the East. No landforms in the East, for example, could compare with the glacier-sculpted peaks found along the Rocky Mountain cordillera, or the massive volcanoes in the Cascade Range, or the immense and colorful canyons and mesas on the Colorado Plateau. These spectacular western landscapes were showcased in such celebrated national parks as Rocky Mountain and Glacier, Mount Rainier and Lassen Volcanic, Grand Canyon and Zion. Other western national parks included Mesa Verde with its ancient cliff dwellings, Sequoia with its immense trees, the amazing Crater Lake, and the two crown jewels in the national park system, Yellowstone and Yosemite. The national parks beckoned tourists from the East and Midwest, who traveled to the West by train or automobile. Scattered across eight western states, these national parks were stitched together by a grandiose, 3,500-mile loop highway (actually a number of connecting state roads) formally dedicated in 1920 as the National Park-to-Park Highway and ballyhooed by westerners as "The Incomparable Circle."[2] Western boosters, joined by leaders of the National Park Service, promoted this circle tour as the ultimate way to tour the West. At the beginning of the 1920s, national parks were practically synonymous with western landscapes.

The national park system also centered in the West because only in that region did the federal government still own vast acreages of public domain. Beginning with the creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872, Congress established the fundamental principle that a national park would preserve land in public ownership in perpetuity. The Yellowstone Act provided that the park area "is hereby reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or sale under the laws of the United States, and dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people."[3] The land would not be allowed to





In 1923 **Willis P. Davis** and his wife **Anne** took a trip to visit parks in the western U.S. That is when Anne first conceived of a national park in the Smokies. Upon returning home they began to advocate for the idea through organizations like the League of Women Voters and the Knoxville Chamber of Commerce to which they belonged.

fall into private hands, and no private individuals would be allowed to build toll roads, exploit natural resources, or otherwise monopolize the area. Other western national parks followed in this vein. Soon Congress established the further principle that private lands within a park would be acquired by the federal government to make public ownership complete. Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane carried this principle into administrative policy in a letter to National Park Service Director Stephen T. Mather on May 13, 1918 – all "inholdings" in parks should be eliminated. Since the western parks were carved from the public domain, and public domain was virtually non-existent in the East, any national parks established in the East would have to be made from purchased lands, an extremely costly endeavor. Moreover, since the lands were not vacant, their dispossessed occupants would have to be removed. Mather alluded to these problems in his annual report to the Secretary of the Interior for 1923: "I should like to see additional national parks established east of the Mississippi, but just how this can be accomplished is not clear."[4]

The idea of establishing a national park in the East bucked conventional thinking for a third reason: Americans associated national parks with the frontier, the forest primeval, uninhabited wilderness — qualities of place that they tended to think could be found only "out West." True, the East had once been a vast wilderness, too, but the East's frontier days were long past and even its mountain regions were well settled. Advocates for a national park in the Great Smoky Mountains had to refute this conventional view. As the movement to create a park gained support, proponents frequently characterized the area as a place out of time. "Here stands today," one author wrote, "the last hundred miles of uncut primeval forest, just as it stood, save for added growth, when Columbus discovered America."[5] Another writer observed, "There are people residing within the confines of the proposed National Park who use words current in Shakespeare's time, sing ballads three hundred years old, and weave cloth in patterns brought over from England by their ancestors."[6] Such claims were intended to overcome doubts that the East, like the West, still possessed remote areas that linked the modern nation to its frontier heritage.

The campaign to establish Great Smoky Mountains National Park was similar to other national park campaigns in some respects, but it also differed in important ways because of its eastern location. Like most national park campaigns, this one began at the local level. Individuals such as Anne and Willis P. Davis of Knoxville stepped forward because they felt great pride in their nearby natural beauty and

wanted to see it protected and made accessible to the nation. Just as keenly, perhaps, they saw the possibility that a national park would bring economic development to the surrounding area. The *national* park would accrue *local* benefits. Most successful national park campaigns depended on convincing local residents and members of Congress that a national park would serve both local and national interests.

The campaign for Great Smoky Mountains National Park differed from this pattern in that it identified a *regional* interest as well as national and local interests. The park would provide a recreational resource for the whole eastern United States. Located half the distance between the Atlantic Coast and the Mississippi River, and half the distance between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, it would be within a day's drive of half the population of the nation. As such, this park campaign elicited staunch support in the Department of the Interior and Congress. It also drew upon the combined efforts of two states, Tennessee and North Carolina, since the proposed park straddled the Tennessee-North Carolina state line. The national park campaign needed all of these powerful sources of support to overcome two great obstacles: first, the conceptual problem that the Great Smoky Mountains did not possess the scenic majesty and wilderness qualities of the western national parks; and second, the social and financial problem that the proposed area was entirely composed of private lands, much of it occupied by families who had resided there for generations.

The Turn of Knoxville and the Second Campaign for a Park

The city of Knoxville, Tennessee lies approximately the same distance northwest of the Smokies as Asheville, North Carolina lies to the east of the area. With a population of 32,637 in 1900, it was Tennessee's third largest city after Memphis and Nashville. A center of manufacturing and finance for East Tennessee, it grew by leaps and bounds to 77,818 in 1920. During this period, residents of the up and coming city made the Smokies a part of their expanding recreational domain. Although the city of Knoxville had not joined in the first campaign for Great Smoky Mountains National Park, it would be at the forefront of the second movement and would successfully position itself to become the regional "gateway" city to the East's most popular national park.

Ironically, the logging era initiated Knoxville's use of the Smokies for recreation. Recreation and logging enjoyed a peaceful co-existence prior to the movement to create a national park. As the logging companies built railroads into the mountains, people from the city followed. Logging companies encouraged this traffic, putting passenger cars on their logging trains and offering special excursion trains into the mountains on weekends and holidays. While excursion trains became a feature of the logging operations on both sides of the Smoky Mountains, they were particularly popular on the Tennessee side where citizens of Knoxville relished the scenic train ride along the Little River. As a result, tourist hotels soon appeared along the Little River at Kinzel Springs, Sunshine, and Elkmont. Logging companies on both sides of the mountains provided passenger service not only for the extra revenue it brought but also because it helped with public relations.[7]

Local tourists, especially, were apt to accept the devastation wrought by logging as an inevitable cost of progress. In some localities, as in the Little River drainage, tourism and logging co-existed in remarkably close proximity. In 1910, a number of citizens formed a group known as the Appalachian Club and purchased fifty acres of cutover land located just upstream from the lumber camp of Elkmont on the Little River. The club also purchased a ten-year lease for exclusive hunting and fishing privileges on 40,000 acres. Members of the club hailed from as far away as Kentucky and Ohio, though most came from Knoxville. Soon there was a sizable community of modest bungalows snuggled together along a couple of country lanes, some with toy log cabins in their backyards where children played Daniel Boone. "Whole families went to the mountains for the entire summer, taking with them trunks of clothes and canned goods," wrote a historian of Knoxville (as quoted by Brown). "Fathers of families took the [timber company's] train to Elkmont for the weekend, bringing with them fresh vegetables and replacements for staple foods."[8] What began as a hunting and fishing club quickly evolved into a social club for Knoxville's elite.

A rival club soon occupied an adjacent tract of land. The second club was composed of a group of Knoxville citizens who had been denied membership in the Appalachian Club. In 1914, they bought a two-year-old hotel called the Wonderland Park Hotel from the hotel builders and chartered the Wonderland Club. The members of the Wonderland Club owned individual rooms in the hotel, which they made available to the public for rent when they were not occupying the rooms themselves. In 1920, the Wonderland Club built the Wonderland Club Hotel Annex. This hotel would remain in use as a public hotel for several decades after the creation of the national park. Despite the Wonderland Club's welcome mat to the public, many people of Knoxville mockingly referred to the whole combined complex as "Clubtown." Rivalry between the two clubs remained strong, even though

they shared the same area and used the same trains to travel between Knoxville and the mountains.[9]

Meanwhile, increasing numbers of people began to explore the edges of the Smokies by automobile. Automobilists drove to the village of Gatlinburg and stayed in the new Mountain View Hotel, which opened in 1918. They ventured over rough wagon roads into Cades Cove and the Cataloochee Valley. Cars allowed people to create their own itineraries; they enabled people to go when and where they wanted. Cars liberated tourists from the logging company's railroad schedules, ending the oddly symbiotic relationship between tourism and lumbering.

Cars and roads not only carried residents of Knoxville to the mountains for their weekend and holiday recreation, they also brought tourists from far away. Southern progressives, seeing the growth of commerce that accompanied new highway construction and road improvements, joined the nationwide "good roads movement." As cars became affordable to the middle class and automobile use spread, southern progressives formed civic groups such as automobile clubs and good roads associations to pry money loose from public coffers for road building. Initially they focused on county and state governments, whose expenditures on road construction projects vaulted into billions of dollars nationwide in the 1920s. Soon these organizations directed their efforts toward the federal government as well, including the National Park Service. Like many other southern cities, Knoxville became a center for advocacy of road development. Some "good roads" associations formed around specific agendas, such as road improvements leading to the designation of the "Dixie Highway," which aimed at bringing Midwestern tourists to the South. When Knoxville's boosters conceived of a national park in the Smokies, some had visions of a fountain of wealth that would shower tourist dollars on their city.[10]

As car use burgeoned and road conditions improved, Knoxville billed itself as the "principal gateway to the Great Smoky Mountains."[11] Road maps accentuated Knoxville's status as a hub in the East Tennessee road network. Brochures suggested various "circle routes" that the tourist could take to explore Knoxville's surrounding countryside. The coming of the automobile accomplished for Knoxville in the 1920s what the coming of the railroad had done for Asheville in the 1880s: it awakened the city to the possibility of a booming tourism business.

The Knoxville boosters who got involved in the second campaign for a Great Smoky Mountains National Park credited Anne Davis as being the person who originally conceived the idea, and they honored her husband Willis P. Davis for his early efforts to promote it. However, the individual who quickly emerged as leader of the campaign was David C. Chapman, a paunchy, middle-aged businessman with determination in his eyes and a wild plume of hair on his head. Chapman was prominent in the Knoxville Chamber of Commerce, a co-founder of the Knoxville Rotary Club, and owner of Chapman Drug Company, a business he had inherited from his father. When he first got involved in the project he had little personal acquaintance with the Smokies. Curiously, in light of the tremendous energy he would throw into the campaign over the next decade and a half, he did not immediately respond to the proposal put forth by Willis P. Davis. It was only after he read President Theodore Roosevelt's report to Congress, now twenty years old, that he became inspired to support Davis's efforts. Early in 1924, Chapman formed the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association (GSMCA), establishing it in the same office with the East Tennessee Automobile Club. The GSMCA elected Davis president and it appointed the entire board of directors for the East Tennessee Automobile Club to serve as its own board of directors as well. Davis asked Chapman, now that he was "really sparking the movement after it got under way" to take his place as president. Chapman declined the honor but accepted the position of chairman of the board.[12]

The close association of the GSMCA and the East Tennessee Automobile Club led to predictable results. The national park was cast as a destination for automobile tourists. Since most of these tourists would pass through Knoxville, spending money on hotels and gas stations as they traveled through the area, the park would be an economic boon to the city. Boosters gushed that the park would be the "goose with the golden eggs."[13] As historian Daniel Pierce has observed, support for the park in Tennessee was heavily concentrated in Knoxville and the counties near the Smokies, whereas support for the park in North Carolina was distributed more evenly throughout the state (a pattern that persists to some degree in the present era). In his authoritative account of this second campaign for Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Pierce notes that Chapman and others who toiled in the campaign were motivated by their vision of what the national park would do for their city. "The seeds of the national park idea found their most fertile ground not in individuals who lived in and loved the Great Smoky Mountains in an intimate way, but in the civic boosters of the region, particularly the men and women of Knoxville, Tennessee, and Asheville, North Carolina." Pierce finds these individuals' optimism and enthusiasm — and provincialism — reminiscent of George Babbitt, the quintessential man of the 1920s and title character in the novel by Sinclair Lewis. "While they appreciated 'God's good-out-o'-doors,' they

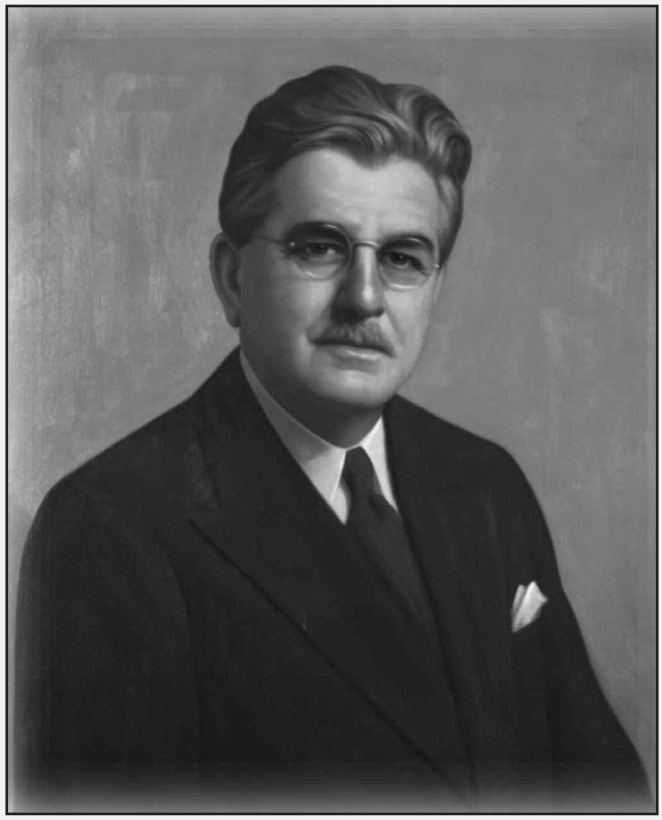
saw the establishment of the park primarily as a means to further economic development and prosperity in their cities by attracting national publicity, tourists, and good roads."[14] Indeed, Babbitts were a fixture in many national park campaigns during this era. Stephen Mather, the first director of the National Park Service, consciously appealed to them when he described national parks as "scenic lodestones," drawing commerce to the towns and cities around them.[15]

Davis and Chapman started the campaign by gathering information about the Smokies that would help publicize its merits as a national park. Davis wrote to Wiley Brownlee, a businessman in Gatlinburg, asking for a description of the mountains and the unique features that would make them attractive to the National Park Service. Brownlee responded effusively. The area contained the highest mountain mass in the entire Appalachian chain and abounded with interesting flora and excellent fishing streams. "If there is any section east of the Mississippi that can measure up to National Park standards," he wrote, "the Smokies are unquestionably it."[16]

In May 1924, Brownlee joined Davis, Chapman, and several other park boosters on a five-day inspection trip of the Smokies. In addition to gathering data, the group wanted to establish ties with park advocates in North Carolina. The latter included Horace Kephart, now residing in Bryson City. Kephart, with his established reputation as a regional writer, would prove a valuable ally in publicizing the national park proposal. At a dinner in Bryson City, Kephart joined Davis and Chapman in predicting the great benefit to the local economy that would follow the making of a national park in the Smokies.[17]

The campaign also worked to enlist help from Tennessee's congressional delegation. Senator John Shields of Tennessee, a Democrat, and Representative J. Will Taylor, the state's leading Republican in Congress, both pledged their support for the campaign. Senator Shields introduced a Senate resolution entitled "A Bill to Establish the Smoky Mountain National Park, and for Other Purposes." Harking back to the ambivalence between national parks and national forests that had derailed the first campaign, this bill called for a $10 million appropriation for the Department of Agriculture — not the Department of the Interior — to purchase land for a national park.[18]

But if Senator Shields was unclear about which department in the executive branch of the federal government should oversee the park proposal, Davis and Chapman had no such hesitation. Following his letter to Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work, Davis met with the secretary in February 1924. Shortly after this meeting, the secretary created a committee to study the possibility of a national park in the southern Appalachians. The following July, word came to Knoxville that this committee would be making a tour of potential sites in Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia. The news galvanized not only Knoxville's park boosters, but civic leaders and politicians in those other states as well. It had become evident that the initiative for promoting the park idea had swung from the local to the national level. Furthermore, it was more apparent than ever that its chances for success were linked to the proposition that there ought to be one large national park in the East.



David C. Chapman was prominent in the Knoxville Chamber of Commerce, a co-founder of the Knoxville Rotary Club, and owner of Chapman Drug Company, a business he had inherited from his father. Early in 1924, Chapman formed the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association (GSMCA), establishing it in the same office with the East Tennessee Automobile Club.

"This Remarkable Opportunity"

Stephen Mather has been described as "a striking alloy of drive and amiability," "a man of prodigious and explosive energy," and "a born promoter."[19] A wealthy, self-made man who had made his fortune in the borax industry, Mather had a personal affection for mountains and mountaineering. As first director of the National Park Service, he brought all his promotional skills and infectious enthusiasm to bear on his newfound mission: he wanted to secure the national parks as permanent institutions in American life. To do this he

needed to win the devotion of Congress to the national park idea, and to win Congress he needed to make the national parks more accessible and beloved by the people.

When Congress established the National Park Service in 1916, Mather's new agency oversaw 14 national parks and 21 national monuments, all but one located in the West. "This collection of areas was not a true park system," the Park Service's bureau historian Barry Mackintosh has written. The parks and monuments lacked consistent administrative policies, they varied widely in quality, and they were not well distributed throughout the nation. One way in which Mather wanted to forge a national park system was to make it truly national in scope. He began talking about the possibility of a large national park in the southern Appalachians as early as 1919 when Sieur de Monts National Monument in Maine was incorporated into Lafayette National Park, giving the East its first national park. He worried that if the East did not have other national parks, he could lose the support of eastern senators and congressmen. He needed their support to counter what he saw as a growing threat by some western senator and congressmen to open the parks to various kinds of exploitation. Furthermore, he did not want to concede the whole field of public recreation in the East to the U.S. Forest Service, which was rapidly acquiring eastern national forests under the Weeks Act.[20]

The problem of land acquisition presented an enormous challenge. Congress showed a reluctance to consider any national park proposals in the East if they carried an appropriation for purchasing land. "This is to be regretted," Mather wrote in 1921, "because I consider it particularly desirable that national parks be established in heavily populated sections of the central West and east of the Mississippi."[21] Mather expanded on this theme in his annual report to the secretary for 1923. Somehow a means must be found for establishing national parks in the East, he urged. Specifically, he recommended that "a typical section of the Appalachian Range" should be made a national park so that its native flora and fauna could be protected and the area could be developed for public recreation.[22]

In addition to the problem of land acquisition, Mather had another concern about parks in the East. He was anxious to maintain the highest possible standard for the national park system. Many national park proposals were now getting into the congressional hopper that were simply not worthy of the name. "National parks," Mather insisted, "must continue to constitute areas containing scenery of supreme and distinctive quality or some natural feature so extraordinary or unique as to be of national interest."[23] Secretary of the Interior Work agreed with him, saying that all areas proposed for national parks had to match "the standard, dignity, and prestige of the existing National Parks and National Monuments."[24] What gave the secretary pause with regard to the proposal for a park in the Smokies was the mention that some of the area was cutover. "This might militate against its consideration for national park purposes," First Assistant Secretary E. C. Finney advised Willis P. Davis, shortly before Davis met with the secretary in February 1924.[25]

This was the catalytic meeting, already noted above, in which local and national initiatives to establish a large national park in the East met and amalgamated. Promptly following their meeting, Work formed the Southern Appalachian National Park Committee. His instructions to the committee were to investigate possible sites for a national park anywhere in the Appalachians south of Pennsylvania. To ensure that the committee could rise above local politics, all five members came from non-southern states. They included William C. Gregg, a railroad car manufacturer from New Jersey; Glenn S. Smith, acting chief topographical engineer of the U.S. Geological Survey and resident of Washington, D.C.; Major William A. Welch, general manager of Palisades Interstate Park on the edge of New York City; and Harlan P. Kelsey, a landscape architect and former president of the Appalachian Mountain Club, one of the oldest outdoor clubs in the United States. Although Kelsey resided in Boston, Massachusetts, he had spent many years in western North Carolina and knew the country well; he was also a close advisor of Mather and his assistant director, Horace Albright. Rounding out the committee was Representative Henry Wilson Temple of Pennsylvania, a Republican, who agreed to serve as chairman.[26]

The committee started its work by sorting through some 30 national park proposals that had poured in during the first quarter of 1924 from hopeful cities and towns throughout the region, each responding to announcements from Washington that the administration desired to establish a national park in the southern Appalachians. It answered these many proposals with a form letter and standard questionnaire, requesting additional information on each prospective area's topographical relief and geologic features, varieties of flora and fauna, land ownership, numbers of inhabitants, and extent of logging operations. By July, the committee was prepared to make its grand tour, beginning in Gainesville, Georgia and wending its way north through the Appalachians.[27]

By now the states were fully awakened to the possibilities that the tour represented and the committee was practically mobbed at each stop on its itinerary. The Knoxville group saw that it was in competition with numerous rivals, many of whom enjoyed more support from their state government

than the East Tennesseans had yet marshaled. Anxiously monitoring the committee's progress in the newspapers, the Knoxville group reached a near panic when the committee seemed to linger overlong in western North Carolina, scouting another area (Grandfather Mountain-Linville Gorge) that lay east of their proposed park in the Smokies. Chapman, Davis, Representative Taylor, and other park boosters hastily gathered up their promotional materials and made the long trip over the mountains to Asheville, catching the committee at the Grove Park Inn, where they spread out photographs and gave a three hour presentation. As a result of the meeting two members of the committee, Kelsey and Gregg, traveled to Knoxville the following week, from where they set out on a three-day tour of the Tennessee side of the Smokies by train, car, and horseback, visiting Elkmont, Cades Cove, Gregory Bald, and Clingmans Dome. At the last minute, responding to Chapman's urgent appeal, Tennessee Governor Austin Peay joined the tour.[28]

Chapman's aggressive tactics irritated the people in North Carolina with whom he and his group had sought to establish rapport just two months earlier. However, his concerns about the North Carolinians were not groundless. In North Carolina, support for a national park centered in an organization called Western North Carolina, Inc., which advocated the Grandfather Mountain-Linville Gorge area. The Smokies park proposal, meanwhile, attracted only wan support from residents in Bryson City at this time and did not yet have the crucial endorsement of the region's leading newspaper, the *Asheville Citizen*. The Cherokee tribe, it appears, did not speak out and was never canvassed about the park proposal despite the location of the Indian reservation on the edge of the proposed area. Consequently, it fell to Chapman and the GSMCA to take the lead in promoting the Smokies at this vital juncture.

Kelsey and Gregg were duly impressed by what they saw in Tennessee. Kelsey reported to the committee chairman, Representative Temple, "After viewing the Smoky Mountains from Le Conte all the way thru to Gregory Bald, which overlooks the [Little] Tennessee River, I am convinced that section is the one big thing in the Southern Appalachians for us to consider."[29] Kelsey emphasized that the amount of topographical relief in the Smokies was grander than in any other area that they had investigated, and for that reason it measured up to national park standards.

As the committee prepared its report to the Secretary of the Interior that fall, Mather could not wait for the result to express his enthusiasm. "I believe the South stands strongly and broadly for such a park wherever it may eventually be located and that purely local interests will be subordinated to achieve this remarkable opportunity," he wrote in his annual report for 1924. "The selection of the park must be based on merit and merit alone. Its establishment will benefit every state in the South and East."[30]

The committee submitted its final report to Secretary Work on December 12, 1924. It praised the Great Smoky Mountains as the most promising area for the establishment of an Appalachian national park "because of the height of the mountains, depth of valleys, ruggedness of the area, and the unexampled variety of trees, shrubs and plants." However, the report continued, "the Great Smokies have some handicaps which will make the development of them into a national park a matter of delay." The committee cited the ruggedness of the terrain and cost of developing the park with roads. Consequently, it recommended not one but two national parks in the southern Appalachians, with the federal government's efforts to focus first on the Blue Ridge of Virginia. This area (soon to be known as Shenandoah National Park) was admittedly less grand but because of its relative accessibility and smaller acreage the committee recommended that it precede the creation of a park in the Smokies. "We hope [Shenandoah] will be made into a national park and that its success will encourage the Congress to create a second park in the Great Smoky Mountains."[31]

To Chapman and other park boosters in Tennessee and North Carolina, this was a Pyrrhic victory. Being second place behind a park in Virginia meant both delay and uncertainty. Chapman charged that the committee had been politically influenced. Never before, he claimed, had a national park site been selected "merely on account of proximity."[32] In truth, Shenandoah's proximity to Washington, D.C. admirably served Mather's interest in making the national park system more visible to all members of Congress. Still, the Smokies park proposal had received the committee's ringing endorsement in terms of its superlative qualities and they could be thankful for that. Over the next several weeks, the Tennessee and North Carolina groups embarked on an intense lobbying effort to get the Smokies park proposal included with the Shenandoah park proposal in the forthcoming legislation by Congress. In Tennessee, the park boosters managed to get both Governor Peay and U.S. Senator Kenneth McKellar (D-TN) working on their behalf. In North Carolina, park boosters dropped the moribund Grandfather Mountain-Linville Gorge park proposal and rallied behind the Smokies park proposal instead. Horace Kephart was instrumental in bringing Representatives Zebulon Weaver and Charles Abernethy, both of North Carolina, into the park campaign. Abernethy sat on the House Committee on Public Lands, which was about to consider the bill.[33]

Representative Temple, chairman of the Southern Ap-

palachian National Park Committee, introduced the expected bill in the House on January 27, 1925, while Senator Claude Swanson (D-VA) introduced the same measure in the Senate. Thanks to the work of Senator McKellar among others, the bill did not prioritize one park over the other. The legislation's backers found that it was necessary, however, to include a third park proposal, Mammoth Cave in Kentucky, in order to secure the support of that state's congressional delegation. On February 21, 1925, Congress passed the bill and President Calvin Coolidge signed it into law. Titled "An act to provide for the securing of lands in the southern Appalachian Mountains and in the Mammoth Cave regions of Kentucky for perpetual preservation as national parks," the law directed the Secretary of the Interior to determine boundaries for the three prospective parks, authorized the secretary to accept land and money donations, and provided for the secretary to appoint a commission of five members to carry out these tasks. It was understood that the five members of the Southern Appalachian National Park Committee would serve on the commission, and that the committee would simply change its name to the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission. Having scrimped through the first year on private donations, the congressionally sanctioned commission received an appropriation for expenses of $20,000.

The Act of February 21, 1925 was not an establishing act, but it was a major step in that direction. Congress signaled its tentative support for these three parks, while leaving it to the Secretary of the Interior to recommend each area "to be acquired and administered as a national park." Thus, the work of the commission was not only to determine suitable park boundaries, but also to investigate each park proposal further. Although the act made no promise of further action by Congress nor did it set a timetable, it put various parties on notice that there would now be a full debate about the merits and feasibility of each park proposal. The National Park Service would take this opportunity to form its own impressions of each area (as would the National Parks Association, the self-appointed watchdog organization most concerned with protecting "national park standards"). Meanwhile, the Tennessee and North Carolina state legislatures would both swing into action, and the U.S. Forest Service, with its alternative philosophy of managing forests for use, would consider whether to oppose the Smokies park proposal.

Year of Decision: From the Act of February 21, 1925 to the Act of May 22, 1926

In 1925, the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission still held center stage. In contrast to its nonpartisan stance taken the previous year, however, the commission worked more and more closely with the Park Service. In May, Temple invited Mather to join commission members in a tour of Shenandoah. Mather eagerly accepted, keen to see the area for himself, and pronounced it worthy of the national park system.[34] The tour ended with a conference at the Skyland resort hotel, attended by Secretary Work and park boosters from Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina, where various matters unique to the establishment of national parks in the East were discussed.

On the matter of land acquisition, the commission decided that it would convey to the state governors and the friends of the park movement its wish that they proceed with raising funds and negotiating land deals as they saw fit, while making clear to them that the commission itself would not buy any land. In Temple's view, the success of the park proposals rested "on the proportion of the expense covered by the donations of land and money from individuals or States."[35]

On the delicate problem of how to approach resident populations living within each park area, the commission considered various approaches. One idea was to establish different removal policies for the core and periphery of each park area, requiring the immediate removal of people in the core area and perhaps a ten year interval for people in the periphery of each park. Another thought was to allow people who were adamantly opposed to removal to remain in their homes, employing them in the park. The commission decided that its policy would be to permit the present generation of property owners to remain if they insisted, provided that they observed laws and regulations necessary for the proper administration of the park, but that their property would be purchased by the government as each set of property owners died or abandoned the property. Concerning the grazing of livestock, the commission agreed that no grazing privileges would be permitted in the park. The only exception to this policy, perhaps, would be to permit residents to maintain a small fenced area for a single milk cow.[36] (Of course, the elimination of grazing would undercut most residents' livelihoods, which probably explains why it seemed to the commissioners that some residents might be willing to work as employees of the park administration.)

Directly following the Skyland conference in May, commissioner William Gregg proceeded to Knoxville, where he received some very good news. The previous September, Governor Peay had negotiated an option for the state to buy a 78,131-acre tract from the Little River Lumber Company. Anne Davis, who in November had become the first woman elected to the Tennessee state legislature, introduced a bill

that would see to the state's purchase of the land. With the help of some political arm-twisting by Governor Peay, the state legislature narrowly passed this measure in April 1925. Still celebrating this tremendous victory in early June at the time of Gregg's arrival in the city, Knoxville boosters decided to incorporate the GSMCA and raise $50,000 for additional land purchases. Gregg donated $1,000, while local celebrants chipped in another $7,300.[37]

Gregg proceeded from Knoxville to Gatlinburg, then continued by horseback over the wagon road through Indian Gap to Bryson City. The trip afforded him an opportunity to see the logging operations then in progress on the North Carolina side of the mountains. Commissioner Welch reported on Gregg's observations to Temple: "He finds that the Champion Fiber Company is now operating in the spruce at elevations above four thousand feet and that their methods of logging are very destructive, absolutely destroying all of the timber." [38] Gregg then proceeded to Asheville, where he arranged a meeting between the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission and the city's chamber of commerce, representatives of several lumber companies, residents of the towns located on the North Carolina side of the Smokies, and the North Carolina Park Commission. This latter organization had been established by the state legislature the previous August.

At this all-day meeting in Asheville on June 18, Temple, Gregg, and Smith represented the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission, while Mark Squires, chairman of the North Carolina Park Commission and a state senator, presided. The three commissioners were disappointed in the North Carolinians' "lukewarm" response to the park proposal. The *Asheville Citizen* remained neutral at best, perhaps even "slightly inclined" toward the lumbering interests.[39] One bright spot was a vote taken by the North Carolina Park Commission in support of the park proposal. Confidentially, though, Mark Squires told Smith that he doubted whether the people of North Carolina would "put up a cent by popular subscription or in donating any land for national park purposes."[40]

After the meeting in Asheville, Gregg backtracked to Bryson City, where he arranged with an engineer named Harrison to lead him on an expedition of several days through the Smokies. Accompanied by three mountaineers and a string of mules, they started up Hughes Ridge toward Mount Guyot, reaching an unnamed summit just short of Mount Guyot that they christened "Sharp Top." With a drop-off on one side of "a thousand feet or so" this impressive feature did not appear on their map. They led a pair of mules nearly to the top of it, "a feat which might appropriately be recorded on my tombstone," Gregg wrote to Temple, "no horses or mules ever having been sightseeing over that route before." From here they traversed the ridgeline to Clingmans Dome, where they climbed into the tree tops to get vistas. The next day, on Andrews Bald, they found fifty acres of grass that gave them a clear view of the ridges and valleys in every direction. There they stayed overnight in a herder's cabin. Gregg was impressed by the abundance of "beautiful glens and fine hardwood timber in the lower valleys," but the extent of logging in the high elevations troubled him. From Clingmans Dome, he reported, "the very large cut over work of the Little River Lumber Company showed up very prominently."[41]

In August of 1925, Harlan Kelsey of the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission returned to the Smokies accompanied by **Arno B. Cammerer**, assistant director of the National Park Service. Cammerer's visit, the *Knoxville Journal* brightly reported, was the "first official inspection of the proposed Great Smoky national park area by an official of the Federal national Park Service."

The most important conclusion that Gregg drew from this exploration was that the park must include both sides of the mountains. He discussed with Welch the possibility of changing the proposed boundaries so as to exclude the North Carolina side, since the North Carolinians did not appear to be much in favor of the park. Both men agreed that the Tennessee side contained the more striking features, and clearly the Tennesseans were more enthused about the park. Nevertheless, they could not conscientiously recommend it.

"If there is to be a Park in the Great Smokies," they agreed, "it must embrace both sides of the ridge."[42]

In August, Harlan Kelsey of the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission returned to the Smokies accompanied by Arno B. Cammerer, assistant director of the National Park Service. Cammerer's visit, the *Knoxville Journal* brightly reported, was the "first official inspection of the proposed Great Smoky national park area by an official of the Federal national Park Service."[43] Cammerer was Mather's number two man after Assistant Director Albright, and as Albright served as field director in the West, Cammerer was rapidly becoming Mather's unofficial point man in the East. Highly personable, hardworking, and a seasoned civil servant, he brought an excellent set of skills to the enormous project of making a national park in the Smokies. Before joining Mather's small staff in 1919, Cammerer had served several secretaries of the treasury and had been assistant secretary to the National Commission of Fine Arts and first secretary of the Public Buildings Commission of Congress. On his first visit to the Smokies Cammerer climbed Mount Le Conte and Gregory Bald and toured Cades Cove. He reported to Mather that the scenery was so superb that it would "measure from every standpoint up to the best in our national park system."[44]

In September came another important visitor, Robert Sterling Yard. A prominent preservationist and publicist, Yard had joined forces with Mather seven years earlier to produce two illustrated books, *Glimpses of Our National Parks* and *National Parks Portfolio*, aimed at increasing public support for the national park system. Yard had subsequently founded the National Parks Association, an organization dedicated to the protection of the national parks. By turns a cheerleader and a critic of Mather's leadership, Yard increasingly moved toward a "purist" stance on maintaining national park standards. He was even more wary than Mather about the prospect of Congress foisting inferior areas on the system for short-term political gain. With the whole South "aflame for National Parks," Yard wrote, southern politicians were scrambling to satisfy their local constituents' desires, while "the fitness of any of the areas for admission to the system has ceased to count."[45] He was dubious about the Shenandoah park proposal and outright hostile toward the Mammoth Cave park proposal. But Yard got behind the Smokies park proposal. After a nine-day trip through the park, he went away thrilled by the area's "forest primeval" and "knife-edge ridges." He confirmed that the topographical relief of the mountains, measured from base to height, matched that of all but a few mountain areas in the western parks. Moreover, the Appalachian mountains contrasted with the mountains of the West in ways that would add significant variety to the national park system. "If their heavy blanketing of forest has saved them from the carving, doming, and splintering which erosion has performed upon the bared summits of many western mountains of similar height, it has preserved to them the greater beauty of more gracious outline." Yard also appreciated the diversity of plant species found in the area. Not only were the "forest gardens" pleasing to the eye, they were of great value to science. As the nation's self-appointed guardian of national park standards, Yard certified that the Smokies park proposal was worthy. "The Great Smoky Mountains National Park will possess national park quality of high order," he wrote. "It will equal in its own different way the high standard set by the National Parks System."[46] Yard's sentiment echoed that of Cammerer, further solidifying the federal government's commitment to the park.

To the members of the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission, any remaining uncertainty about the park proposal at this point rested with the people of North Carolina. If they would not support it, then Congress would certainly not go for it. However, about the same time that Cammerer and Yard each visited the Smokies, public support in western North Carolina began to swing from the lumber interests to the park boosters. The key individual in making this happen was F. Roger Miller, manager of the Asheville Chamber of Commerce and erstwhile friend of the lumber interests. In August, Miller attacked the U.S. Forest Service, accusing forest rangers of making improper public statements to the effect that a national park would eliminate jobs in the lumbering industry and hurt the local economy. Chief Forester William B. Greeley denied that there was any official resistance to the park movement by the Forest Service; to the contrary, he asserted, he had instructed all of his field staff in North Carolina to stand by and "in good faith" allow the park movement to proceed on its own merits. But Miller refused to retract his accusation, nor would he accede to Greeley's request to hand over the names of individual forest rangers who had allegedly spoken out against the park campaign. As the public tiff dragged on into September, with the district forester writing long, ill-advised missives to Miller demanding proof of the allegations, public support for the lumbering interests eroded. "I see nothing to be accomplished by a war of words," Miller taunted the Forest Service official, rather disingenuously it would seem, for in the meantime he was working with Mark Squires of the North Carolina Park Commission to produce 10,000 copies of an illustrated booklet on the Smokies written by Horace Kephart.[47] Indeed, it was Kephart who had unleashed the attack on the Forest Service in the first place. Meanwhile, the *Asheville Citizen* came out strongly for the park in a front

page editorial, finally abandoning its former neutrality.[48]

As soon as both the Asheville Chamber of Commerce and the *Asheville Citizen* came on board, Asheville's park boosters hastened to form a fundraising organization similar to the GSMCA in Tennessee. On September 2, they chartered the Great Smoky Mountains, Inc., electing Miller as executive secretary and Kephart as field secretary.[49] In October, the Tennessee and North Carolina organizations joined forces in contracting with a professional fundraiser, Tamblyn and Brown, and set a goal of raising $1 million, half in each state, by March 1, 1926. Several factors made time of the essence for the fundraising campaign. Land values were rising. The forest was being destroyed. National support for the park proposal could not be expected to last indefinitely. And despite a pretense of working arm-in-arm with their counterpart to the north, Shenandoah National Park Association, Inc., the Tennessee and North Carolina groups still saw themselves in a race with the park people in Virginia.

The fundraising campaign began in earnest in November, with mass meetings and speeches, newspaper editorials and other publications, and door-to-door calls for donations. It entered the schools, with essay contests on "Why I Would Like a National Park in the Great Smoky Mountains."[50] Songs were written for the effort, with such ardent and declamatory lyrics as "We want a Park, a National Park/As Western people have," and "The Sun shines bright/On the Smoky Mountains Park/In summer the tourists are gay./By'n'by good roads will bring millions to our Park/And then all will prosper every day."[51] Some lumber companies answered with full-page newspaper advertisements and articles aimed at defeating the fundraising campaign. They repeated earlier claims that the national park would cost jobs, and they brought out "facts" showing that the cost of buying land for the park was far greater than park boosters admitted. Mark Squires of the North Carolina Park Commission believed that the misinformation spread by the lumber companies seriously hurt the fundraising effort. In December, the deadline was pushed back one month to April 1. As the campaign stretched on through the winter and early spring, park boosters anxiously looked for contributions from people located outside of East Tennessee and western North Carolina, but most support for the park remained frustratingly local. With the effort in North Carolina still coming up short as the deadline loomed, the Asheville Chamber of Commerce kicked in the last $35,000 to put it over the top.

The $1 million raised by the two states was only a down payment on the estimated $10 million cost to buy all the land for the park, but it was enough to show Congress that the two states were serious. On April 8, 1926, Representative Temple, chairman of the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission, reported to Secretary of the Interior Work on the fundraising accomplishments in Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and recommended boundaries for the proposed Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountains parks. On April 14, 1926, Secretary Work reported to the president of the Senate on the progress made toward establishing the parks as directed under the Act of February 21, 1925.[52] That same day, Representative Temple and Senator Swanson introduced identical bills in the House and Senate, providing for the establishment of Shenandoah National Park and Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Meeting no resistance, the legislation was passed by Congress and signed into law by President Coolidge on May 22, 1926.

Section 1 of the act stated that when title to the lands within the areas recommended by the Secretary of the Interior in his April 14 report were conveyed to the United States then those areas would be established as national parks. This section contained a proviso that the United States would not purchase by appropriation any of the lands; the United States would secure all such lands by public or private donation only. (This proviso would be amended by subsequent legislation.) Section 2 authorized the Secretary of the Interior to accept title to the lands on behalf of the United States. Section 3 stated that administration of each area by the National Park Service would commence only after a minimum acreage had been conveyed to the United States — 150,000 acres in the case of Great Smoky Mountains National Park — and it provided further that "no general development of either of these areas shall be undertaken until a major portion of the remainder in such area shall have been accepted by said Secretary." In that interim period between the commencement of federal administration and the establishment of the national park, federal officials would parse the meaning of "administration" and "development" to determine what functions were allowed or disallowed by this proviso. Furthermore, that phrase "major portion of the remainder" gave only an imprecise benchmark for when development could be initiated. The final section of the act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to employ the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission for carrying out the provisions of the act, or namely, the land acquisition.[53]

Like the act of February 21, 1925, this act was something short of an establishing act. In the words of Michael Frome, "it was more of a tantalizing morsel than a full-course meal" since the act provided for the establishment of the park at some future date, rather than immediately.[54] However, the long, involved process of creating a large national park in the East had turned a corner, and it would next focus on the formidable challenge of acquiring a land base.

[1] Quoted in Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 61. Anne Davis's question to her husband is cited in numerous contemporary accounts and most histories of the national park campaign. See also Michael Frome, *Strangers in High Places: The Story of the Great Smoky Mountains* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966), 182; Brown, *The Wild East*, 88; and Dykeman and Stokely, *Highland Homeland*, 140-141.

[2] Robert Shankland, *Steve Mather of the National Parks* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), 94.

[3] Quoted in John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), 18.

[4] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Report of the Director of the National Park Service for 1923*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), 3.

[5] Horace Kephart, "The Smoky Mountains National Park," in *A National Park in the Great Smoky Mountains* (Asheville: North Carolina Park Commission, 1927), n.p.

[6] Carl Knoedler, "The Magnificent Smokies," *The New South*, (May 1927): 22.

[7] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 33.

[8] Quoted in Brown, *The Wild East*, 87.

[9] John Morrell, "A History of the Cottages in the Vicinity of the Forest Town of Elkmont, Namely: The Appalachian Club & The Wonderland Club," 1976, Vertical Files, GRSM.

[10] On the motives and strategies of southern progressives in the good roads movement, see Howard Lawrence Preston, *Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1885-1935* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 4-7, 55.

[11] "Great Smoky Mountains Tourist Bureau" (pamphlet), 1925, File 11, Box 1, Publicity, GRSM.

[12] "Col. David C. Chapman, Dynamic leader in the movement for establishment of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park," File 26, Box I, Chapman Collection, GRSM.

[13] See cartoon illustrations in Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 100-101.

[14] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 56-58.

[15] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Report of the Director of the National Park Service for 1925* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925), 1-2.

[16] Quoted in Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 64.

[17] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 65-66.

[18] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 64-65.

[19] Quotations from Shankland, *Steve Mather of the National Parks*, 8; Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, 193; Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1991), 18.

[20] John C. Miles, *Guardian of the Parks: A History of the National Parks and Conservation Association* (Washington: Taylor & Francis, 1995), 109; Ronald A. Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers* (Washington: Resources for the Future, Inc., 1984), 36.

[21] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Report of the Director of the National Park Service for 1921* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921), 46-47.

[22] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Report of the Director of the National Park Service for 1923* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), 3.

[23] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service for 1923*, 3.

[24] Quoted in Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 52.

[25] E. C. Finney to Willis P. Davis, January 28, 1924, File 12-22, Box 2012, Central Files, Record Group 48 – Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior (RG 48), National Archives II (NA II).

[26] U.S. Senate, *Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountain National Parks*, 69th Cong., 1st sess., 1926, Report 824, 3; Frome, *Strangers in High Places*, 181.

[27] Brown, *The Wild East,* 88; Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 53; Frome, *Strangers in High Places*, 181.

[28] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 68-70.

[29] As quoted in Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 71.

[30] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Report of the Director of the National Park Service for 1924* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924), 4-5.

[31] Quoted in Frome, *Strangers in High Places*, 184-185.

[32] Quoted in Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 75.

[33] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 77-78.

[34] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service for 1925*, 2-3.

[35] Minutes of the second meeting of the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission, April 28, 1925, File 0-32, Box 24, Central Classified Files (CCF) 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[36] Minutes of the second meeting of the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission, April 28, 1925, File 0-32, Box 24, Central Classified Files (CCF) 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[37] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 80-81.

[38] W. A. Welch to H. W. Temple, July 7, 1925, File 0-32, Box 24, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[39] W. A. Welch to H. W. Temple, July 7, 1925, File 0-32, Box 24, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[40] Quoted in Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 84.

[41] W. C. Gregg to H. W. Temple, July 4, 1925, as reproduced in W.A. Welch to H.W. Temple, July 7, 1925, File 0-32, Box 24, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[42] W. A. Welch to H. W. Temple, July 7, 1925, File 0-32, Box 24, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II. Gregg's handwritten concurrence follows the end of this letter.

[43] "National Park Heads Pay Visit to Mt. Le Conte," *Knoxville Journal*, August 11, 1925.

[44] Quoted in Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 87.

[45] Quoted in Miles, *Guardian of the Parks*, 77.

[46] Robert Sterling Yard, "A National Park in the Great Smoky Mountains," *National Parks Bulletin*, no. 46 (November 1925): 3-8.

[47] W. B. Greeley to F. Roger Miller, August 24, 1925, Miller to Greeley, September 1, 1925, R. W. Evans to Miller, September 2, 1925, Evans to Miller, September 9, 1925, Miller to Evans, September 12, 1925, Miller to Horace Kephart, August 17, 1925, Miller to Mark Squires, August 17, 1925, File Roger Miller, Box IV, North Carolina Park Commission, GRSM.

[48] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 84-85.

[49] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 85-86.

[50] Quoted in Frome, *Strangers in High Places*, 189.

[51] Quoted in Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 94.

[52] U.S. Senate, *Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountain National Parks*, 69th Cong., 1st sess., 1926, Report 824, 1-8.

[53] Act of May 22, 1926 (44 Stat. 616).

[54] Frome, *Strangers in High Places*, 189.

Chapter Three
the Campaign to Establish a Land Base

The Act of May 22, 1926, set in motion a process of land acquisition that was unprecedented in national park history. Dual park commissions in Tennessee and North Carolina began purchasing an area half the size of the state of Rhode Island entirely from private holders. Most of the area along the Appalachian crest belonged to a handful of lumber companies, while outside of this core area the land was divided into more than a thousand small mountain farms. By and large, these property owners were not willing sellers. Conservative estimates indicated that the cost of buying all the land for the park would amount to $10 million, a staggering sum. No one had a sure idea where the money would come from. Congress had only stipulated that not one cent would come from the U.S. Treasury.

Despite this key limitation on federal involvement, government officials played a quiet leadership role throughout the process. Most importantly, the Secretary of the Interior maintained control of the final outline of the park, since the congressional enabling act gave the secretary "discretion" to accept title on behalf of the United States for lands purchased by the states of Tennessee and North Carolina within the large 704,000-acre zone prescribed as the Great Smoky Mountains National Park area. Federal officials also took charge of the national fundraising effort. Assistant director of the Park Service Arno B. Cammerer served as the government's liaison to the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, whose contribution of $5 million was so critical in making the park possible. After the Park Service established an administrative presence in the Smokies in 1931, the federal government also contributed a full-time land appraiser and a Justice Department attorney to the states' land-buying efforts. Finally, amidst a changing political context during the Great Depression, administration officials sought ways to complete the land purchases using federal moneys.

No one was more instrumental in this process than the indefatigable Arno Cammerer. Triangulating between the federal government, the state governments, and the private sector, he traveled endlessly from the Washington office to Capitol Hill, to public meetings in Knoxville and Asheville, to the tops of the Smokies on horseback and on foot, to the Rockefeller offices in New York City. One month he was taking the stand before state legislators in Raleigh, North Carolina, the next month he was meeting with wealthy philanthropists in Bar Harbor, Maine. He formed personal friendships with many people in Tennessee and North Carolina. He became chums with David Chapman, whom he addressed in letters as "old man." On at least one occasion he and Chapman went on a mission to Cosby, a reputed nest of moonshiners during the Prohibition era.

In the beginning he worked in the shadows. "My position is a peculiar one," he once reminded Chapman. "I am not acting in these contacts officially….I am not to be seen on the surface, because the Department's attitude necessarily is that they have no official connection until the park is handed them on a silver platter, so to speak."[1] Gradually this changed. In 1930, Cammerer moved to the number two post in the Park Service when Albright succeeded Mather as director, and in 1933 he became the Park Service's third director following Albright's retirement. In his position as director, Cammerer worked directly for President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes to secure federal funds with which to complete the process of land acquisition.

The Cammerer Line

In February 1927, the North Carolina state legislature passed a bond issue for $2 million for land acquisition for the proposed Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Ten weeks later, the Tennessee state legislature followed suit by passing a bond issue for $1.5 million ($500,000 less than North Carolina's based on an agreed credit for the money it had already put up to purchase the Little River Lumber Company holdings).[2] Together with the slightly more than $1 million that was raised through private donations in 1925-26, this gave the two states a kitty of nearly $5 million for land purchases. Before the process could go any further, it became imperative to know what the Secretary of the Interior would find acceptable as a land base for the national park.

Anticipating this need, on February 12, 1927, Governor

Horace Albright served as superintendent of Yellowstone National Park and Director of the National Park Service. He instituted two far-reaching policies–expansion of national parks throughout the states east of the Mississippi River and introduction of historic preservation into the National Park Service.

Austin Peay of Tennessee and Governor Angus W. McLean of North Carolina called on Secretary of the Interior Work in Washington, D.C. The secretary had identified a maximum boundary for the park in his report to Congress the previous year, but what was the minimum boundary? The Act of May 22, 1926, stipulated that no development would occur until "a major portion" of this maximum area was acquired by the states and deeded to the federal government. Everyone agreed that the 704,000-acre maximum area could not possibly be purchased and turned into a national park in its entirety, but what portion exactly would the secretary accept in order to develop the park? The governors proposed that the secretary have a survey made and a minimum boundary established so that their states' respective land acquisition efforts could be targeted on acquiring lands within that area. Secretary Work obliged, stating that he would direct the Park Service to make this survey and recommend such an area.[3] Five days later, Secretary Work presented this request to Mather who, under the press of other duties, delegated the job to Cammerer.[4]

Work's instructions were to develop both an inner and an outer boundary line, the first to describe a minimum area of 150,000 acres that the secretary would accept for purposes of administration and protection only, and the second to describe a larger area that the secretary would accept as "a major portion of the remainder" of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park area of 704,000 acres, thereby bringing the park into full-fledged existence according to the terms of the 1926 act. However, in the months intervening from Work's instructions in February to Cammerer's departure for the Smokies in May, North Carolina and Tennessee both enacted laws that made the minimum-area boundary moot. Both laws provided that the state appropriations would not be available until the Secretary of the Interior had described in writing the area that he would accept for purposes of commencing development of the national park. After consultation with the respective state park commissions, Cammerer decided to confine his study to a single boundary line that would encompass that larger area, or approximately 427,000 acres.[5]

Cammerer departed in early May for a month of "hard-going reconnaissances" in the Smokies. Accompanied by members of the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission, he traveled through the mountains on horseback, alternately camping out and staying at rustic lodges.[6] The party went in search of the outstanding peaks and streams and sections of untouched forest that should be included in the park, as well as flanking ridges and foothills that would make suitable boundaries. It was Cammerer's aim to develop boundaries based on natural topography. In many instances the party found that their U.S. Geological Survey topographic map, which was drawn to a scale of 1:125,000 with contour intervals of 100 feet based on an 1885 survey, contained significant omissions and inaccuracies.[7]

They also looked for sections within the 704,000-acre zone that should be left outside the recommended boundary. They found large scale power developments in progress in both the eastern and western parts of the original area, including transmission lines and tunnels, and eliminated these areas because they were incompatible with national park purposes. They noted copper mines on the North Carolina side and formulated a boundary line that would exclude this area on the grounds that mineral claims would likely be prohibitively expensive to acquire. Although the Cherokee Indian Reservation had been included in the original area, they now decided that the reservation was "not practicable for inclusion" and omitted it as well, together with the Plott Balsam Mountains to the south of the reservation.

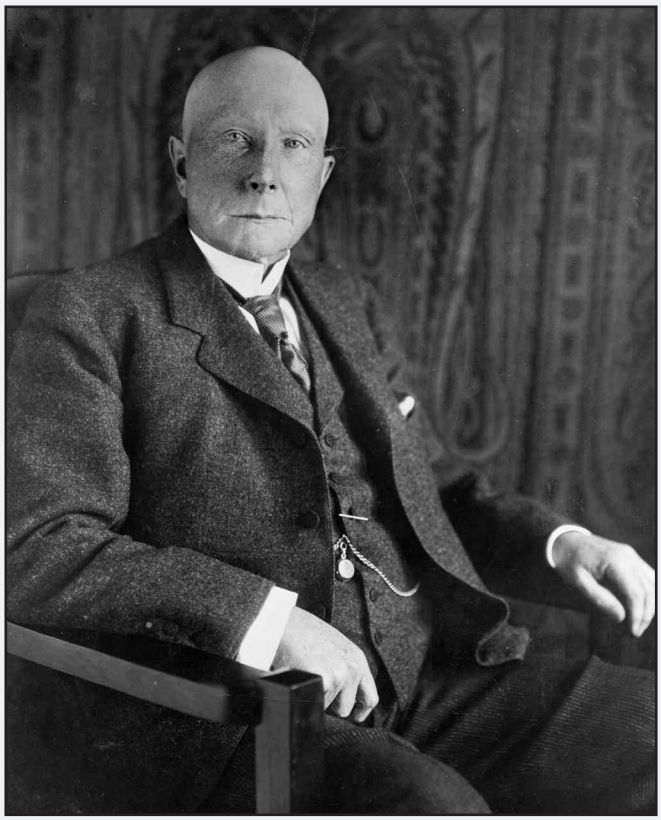
After making these large-scale eliminations, Cammerer and the commissioners made other adjustments of the boundary with a view toward maintaining roughly equal

The famed **Walker Sisters** of Little Greenbrier were loath to leave their pretty mountain home and were granted a lifetime lease.

portions of the total acreage in each state. The basis for this decision was not found in the 1926 act but rather in the law passed by North Carolina, which provided that its $2 million for land acquisition would not become available until the Secretary of the Interior designated an area of 214,000 acres in that state. Although the Tennessee law did not include an equivalent provision, Cammerer decided it was prudent to act as though it did. He then added upwards of 10,000 acres to the delineated area in each state to allow some "leeway" for making minor deletions later as the land acquisition effort moved forward. In the final analysis, Cammerer's recommended boundary line included approximately 225,500 acres on the North Carolina side and approximately 228,500 acres on the Tennessee side.[8]

On the West Prong of the Little Pigeon River there was a relatively level area known as Sugarlands occupied by a large number of farms. This rural populace notwithstanding, Cammerer unflinchingly included the farms within his boundary line, describing the area as "an ideal place for the establishment of a national park headquarters on the Tennessee side and an important park entrance." Similarly, Cammerer included a settled area known as Cherokee Orchard within his boundary line because it looked like a good area for a campground. Cammerer noted in his report to Secretary Work that both these areas fell outside a "black line" that the Tennessee legislature had identified on a map accompanying its $1.5 million bond issue. According to the state law, the black line marked the farthest extent of area in which the state would exercise its power of eminent domain to acquire land for the park. However, the Tennessee law did not prohibit the acquisition of private holdings lying outside the black line; it only stipulated that such lands would not be obtained by condemnation.[9]

Cammerer drew his boundary line with another concern in mind: how to prevent unsightly commercial development from marring approach roads to the park. Here the Park Service had an opportunity to learn from what was happening around some of the western parks, or indeed, near Gatlinburg. "Already a considerable number of unpainted wooden stores selling gasoline, soft drinks, tobacco, native handicraft work and the like, are in evidence, and although they do serve the visitors they do not add to the attractiveness of the area," he commented. Cammerer proposed that the eventual park area include a buffer of approximately 300 feet on either side of the road "from the mouth of Mill Creek to at least Fighting Creek Gap," and since the exact alignment of the road was not yet determined he included the whole area within his boundary line.[10] Cammerer's concept anticipated the Gatlinburg Bypass that would be added much later in the park's history. Mather had worked to protect buffer



The effort to create Great Smoky Mountains National Park may have collapsed if not for the contribution of $5 million by **John D. Rockefeller, Jr.** via the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. Rockefeller had never been to the Great Smokies when he made the historic pledge in 1928.

strips along approach roads around some of the western parks, often in cooperation with the U.S. Forest Service, and Cammerer sought to adapt this practice to local conditions in East Tennessee where the park would abut private land.[11]

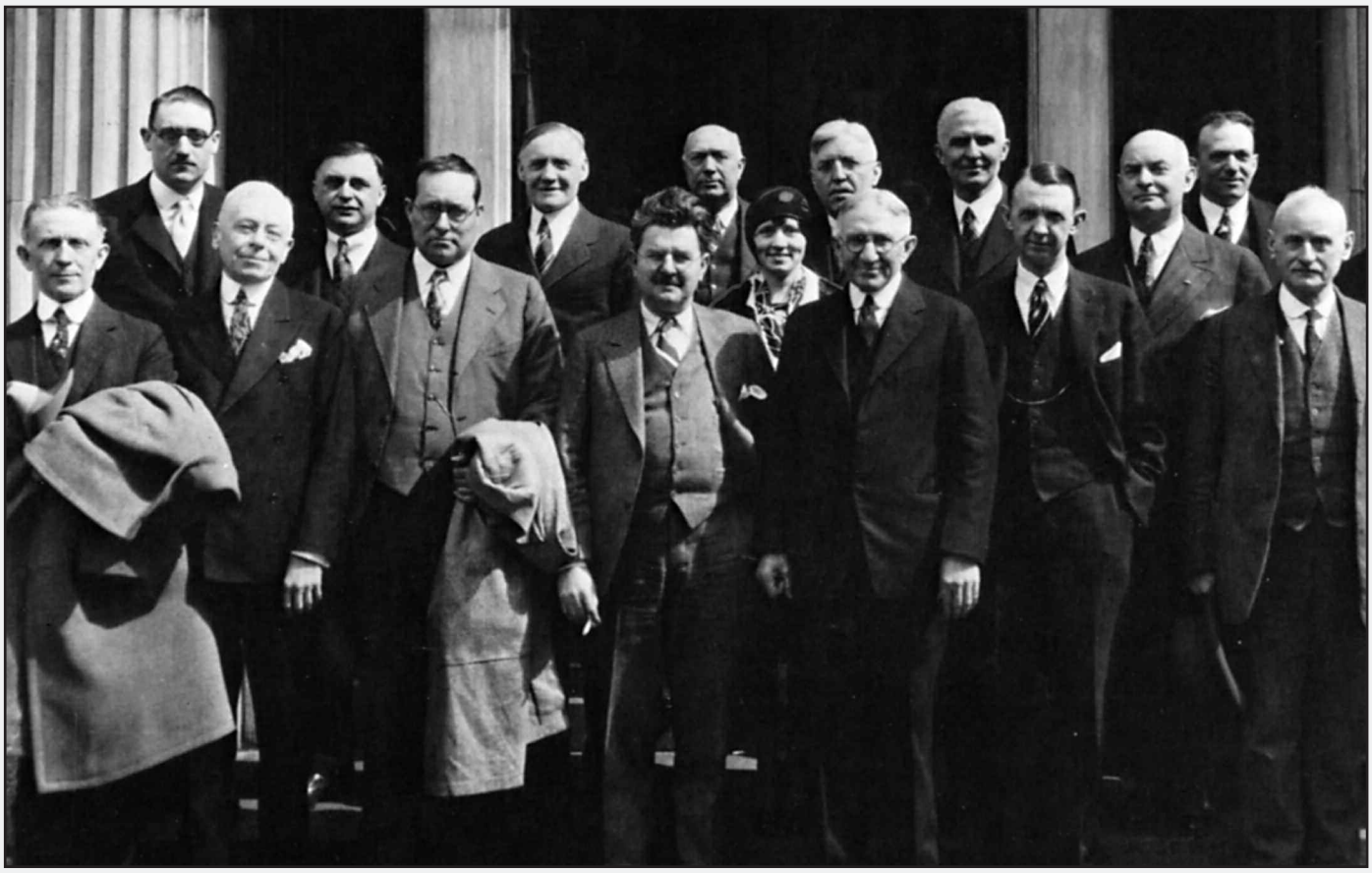
The boundary line that Cammerer described in his June 22 report to Secretary Work became known as "the Cammerer line." The state commissions focused on acquiring lands within this area, and the Cammerer line generally described the limits of the park at the time of its dedication in 1940. However, the Secretary of the Interior retained statutory authority under the 1926 act to add more lands to the park by donation if the lands fell outside the Cammerer line but within the original authorized area. This unusual circumstance would later come into play when a large addition was made to the park on the north shore of Fontana Lake. As this addition was within the original authorized area it did not require a separate act of Congress. Today there are still about 180,000 acres lying outside the park boundary and within the original authorized area.[12]

The Rockefeller Gift

Beginning in May 1927, Cammerer began courting the billionaire oil baron, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., as a potential source for a large financial contribution. Rockefeller's interest in conservation was already known to the Park Service leadership. More than a decade earlier, Rockefeller had donated generously toward the creation of Acadia National Park. In 1924, in response to a letter from Mather, he had contributed $500 toward the expenses of the Southern Appalachian National Park Committee. Later that year, when Rockefeller politely informed Mather that he planned to take his family on a tour of the western parks, the Park Service director instructed his superintendents to roll out the red carpet for the billionaire oil baron. Albright, who was then serving as superintendent of Yellowstone each summer, met the Rockefellers at the train station in Gardiner, Montana, and personally conducted them on a two-day automobile tour of the park. After this trip, Rockefeller corresponded with Albright about unsightly slash that he had observed along Yellowstone's roadsides and contributed $50,000 toward its cleanup.[13] Rockefeller visited Albright in Yellowstone again in 1926, at which time Albright interested Rockefeller in an ambitious scheme to buy up ranches in Jackson Hole for the future Grand Teton National Park.[14] Cammerer's communication with Rockefeller about the Great Smoky Mountains National Park project formed a logical next step in the Park Service leadership's studied efforts to cultivate Rockefeller's philanthropy toward the national parks.

On August 4, 1927, Cammerer met personally with Rockefeller, leaving him with a briefcase full of photographs of the Smokies. Eight days later, Cammerer wrote a most ardent appeal to Rockefeller at his summer home in Seal Harbor, Maine. "You told me that you are very much interested in the plans for the establishment of a Great Smoky Mountains National Park in the States of North Carolina and Tennessee, and that I might write you at the Eyrie regarding them," Cammerer began. "You have already gone over the photographs I left with you which, short of personal inspection, were the best available means of showing you the wonderfully scenic character of the country proposed for inclusion in the park. It appeals to me more than any national park in the West."[15]

Cammerer reminded Rockefeller of the great need for a national park in the East that would be centrally located to serve the millions of people who could not afford a trip to the West. He reviewed all the steps that had been taken toward realizing that goal, including the two states' efforts to raise funds for land acquisition. With nearly $5 million raised and another $4.5 million needed to acquire the park area, the states required assurance that the remainder of the total sum of money was available before the state bonds would be is-



Those attending a meeting on March 6, 1928 when the gift from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial was announced included Governor Ben Hooper, Willis Davis, E. Conner, David Chapman, Governor Henry Horton, John Nolan, James Fowler, Kenneth Chorley, Arno Cammerer, Wiley Brownlee, J. M. Clark, Margaret Preston, Ben Morton, Frank Maloney, Cary Spence, and Russell Hanlon.

sued. "For that remainder," Cammerer implored, "public-spirited men of the country convinced of the value of the project must be relied upon if the park is to go through."[16]

Mindful of Rockefeller's abiding interest in saving California's redwoods, Cammerer emphasized that the beautiful ancient forests in the Smokies were in peril and that the need for action was urgent. The logging companies, on notice that their lands could be condemned, were "working under forced draught" to get out the cut, but as soon as the additional money for land acquisition was secured, the states would "at once clamp injunctions on these operations."[17]

Cammerer eloquently recited the value of the western national parks for maintaining a healthy and contented citizenry, and he vouchsafed the importance of eastern national parks for ensuring that the same benefits would be available to the mass of people in the East. "They will be the outstanding scenic areas where those from the congested centers of population, the workers of the machines in the lofts and mills, the clerks at the desks, and the average fellow of the small towns, may at small cost and loss of only a few days' time, get the recreation and inspiration that his more fortunate brothers now get out of a visit to the Yellowstone and Yosemite."[18] This vision of the common man lay at the core of Cammerer's personal philosophy about the national parks.[19] Cammerer was sincere when he told Rockefeller, "My heart is wrapped up in this eastern park proposition, and particularly the Great Smoky Park, because of the great possibilities of doing something worth while for humanity that is involved."[20]

Rockefeller replied on September 3 that he was interested in making a contribution, but just what plans had been developed for raising the remaining sum? Were any other donors stepping up? Cammerer explained that the man overseeing the fundraising campaign was William A. Welch, general manager of Palisades Interstate Park and a member of the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission. More than a year earlier, the state park commissions in North Carolina and Tennessee had joined with the people in Virginia who were behind the Shenandoah National Park project to form a private organization in charge of fundraising at the national level, and they had asked Welch to head the organization. The plan of the organization was to forego

a broad appeal to the general public in favor of a direct approach to a limited number of philanthropists who had supported comparable projects in the past. After receiving Rockefeller's September 3 letter, Cammerer went to New York to confer with Welch. It seemed that Welch had secured about a dozen pledges for a total of $2 million, but each one was contingent on someone else putting in first.[21]

Cammerer looked to Rockefeller to break this impasse by making the first pledge. Indeed, he had an inkling that the oil baron might contribute the balance after all the other pledges came in. On September 15, Cammerer traveled to Bar Harbor, Maine, where he expected to have more discussion with Rockefeller. "I have never been so busy as these days," he wrote Chapman confidentially on the eve of his trip. Giddily, he explained that he could not reveal the identities of the several people on Welch's list, much less the identity of the big fish he was about to hook. "Rich people are temperamental," he observed, "and an unfortunate approach spoils the prospects as far as that individual is concerned."[22]

Cammerer did not keep a record of this crucial visit with Rockefeller, but the result spoke for itself. On September 26, Rockefeller sent Welch a pledge of $1 million for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park project. Further, if Welch could secure another $4 million by the end of the year, then Rockefeller would "underwrite the remaining $500,000." He insisted on secrecy "so as not to run up the price of these lands," and he earnestly hoped that the project could be completed posthaste so as to curtail "the continuing destruction of primeval forest."[23]

The Rockefeller $1 million did not release the anticipated cascade of other pledges, however. Nearly six weeks passed, and then Cammerer received a check for $50,000 from Edsel Ford, son of the automobile manufacturer. As fall passed into winter, everyone involved in the campaign grew impatient for a report from Welch. Letters of inquiry from Chapman and Squires to Welch went unanswered.[24] A personal visit by Cammerer to Welch's New York office in December elicited no more than a comment that he had several more people to see. "Welch is conducting the campaign…with all secrecy," Cammerer wrote to his fellow commissioner, William C. Gregg, "and I guess nobody but he knows what the status is."[25] On January 10, 1928, Welch abruptly resigned from the commission and relinquished his role as head of the fundraising operation. Expressing deep regret but offering no other explanation, he announced that there was no money to report other than the two pledges that had come through Cammerer.[26]

Once again Rockefeller stepped forward at the critical time. On January 23, 1928, he informed Cammerer that the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, a foundation created in memory of his mother, would give $4.5 or $5 million for the establishment of Great Smoky Mountains National Park.[27] Rockefeller offered the gift on the condition that there would be a memorial in the park bearing the inscription, "This Park was given, one-half by the Peoples and Commonwealths of the States of North Carolina and Tennessee, one-half in memory of Laura Spelman Rockefeller..." For this reason, it was important to Rockefeller that the amount of the gift should match what the states put in. The gift would involve the cancellation of his previous pledge of $1 million together with the $50,000 pledge by Ford.[28]

Cammerer swiftly saw to the acceptance of Rockefeller's conditions by Secretary Work and the two park commissions. At Cammerer's request, a three-person board of trustees was established to administer the gift, which became known as the Great Smoky Mountains Memorial Fund. Chapman and Squires were appointed to the board to represent their respective states, while Cammerer reluctantly agreed to serve as chairman and represent the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. The main purposes of the board of trustees were to make payments from the memorial fund to the state park commissions on a dollar for dollar matching basis, and to provide timely financial statements to the trustees of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial.[29]

Although Rockefeller stepped back from the process once he made his gift, he continued to have a large influence on the making of the park. Kenneth Chorley, Rockefeller's key man on conservation matters, continually reminded Cammerer of the assurances he had given Rockefeller that the states would quickly bring a halt to logging in the park area. Cammerer communicated these concerns to the state park commissions, referring to the cessation of logging as a "gentleman's agreement" embedded in the Rockefeller gift. Moreover, as chairman of the memorial fund, Cammerer stuck scrupulously to Rockefeller's requirement for a one-to-one match of state moneys with the Rockefeller money.

Buying the Land

Through the next two years of 1928 and 1929 the North Carolina and Tennessee park commissions accelerated their efforts to acquire land. Both park commissions hired surveyors, appraisers, land purchasing agents, and attorneys. On the North Carolina side the park commission hired Verne Rhoades, a former forest supervisor on the Pisgah National Forest, to oversee the land purchasing process. With the power of condemnation at its disposal, the North Carolina Park Commission worked effectively in acquiring small farms.[30] On the Tennessee side, where many farms fell out-

side the authorized limit for condemnation proceedings, there was more difficulty. First the park commission took a decentralized approach for negotiating with farmers, establishing a separate land purchasing organization in each county. As farmers in some areas were more reluctant to sell than farmers in other areas, this did not work well. Next it appointed one agent, former governor Ben W. Hooper, to oversee all farm purchases while it appointed another agent, John Toomey, to administer purchases of large tracts. This system faltered when Hooper accused Chapman, chairman of the commission, of meddling with land prices paid to farmers. Soon this internal discord reached a level to invite investigation by a committee of the state legislature. On the stand, Hooper accused Chapman of making a "mess" of land purchases by yielding to "sentiment." Chapman, he said, did not know the mountain people and did not have the tact to get along with them.[31]

Concern about the mountain people in the park area had been building for some time. Jim Wright, a lawyer for the Little River Lumber Company and a threatened landowner himself with property in the summer resort community of Elkmont, led the fight against the park's establishment largely on the grounds that it would work an injustice toward mountain farmers who did not want to be uprooted. Wright fomented a plan to build more roads through the area — ostensibly to improve public recreation access but transparently to raise property values as well. After Wright's road plan lost steam, he agitated for certain areas such as Cades Cove, Elkmont, and Sugarlands to be kept out of the park. Wright published a rambling collection of letters and public statements that purported to show malfeasance by the Tennessee park commission. Wright's numerous broadsides aroused and perplexed public opinion.[32]

The Park Service tried to keep the land-buying effort in Tennessee on track without appearing to be too heavy-handed about it. In February 1928, Congress enacted a law that permitted the leasing of land to prior residents within Great Smoky Mountains National Park for a period of two years. With the staunch support of Secretary of the Interior Work, Park Service officials maintained that the leasing authority would be used in specific circumstances and for temporary expediency only. The Park Service would not deviate from established policy in its drive to eliminate all inholdings within the park.[33] In response to suggestions that Cades Cove and other populated valleys should be left out of the park, officials insisted that they were absolutely necessary for the park. In March 1929, when the Tennessee park commission was under investigation by state legislators, Cammerer went to Knoxville and testified on the park commission's behalf. Answering an allegation by Wright that he was dictating terms to the state of Tennessee, Cammerer insisted, "Everything I have done has been by invitation of the state of Tennessee."[34]

Although the investigation cleared the Tennessee park commission of any wrongdoing, it did bring to light difficulties in prosecuting the land-buying effort with an even hand.[35] Land purchasing agents used a variety of coercive tactics to get farmers to sell. For example, farmers received a higher price for their property if they were cooperative and tried to get their neighbors to sell. Some agents allegedly told lies about what residents could expect by way of treatment from the Park Service if they agreed to sell. Such problems were not confined to the Tennessee side, but also affected residents in North Carolina whose lands were condemned. A woman in Cataloochee complained that the prices paid for farms in her area varied sharply depending on whether the sellers were Republican or Democrat. The effects of the land-buying effort on local feeling were very mixed, with some residents leaving the park satisfied and others becoming embittered.[36] One historian has estimated that 5,665 people were uprooted by the creation of Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Among this population, perhaps 385 were tenant farmers who received no compensation whatsoever.[37]

While acquiring farms, the park commissions also started on the more complicated task of acquiring large tracts owned by the lumber companies. There were 18 timber and pulpwood companies with holdings in the Smokies and together they owned about 85 percent of the proposed park area. Of these, the Champion Fibre Company's holding was by far the largest, stretching along the mountain crest from Clingmans Dome to Mount Guyot and extending down north and south slopes into both states. Most companies were prepared to sell if they could get a good price; others chose to battle the park commissions in court either in the hope of defeating the park movement or with the expectation of getting a better settlement offer. The two park commissions were mainly opposed by five lumber companies: Champion Fibre, Suncrest Lumber Company, Ravensford Lumber Company, Morton Butler Lumber Company, and Little River Lumber Company.[38]

The Little River Lumber Company case was peculiar in that the company had already sold its land to the Tennessee park commission while retaining its right to harvest timber of more than ten-inch diameter on some 16,000 acres of the 76,000-acre tract. After the Rockefeller gift was announced most lumber companies ceased logging operations in the park area but the Little River Lumber Company kept on. Furthermore, there were complaints that the company was using destructive overhead skidders, wiping out trees of less

than ten-inch diameter in violation of its contract. The park commission, under pressure from the Park Service, first sought to acquire the company's timber rights through arbitration. When that failed, it obtained a court injunction to stop the harmful method of logging.[39] The company then retaliated by attempting to discredit the park commission's land-buying effort with Wright, the company's lead attorney, serving as star witness in the state legislature's investigation of the park commission.[40] After this bruising fight, the park commission backed off its demand that the Little River Lumber Company relinquish its rights to the remaining timber. Instead, with the Park Service's concurrence, it aimed to deflect the company's logging operation away from the crest of the mountains where skidding caused the most destruction. In December 1929, the park commission and the company agreed to a modification of their earlier contract, amounting to an exchange of timber in the Middle Prong of the Little River for a 660-foot-wide strip of timber extending along the mountain crest from Laurel Top on Thunderhead Mountain to Miry Ridge in Sevier County.[41] The company continued to log in the park area for several more years, finally relinquishing its timber rights in the Middle Prong section to the United States government in October 1935.[42]

The only other lumber company that did not cease logging operations after January 1928 was Suncrest, which had a mill in nearby Waynesville, North Carolina, and a tract of about 26,000 acres in the Cataloochee area. In April 1928, the North Carolina Park Commission's chairman, Mark Squires, met with the Suncrest Lumber Company's president, A. J. Stevens, and appealed to him to cease operations within the park area. Stevens refused on the grounds that the company had to deliver on its existing contracts or face bankruptcy. When the North Carolina Park Commission initiated condemnation proceedings, Suncrest answered by challenging the constitutionality of the North Carolina Park Commission's enabling act. This legal wrangling thwarted Squires' effort to obtain an injunction to stop Suncrest from logging in the park area. Moreover, it cast a cloud of uncertainty over the whole land-buying enterprise, which inhibited sales of bonds and caused Governor McLean to delay the transfer of North Carolina's $2 million to the park commission. Although the park commission's position was upheld in court, Suncrest appealed the ruling all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. On January 17, 1929, Chief Justice William H. Taft denied Suncrest's motion for a restraining order against the park commission and shortly afterwards, the lumber company was enjoined from cutting any more timber in the park area.[43]

Once the lumber companies ceased logging, the complicated task of valuing the property could begin. The park commissions hired timber cruisers to inventory the type and quantity of trees on each tract. A timber cruise usually involved a crew of men, each man walking on a parallel transect, with the whole crew identifying, measuring, and counting trees as it systematically combed the ground. The lumber companies, meanwhile, made their own timber cruises. Usually the two estimates were reasonably similar and helped form a basis for settlement negotiations.

Negotiations then turned to the timber's market value or "stumpage" value (the unit price for a given type of wood multiplied by the quantity of that type of wood "on the stump"). The lumber companies wanted to calculate stumpage based on prices obtained at the mill over the past decade. As the lumber market was in decline, the park commissions wanted to base stumpage figures on current prices. The two approaches led to wide differences in some cases. Champion Fibre made an initial offer to sell its holdings for $9,063,100, an amount that was far beyond the ability of the North Carolina Park Commission to pay. The exorbitant figure was based on historical data as well as the company's position that it should be compensated for railroads, logging camps, and sawmills, and for the adverse impact that the loss of its red spruce supply would have on its mill operation in Canton, North Carolina. After years of negotiation and litigation, the company finally received $3 million, which it used to convert its Canton plant into one of the first paper mills in the South.[44]

This process, though contentious, was not as polarizing as our modern perspective might lead us to imagine. George Myers Stephens, the son of an Asheville newspaper owner, worked as a compass man on the North Carolina Park Commission's crew as it inventoried the timber on Champion Fibre's holdings on the North Carolina side in the late 1920s. The vigorous, outdoor work made Stephens a lifelong booster of the park and, interestingly, he bore no malice toward the lumber company that fought so hard against the park. "One favor that the logging railroads did was to provide marvelous graded roadbeds for future automobile roads in the Park," he wrote appreciatively some years later. "These 'highline' roadbeds often run for miles along spur ridges from the main Smokies range giving fine views of the forest-covered peaks which are the pride of the Park.[45] " Stephens would live to see motorized access on these roadbeds curtailed in the 1970s, but they endure to this day as a distinctive facet of Great Smoky Mountains National Park's trail system.

Fortunately, the park commission had an easier time reaching a settlement with most of the lumber companies than it did with Suncrest and Champion Fibre. The two park commissions reached an important milestone at the end of

1929: together they had acquired the minimum of 150,000 acres to obtain federal administration over the park area. Governors Max O. Gardner of North Carolina and Henry H. Horton of Tennessee traveled to Washington for a ceremony in Secretary of the Interior Wilbur's office on February 6, 1930. Deeds covering 158,799.21 acres were presented to the secretary. Horace Albright, now the Park Service director, introduced members of the two park commissions together with Representative H. W. Temple, chairman of the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission, Glenn S. Smith, also on that commission, Kenneth Chorley of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, and members of the states' congressional delegations. Governor Gardner delivered a speech about the principal features and purposes of the national park, succinctly framing the three main points that had guided the park movement over the past six years. First, the park would "create in the heart of the Appalachian Mountains a permanent sanctuary for animal and bird life and a botanical garden and arboretum…unequaled in the world." Second, when the present land-buying effort was complete, it would "preserve the last remnant of the American wilderness of any considerable size east of the Mississippi River." And third, once the park was developed, it would become "a recreational center in the East…accessible within a day's ride to one-half of the population of the United States." Governor Horton gave a speech praising the efforts of many individuals who had contributed to the effort. Appropriately enough for the occasion, he singled out Cammerer for special praise. As the Secretary of the Interior's "representative," Cammerer had been "unfailing in his cooperation" in both his official and personal capacities. He had assisted in "solving many unforeseen problems" in the course of a huge undertaking for which there were "few precedents."[46]

This milestone in the creation of Great Smoky Mountains National Park was punctuated ten months later by another. The Southern Appalachian National Park Commission held its last meeting at the Department of the Interior on December 30, 1930, and deciding that its work was completed, voted to dissolve.[47]

The Depression and the Search for Federal Assistance

Everyone involved in creating Great Smoky Mountains National Park in the latter part of the 1920s expected that the advent of federal administration would build momentum toward acquiring the rest of the area. No one anticipated that the process would stretch over another decade. But the onset of the Great Depression had significant consequences for the land-buying effort that no one could foresee. Amidst the panic in financial markets that began with the Stock Market Crash of 1929, and the tumble of prices for goods and services that ensued over the next few years, land was one of the few commodities that held its value. Land values in the Smokies steadily climbed during the 1930s, reversing what had been a buyers' market in the previous decade. Meanwhile, the cash-strapped park commissions lost money. Many good citizens defaulted on their pledges, effectively draining money out of the kitty before it was ever collected. Bank failures cost the park commissions as well. The Tennessee park commission lost $48,000 when the East Tennessee Bank failed. The North Carolina Park Commission lost some $132,000 in bank failures. Although the latter funds were eventually recovered through litigation against insurance companies, land prices rose in the meantime.[48]

The economic crisis caused both state governments to turn a jaundiced eye toward the park project. In Tennessee, a bill that would have given the park commission limited power of condemnation and a vital source of revenue through the sale of state lands was defeated in July 1931 by an alliance of middle and west Tennesseans and the Tennessee Electric Power Company. Knoxville's Mayor James A. Trent also attributed the bill's failure to the demoralization of east Tennesseans, who should have marched "a thousand strong on Nashville" when they learned what the park's opponents were saying to kill the measure.[49] The following year, there was a purge of the state park commission; Chapman was ousted from the position of chairman and several employees were fired. In 1933, Governor Hill McAllister replaced the commission altogether with a three-member State Park and Forestry Board. Chapman was excluded from this new body, but at Albright's urging he was subsequently added to it as an honorary member. Chapman soldiered on through these trying circumstances, providing a crucial if tenuous thread of continuity for Park Service officials, even though his authority was much diminished.[50]

In North Carolina, Governor J. C. B. Ehringhaus made a similar clean sweep of that state's park commission in July 1933, replacing all eleven commissioners with a new five-member body. As in Tennessee, the turnover in personnel cost the effort valuable time and money. Charges of malfeasance leveled against the park commission were never proven. The removal of Mark Squires, the longtime head of the North Carolina Park Commission, was particularly regrettable as no one could fill his shoes.[51]

Prior to his forced retirement, Squires initiated a search for federal moneys to complete the land acquisition process. Squires argued that the federal funds could either come to the states as a congressional appropriation or a loan; the im-

portant thing was to complete the park so that the federal government would begin developing it. Squires worked on the problem with Cammerer and western North Carolina's representative in Congress, Zebulon Weaver. Cammerer was dubious at this time about a congressional appropriation, fearful that it could undermine the agreement between the Rockefeller Foundation and the two states, which was premised on a fifty-fifty cost-sharing without any federal contribution. Cammerer had a different concern about federal loans to the two states. Discussion about the loans centered on the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), a federal agency created by the Hoover administration to aid ailing industries. As Cammerer explained to Weaver, administration officials doubted whether the RFC had authority to make loans for this purpose, since its loans were supposed to be "self-liquidating in character." Weaver introduced a bill that would have made $1.5 million available to the RFC for this exact purpose. But administration officials would not support the measure, contending that it would open the door to a host of other requests for federal dollars with which to buy lands. This was the old argument about setting a bad precedent that had constrained the Great Smoky Mountains National Park project since the beginning.[52]

In 1933, the search for federal assistance continued. It was a year of sweeping changes in the political landscape. President Franklin D. Roosevelt took office in March, elected on his campaign promise of forging a "New Deal" between the federal government and the American people. While the New Deal was little more than a vague political slogan at the beginning of the Roosevelt administration, it pointed toward a much enhanced federal role in the economy. Roosevelt appointed Harold L. Ickes, a Bull Moose Republican, to take the helm at the Department of the Interior. Ickes, soon placed in charge of massive federal emergency relief programs, would quickly emerge as one of the most powerful men in Washington. The watershed year also saw the Democratic Party take control of both houses of Congress after more than a decade of Republican Party rule. In the changed political climate of the New Deal, federal money flowed much more freely and federal conservation efforts gained support. As historian Daniel S. Pierce has noted, the political sea change in 1933 "held important implications not only for the future of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, but also for the future of environmental protection in the United States."[53] At the same time that Tennessee and North Carolina were eviscerating their respective park commissions, federal officials were stepping forward to take a stronger role in completing the park.

On March 31, 1933, President Roosevelt signed into law the Emergency Conservation Work Act, which established the Civilian Conservation Corps. Even before the Park Service gained the help of this new federal labor force, the law put enormous funds at Interior's disposal. Ickes proposed to use a portion of the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) funds for land acquisition in the eastern national parks. As soon as this possibility was raised, Cammerer discussed the matter with the Rockefeller interests. Rockefeller agreed to release the remaining money in the Great Smoky Mountains Memorial Fund with matching federal as well as state funds provided that the total amount from all sources did not exceed $10 million; this was to ensure that the Rockefeller $5 million would still represent a gift of half the park. At Ickes' request, Cammerer prepared a report in August 1933 on the status of land acquisition in Tennessee and North Carolina. Cammerer recommended the immediate release of $1,550,000 in ECW funds for the purchase of three large holdings in North Carolina and two large holdings plus forty small holdings in Tennessee. Combined with more than $180,000 available in state funds and $493,000 remaining in the memorial fund, this would very nearly complete the project. Cammerer further recommended that federal officials join with state authorities in negotiating these purchases, and that condemnation cases proceed through state courts or the U.S. courts depending on the best course in each case.[54]

The ECW funds were made available by two executive orders. Roosevelt issued an executive order in June allocating $1,550,000 for the purchase of lands to complete Great Smoky Mountains National Park. When scrutinized by the Roosevelt administration's legal team, however, this executive order did not hold up to the requirements of the 1926 act or the Emergency Conservation Work Act. Roosevelt issued a second executive order in December 1933, revised so that it simply authorized the purchase of lands for conservation purposes. The tacit understanding was the lands could later be added to the park by Congress.[55]

Two obstacles still had to be overcome before the $1,550,000 in ECW funds could be employed, however. First, in those cases where North Carolina was acquiring a tract through condemnation, the courts required that title to the tract should transfer first to North Carolina, then by deed from North Carolina to the United States. Although the Department of the Interior's lead solicitor, Nathan R. Margold, had found a way to legitimize use of ECW funds to purchase park land in spite of the prohibition in the 1926 act against use of federal moneys, his arcane legal argument was defeated by this new complication. There was no alternative but to amend the 1926 act in advance of the land purchases.[56] Second, it now appeared that the $1,550,000 would push the total cost of land acquisition over the $10 million mark, con-

trary to Rockefeller's terms. To appease Rockefeller, administration officials proposed to change the 1926 law so that the minimum acreage that the federal government required to begin development of the park would be placed at a lower mark where the Rockefeller $5 million still paid for half of it.[57] Prior to the New Deal era these obstacles might have been insurmountable, but in the new climate of federal activism they were brushed aside. A bill drawn to cover these two items was passed by Congress on June 15, 1934.[58] Since the act declared that an area of 400,000 acres, "acquired one half by the peoples and States of Tennessee and North Carolina and one half by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial," now constituted "a completed park for administration, protection, and development by the United States," the date of this law's enactment became the official date of the birth of the park.[59]

Completing the Park

In August 1933, Albright stepped down after four years as director to resume private life. Ickes appointed Cammerer as the Park Service's third director. Unlike the Democratic takeover of the presidency and both houses of Congress in that year, the transition from Albright to Cammerer was supposed to signify a profound continuity of Park Service leadership. Despite that intention, however, Cammerer immediately faced two new responsibilities that would reshape the Park Service under his directorship. First, he went to work on the problem of integrating the Civilian Conservation Corps into the Park Service's extensive development program. Second, he prepared the agency to take over administration of a whole raft of national monuments, battlefields, and historic sites, as well as public buildings in the national capital, that were placed under National Park Service administration by the president's Executive Order 6166. Indeed, the transfer took effect on the day that Cammerer was sworn in, August 10, 1933.[60] With his increased responsibilities, Cammerer tried to delegate his work on behalf of the eastern national parks to two trusted subordinates, Arthur E. Demaray and Hilory A. Tolson. Whether by choice or necessity, however, Cammerer remained closely involved with Great Smoky Mountains National Park.[61]

After passage of the Act of June 15, 1934, the federal government took definite control of the land acquisition process in the Smokies. With federal money made available to pay for most of the remaining costs of land purchases, federal officials now had the power of the purse. As before, federal officials and the Tennessee and North Carolina park commissions consulted on whether to settle or further litigate each case, but federal officials were now the final arbiters in those decisions. The federal government's attorney in Knoxville, J. W. Cooper, whom Chapman described as "the most able land lawyer in Tennessee," took the lead in all remaining cases in that state. Cooper requested, and Cammerer approved, the employment of attorney John Morrell as his full time assistant.[62] Some cases were filed in U.S. court instead of state courts in order to avoid high jury awards. Land appraisers and surveyors were put on the federal payroll.

With control came responsibility and now it was the Park Service's turn to suffer embarrassment as the process of completing the park continued to lengthen. Cammerer was dismayed to find that the money made available by Roosevelt's executive order of December 1933 was still not enough to do the job. The estimates that the states had provided to him in the summer of 1933 were too low. Compounding the error, the state park commissions showed a maddening tendency to go on litigating when they might have settled with the landowners for less. Such was the case with the Ravensford Lumber Company. In August 1933, a court-appointed panel of appraisers decided that $975,163 was a fair price for the property. The North Carolina Park Commission thought this was far too much and demanded a jury trial. In November 1933, the jury rendered a verdict of $1,107,190. The state appealed and the Superior Court upheld the higher amount. Together with the cost of further litigation, the outcome of appealing the case amounted to a $200,000 setback for the land purchasers.[63]

Perhaps the lengthiest case of all involved the Morton Butler Lumber Company's tract in Tennessee. Negotiations began in 1926 and the case was not finally settled until 1935. For years, the Tennessee park commission and the owners could not even agree on the amount of timber on the tract, as the park commission estimated that the tract contained 15 million board feet of poplar while the Morton Butler people claimed the property had 50 million board feet of poplar. In the fall of 1933, Cammerer proposed to Chapman that they offer to settle with Morton Butler for $750,000, but Chapman would not hear of it. When the case finally went before a federal court in 1935, the five-member jury pegged the property's value at $800,000. This time, however, the park commission had it right. Cooper appealed the decision, and the twelve-person jury reset the price at $483,500.[64]

As these acquisitions put the total land area in federal ownership over the 400,000-acre mark, state officials contended that the federal government was bound by the Act of June 15, 1934, to call the park complete. Cammerer firmly disagreed. While the North Carolina side was practically complete, the Tennessee side was broken up by thousands of acres of small holdings plus one large tract still in need of ac-

quisition. The single large tract belonged to the Aluminum Company of America (ALCOA) and was situated at the western tip of the park area. Cammerer estimated that the cost of buying the ALCOA tract was $316,970 and the cost of acquiring the main small holdings totaled $390,901.70. Adding five percent for acquisition costs, amounting to $35,393.59, he arrived at a grand total of $743,265.29. He was determined to find the money to buy these lands "before establishing the park as completed." Otherwise, he foresaw that the park would have a tremendous problem with inholdings for many years ahead.[65]

The park remained in this limbo for two more years. Impatient to see the Park Service open the area for tourism, members of Congress from Tennessee and North Carolina slowly turned up the heat. In April 1937, Roosevelt wrote a short note to Cammerer: "In regard to the Great Smoky Park, I understand that North Carolina has made all of its necessary land purchases and that we are held up by Tennessee's failure to complete its acreage. Would it be possible, under the law, to open the North Carolina side of the Park? Perhaps this would encourage Tennessee to complete their purchases as agreed on."[66] In a lengthy reply to Secretary Ickes, Cammerer explained that one of the difficulties in resolving the problem was that Tennessee should not bear all responsibility for buying the remaining lands. According to Cammerer's own detailed accounting, North Carolina's equitable share of the deficit was $398,000 compared to Tennessee's share of $347,000. This was due to the fact that the Ravensford tract in North Carolina had cost considerably more than the North Carolina Park Commission had estimated and due to the urgency of paying this condemnation award North Carolina had secured a larger contribution of federal and Rockefeller moneys at that time. Under the circumstances, it was impossible to get either state to put forth the necessary funds. These complexities aside, Cammerer countered that it was not possible under the law to open the park only in one state, as the various acts of Congress required "a comprehensive acreage in both states for its establishment." [67]

Finally, the missing $743,265.29 was found. A congressional appropriation for that exact amount was added to a minor appropriation bill by Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee and shunted through Congress for the president's signature on February 12, 1938. The law authorized the Secretary of the Interior to acquire the lands "needed to complete the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in the State of Tennessee."[68] Cammerer rejoiced. After standing on principle for more than two years, even conceding at one time that the land buying-effort was in a "deplorable situation," he now claimed some credit for the positive outcome. "This has been a very difficult problem," he wrote to Rockefeller four days after the bill was enacted. "I feel that if I hadn't taken a firm stand with the North Carolina and Tennessee people there would not have been such a tremendous amount of force put behind the effort to pass the bill."[69]

It took several years for the Park Service to acquire the numerous, small, private tracts still remaining within the park area, but at last the outcome was no longer in doubt. Each separate tract required survey, appraisal, and documentation of title. Then a petition for condemnation, accompanied by a declaration of taking, was filed in U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Tennessee. Usually the federal government and the land owner reached a settlement, but some of these cases went to trial. One notable case, involving the 665-acre Whittle property in Cherokee Orchard, stretched over four years. After the first jury trial on October 10, 1939, both sides appealed the verdict and the trial in appellate court was delayed no less than seven times owing to deaths, accidents, and illnesses. "Seldom if ever has there been a lawsuit in which so many individuals connected therewith were struck by such disasters," Superintendent J. R. Eakin ruefully reported. Among the casualties was J. W. Cooper, the special attorney for the Department of Justice, who died suddenly on April 5, 1940.[70]

Although the acquisition of these many small tracts had become an inexorable process, that did not change the fact that each separate transaction involved consideration of the people involved. Indeed, the inhabitants of these remaining tracts were by and large the most tenacious land owners in the park area, and whether they received lifetime leases, two-year leases, or summary evictions depended a great deal on how sympathetic each individual was likely to appear to a jury. At one extreme, there was the case of the five Walker sisters, who federal officials thought would appear exceedingly sympathetic before a jury. "The Walker Sisters are 5 old maids, the youngest of whom must be at least 50 years of age," the superintendent explained. "They make their own clothes, do their own farming, and live as mountaineers did 100 years ago." He was reluctant to take their case to court because the Park Service would be criticized and the jury would "no doubt" give them "an excessive award." Consultation between the superintendent, the director of the Park Service, the attorney general, and the first assistant secretary of the interior resulted in the federal government granting the Walker sisters a lifetime lease.[71] At the other extreme, there was the case of a 67-year-old widower and mill worker who resided in the park with two of his daughters and "such of his sons as were not confined in penal institutions." Although the old man bore a good reputation, his sons were "thieves and incendiaries" and his daughters were prosti-

tutes, according to the superintendent, who thought it was "important to get them out of the park as soon as possible." Although the property had been previously purchased by the Tennessee park commission from the widower's in-laws in 1929, it appeared to Park Service officials that the man had an "occupant claim" which could not be defeated in a court action. Therefore, he was offered $900 to forfeit his claim and move out of the park immediately.[72] Most cases fell somewhere in between these extremes, with many residents obtaining two-year leases and generous rental terms as an inducement toward reaching a settlement.

By 1943, all but about $90,000 of the $743,265.29 appropriation had been expended and the land acquisition process was finally nearing an end. The Department of Justice withdrew its special attorney, J. G. McKenzie, and all remaining cases were handled by John O. Morrell, whose job title changed from assistant attorney to park ranger.[73]

The TVA Land Purchase

In August 1941, ALCOA signed an agreement with the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) for the construction of Fontana Dam on the Little Tennessee River. The project called for a high dam that would back up the river nearly to Bryson City. The reservoir would drown a number of small towns and farms and a good part of Highway 288. What portions of these settled areas that remained above water line after the reservoir filled would become stranded on its remote north shore. Despite these social costs, business leaders in Swain and Jackson counties supported the project. Not only were they convinced that the dam and reservoir would bring industry and tourism to the area, they were also swayed by patriotism as TVA and ALCOA stated that the project was important for national defense.[74]

On October 3, 1941, two months before construction of the dam was begun, Charles Ross, chief counsel for the North Carolina State Highway and Public Works Commission, visited D. E. Lee, assistant chief counsel for the National Park Service, in Washington, and advised him about the TVA Fontana Dam project. Ross suggested that the area between the south boundary of Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the north shore of the reservoir might logically be added to the park. Ross indicated informally that if the Park Service acquired this area it would eliminate the necessity of rebuilding Highway 288 and the State Highway Commission would vacate its right-of-way for the portion of the road in the affected area. Ross further suggested that TVA might be expected to contribute generously toward the cost of land acquisition, since it would otherwise have the obligation to rebuild the highway.[75]

Park Service and TVA officials informally discussed the idea of a park addition down to the north shore of the reservoir as TVA work crews moved into the area and began clearing and quarrying during the winter of 1941-42. By the following September, the idea was taking more definite shape. Rather than the road being eliminated, as Ross had proposed, it might be replaced by a scenic road built under Park Service guidelines, a segment in an eventual "parkway around the park." In September 1942, Conrad L. Wirth, the Park Service's supervisor of land planning, held two days of meetings with TVA and NPS officials near the dam site and drafted a list of recommendations for the Park Service director. In Worth's view, if TVA purchased all of the land between Fontana Lake and the top of the ridge east of Noland Creek, then the Park Service should accept it as an addition to the park — under certain conditions. The most important of Wirth's conditions was that the Park Service would retain complete control over the road development plan. "If and when the National Park Service constructs the park road within the park," Wirth wrote, it would be "purely for pleasure traffic" with all commercial traffic prohibited.[76]

When people of Swain County learned that this area might be added to the park, they were skeptical. As much as they favored the development of a new road around the north shore of Fontana Lake, they did not trust the Park Service to carry it out. They remembered that The Wilderness Society had succeeded in blocking Park Service development of a road up Deep Creek and expected the same might happen again. On the other hand, there were people in Swain County who did want the area added to the park and thought that their fellow county residents might be brought along if the Park Service made a commitment of some kind.[77]

Park Service officials did not wholeheartedly want the addition. They pointed out that the reservoir would have a maximum drawdown of 200 feet, creating an unsightly shoreline around the lake, that the lake was polluted by effluent from large lumber mills up river, and that the north shore would be a difficult area to protect against poaching from watercraft. Furthermore, the upland area contained mining claims, which was the main reason it had been left out of the park in the first place. On balance, however, they saw the addition as an opportunity. It was within the authorized area described in the 1926 act and possessed much scenic value. Perhaps the most compelling argument for accepting the addition was that it provided a useful buffer area; without it, the remote section north of the reservoir would be even more difficult to protect. Since Park Service officials had long regarded the Hazel Creek and Eagle Creek watersheds as places that were particularly attractive to

poachers and arsonists, they could not escape seeing some benefit for the park if TVA were to condemn all the mountain farms in those areas.[78]

On July 30, 1943, a four-party agreement was signed by TVA, the Department of the Interior, Swain County, and North Carolina. The agreement called for the eventual transfer of 44,170 acres from TVA to Great Smoky Mountains National Park, and it provided that the Park Service would build a road around the north shore of Fontana Lake when Congress appropriated funds for it. The commitment to build a road became a source of bitter controversy between wilderness advocates and the people of Swain County that would persist over the next several decades. What is important to note here is that the transfer of land did not take effect immediately. After the 1943 agreement was made, TVA proceeded to condemn all private holdings not only in the area affected by the dam and reservoir, but also the upland area that would be transferred to the park. Some residents challenged TVA's power to condemn their property since they were situated above the water line. The case went to the U.S. Supreme Court, which upheld TVA's authority to condemn based on the 1943 agreement. In all, TVA forced some 1,311 families to leave the area. Sixteen cemeteries were also subject to condemnation and removal. In most cases, cemeteries that were situated above the water line were left undisturbed, based on families' wishes, with the Park Service agreeing to maintain the cemeteries and provide transportation by boat for anyone wanting to visit the graves of their kin.[79] The land transfer was made on November 15, 1949, by an agreement signed by President Harry S. Truman.[80]

[1] Arno B. Cammerer to David Chapman, September 14, 1927, File Cammerer-Chapman September 1927, Box XI, Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association, GRSM.

[2] On the struggle to get the state legislation passed, see Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 115-121.

[3] Hubert Work to Austin Peay and Angus W. McLean, February 12, 1927, quoted in Arno B. Cammerer to Work, June 22, 1927, File 0-32, Box 301, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[4] Hubert Work to Stephen T. Mather, February 19, 1927, and Mather to Arno B. Cammerer, March 3, 1927, File 204-020, Box 302, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[5] Arno B. Cammerer to Hubert Work, June 22, 1927, File 0-32, Box 301, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[6] Arno B. Cammerer to Hubert Work, March 23, 1927, File 204-020, Box 302, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[7] Arno B. Cammerer to Hubert Work, June 22, 1927, File 0-32, Box 301, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[8] Arno B. Cammerer to Hubert Work, June 22, 1927, File 0-32, Box 301, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[9] Arno B. Cammerer to Hubert Work, June 22, 1927, File 0-32, Box 301, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[10] Arno B. Cammerer to Hubert Work, June 22, 1927, File 0-32, Box 301, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[11] Arno B. Cammerer to David Chapman, July 1, 1927, File 204-020, Box 302, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II; David Louter, *Windshield Wilderness: Cars, Roads, and Nature in Washington's National Parks* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 44.

[12] Bob Wightman, interview by Theodore Catton, April 20, 2007.

[13] Frome, *Strangers in High Places*, 209-210.

[14] Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History*, 492.

[15] Arno B. Cammerer to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., August 12, 1927, File Mr. Rockefeller, Box 6, Records of Arno B. Cammerer, 1922-40, RG 79, NA II.

[16] Arno B. Cammerer to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., August 12, 1927, File Mr. Rockefeller, Box 6, Records of Arno B. Cammerer, 1922-40, RG 79, NA II.

[17] Arno B. Cammerer to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., August 12, 1927, File Mr. Rockefeller, Box 6, Records of Arno B. Cammerer, 1922-40, RG 79, NA II.

[18] Arno B. Cammerer to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., August 12, 1927, File Mr. Rockefeller, Box 6, Records of Arno B. Cammerer, 1922-40, RG 79, NA II.

[19] Arno B. Cammerer, "National Government Services Through Recreation," *Recreation*, 28 (January 1935): 465-67.

[20] Arno B. Cammerer to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., August 12, 1927, File Mr. Rockefeller, Box 6, Records of Arno B. Cammerer, 1922-40, RG 79, NA II.

[21] John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to Arno B. Cammerer, September 3, 1927, Cammerer to Rockefeller, September 7, 1927, and Cammerer to Rockefeller, September 13, 1927, File Mr. Rockefeller, Box 6, Records of Arno B. Cammerer, 1922-40, RG 79, NA II.

[22] Arno B. Cammerer to David Chapman, September 14, 1927, File 8, Box XI, Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association, GRSM.

[23] John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to William A. Welch, September 26, 1927, File Mr. Rockefeller, Box 6, Records of Arno B. Cammerer, 1922-40, RG 79, NA II.

[24] Arno B. Cammerer to William C. Gregg, October 4, 1927, File Mr. Gregg, Box 7, Records of Arno B. Cammerer, 1922-40, RG 79, NA II.

[25] Arno B. Cammerer to William C. Gregg, December 23, 1927, File Mr. Gregg, Box 7, Records of Arno B. Cammerer, 1922-40, RG 79, NA II.

[26] William A. Welch to Hubert Work, January 10, 1928, File 0-32, Box 24, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[27] The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial was founded in 1918 and was known for its philanthropic work in the social sciences. In 1929, it merged with the Rockefeller Foundation.

[28] John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to Arno B. Cammerer, January 23, 1928, File Mr. Rockefeller, Box 6, Records of Arno B. Cammerer, 1922-40, RG 79, NA II.

[29] Hubert Work to Arno B. Cammerer, February 4, 1928, Resolution by the Tennessee Great Smoky Mountains Park Commission, January 30, 1928, and Cammerer to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., February 11, 1928, File Mr. Rockefeller, Box 6, and Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial to Equitable Trust Company, March 30, 1928, File 1, Box 4, Records of Arno B. Cammerer, 1922-40; Arno B. Cammerer to Files, April 2, 1928, File 608, Box 307, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[30] Campbell, *Birth of a National Park*, 68; Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 133.

[31] "Hooper Assails Chapman and Park Commission for Land Buying 'Interference'," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, March 7, 1929.

[32] "Jim Wright, the Park, and the Mountaineers," *Knoxville News*, September 10, 1926; "Hooper Warns of 'Sentiment' in Park Deals," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, March 6, 1929; James B. Wright, *Great Smoky Mountains National Park* (Knoxville,

[s.n.], 1929).

[33] Act of February 16, 1928 (45 Stat. 109); Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 158.

[34] "Must Have Cades Cove, Says Expert," *Knoxville News-Sentinel* (March 9, 1929).

[35] Two audits of the commission found no evidence of graft or embezzlement ("Triumph for Chapman; Park Board Sustained," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, April 14, 1929).

[36] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 159-60. See also pp. 154-173 for a fuller treatment of this subject.

[37] Brown, *The Wild East*, 98.

[38] Dykeman and Stokely, *Highland Homeland*, 142-43.

[39] David C. Chapman to Arno B. Cammerer, November 14, 1928, File 10, Box XI, Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association, GRSM.

[40] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 135-37.

[41] Agreement signed by David C. Chapman, Tennessee Great Smoky Mountains Park Commission and W. B. Townsend, Little River Lumber Company, December 23, 1929, File 0-32 Part 1, Box 301, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[42] Review of Proceedings Relative to Little River Lumber Company Exchange, no date, File 610, Box 1121, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[43] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 134-35; Frome, *Strangers in High Places*, 194.

[44] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 138; "Before Smoky Mountains Park was Founded," *Asheville Citizen*, June 13, 1974.

[45] Untitled manuscript, no date, File 18, Box 1, George Myers Stephens Papers, University of North Carolina.

[46] U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record*, May 12, 1930, 9152-54.

[47] Southern Appalachian National Park Commission, meeting minutes, December 30, 1930, File 0-32, Box 25, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[48] As of May 31, 1933, unpaid subscriptions amounted to $250,006.20 in North Carolina and $106,473.84 in Tennessee. Arno B. Cammerer to Clyde R. Hoey, August 10, 1937, File 601 Part 5, Box 1099, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II. On bank failures, see Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 143-44.

[49] "Park Bill Failure Laid to Citizens, Shelby Members," *Knoxville Journal*, July 7, 1931; J. R. Eakin to Arno B. Cammerer, July 3, 1931, File 120 Part 1, Box 301, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[50] David C. Chapman to Robert Sterling Yard, November 11, 1932, File 9, Box II, David C. Chapman Collection, GRSM; Horace M. Albright to Chapman, December 5, 1932, and Albright to Gov. Hill McAllister, April 10, 1933, File 2, Box XI, Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association, GRSM; Carlos C. Campbell to Albright, March 24, 1933, File 3, Box XI, Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association, GRSM.

[51] Albert H. Blake, comp., *Report of the North Carolina Park Commission* (Raleigh: North Carolina Park Commission, 1939), 4; Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 146-47.

[52] Zebulon Weaver to Mark Squires, June 17, 1932, June 22, 1932, and June 27, 1932, File 9, Box 1, Zebulon Weaver Collection, Western Carolina University (hereafter WCU); Weaver to Dennis G. Brummitt, July 20, 1932, and Arno B. Cammerer to Weaver, August 8, 1932, File 10, Box 1, Zebulon Weaver Collection, WCU.

[53] Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 147.

[54] Arno B. Cammerer to Harold L. Ickes, August 24, 1933, File 601, Box 1099, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[55] David C. Chapman to Zebulon Weaver, January 24, 1936, File 24, Box 1, Zebulon Weaver Collection, WCU; U.S. House, *To Establish a Minimum Area for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park*, 73d Cong., 2d sess., 1934, Report 982, 3; John C. Paige, *The Civilian Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942* (Washington: National Park Service, 1985), 46-47.

[56] Nathan R. Margold to Arno B. Cammerer, January 30, 1934, File 16, Box 1, Zebulon Weaver Collection, WCU.

[57] Arno B. Cammerer to Harold L. Ickes, April 17, 1937, File 601, Box 1099, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[58] Zebulon Weaver to Nathan L. Bachman, April 7, 1934, File 17, Box 1, Zebulon Weaver Collection, WCU.

[59] Act of June 15, 1934 (48 Stat. 964); Campbell, *Birth of a National Park*, 138; Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 148.

[60] Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, 352-353.

[61] Arno B. Cammerer to A. E. Demaray and Hilory Tolson, July 7, 1934, File 601, Box 1099, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[62] J. W. Cooper to Arno B. Cammerer, September 18, 1936, and Cammerer to Cooper, September 23, 1936, File 610 Part 1, Box 1111, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[63] Arno B. Cammerer to David C. Chapman, November 29, 1933, File Mountains – Great Smokies, Box 4, Records of Arno B. Cammerer, 1922-40, RG 79, NA II; Cammerer to Chapman, December 7, 1935, File 23, Box 1, Zebulon Weaver Collection, WCU; Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 149.

[64] Arno B. Cammerer to David C. Chapman, November 28, 1933, and Chapman to Cammerer, November 29, 1933, File Mountains – Great Smokies, Box 4, Records of Arno B. Cammerer, 1922-40, RG 79, NA II; Pierce, *The Great Smokies*, 149-50.

[65] Arno B. Cammerer to J. R. Eakin, December 6, 1935, File 601 Part 5, Box 1099, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[66] Franklin D. Roosevelt to Arno B. Cammerer, April 5, 1937, File 601 Part 5, Box 1099, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[67] Arno B. Cammerer to Harold L. Ickes, April 17, 1937, File 601 Part 5, Box 1099, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[68] Act of February 12, 1938 (52 Stat. 29).

[69] Arno B. Cammerer to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., February 16, 1938, File 601 Part 5, Box 1099, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[70] J. R. Eakin to Newton B. Drury, March 12, 1942, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM.

[71] Newton B. Drury to First Assistant Secretary of the Interior, November 23, 1940, File 610, Box 1128, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[72] J. G. McKenzie to Attorney General, October 22, 1940, File 610 Part 5, Box 1112, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[73] John O. Morrell, "Land Acquisition Report for Fiscal Year July 1, 1942 – June 30, 1943," File 610 Part 6, Box 1113, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[74] Brown, *The Wild East*, 149-50.

[75] D. E. Lee to Newton B. Drury, October 3, 1941, File 1, Box XIII, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[76] Conrad L. Wirth to Newton B. Drury, September 15, 1942, File 2, Box XIII, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[77] Carlos C. Campbell to Newton B. Drury, January 18, 1943, File 1, Box VI, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[78] Conrad L. Wirth to Newton B. Drury, September 15, 1942, File 2, Box XIII, Park Management Collection, GRSM; Brown, *The Wild East*, 154.

[79] Brown, *The Wild East*, 165. For more description of the people who were relocated, see ARCADIS, *Existing Conditions Report: North Shore Road Environmental Impact Statement, Swain County, North Carolina*, prepared for National Park Service and Federal Highway Administration (Raleigh, 2004), 51-52.

[80] Newton B. Drury to Monroe M. Redden, November 8, 1950, File 1, Box VI, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

Chapter Four

Building the Park: The CCC Era

The laws leading to the establishment of Great Smoky Mountains National Park deferred all general development until a minimum land area had been acquired. Despite that statutory limitation, several core features of park development occurred in the decade-and-a-half prior to the park's official completion. By the time the park was formally dedicated and opened in September 1940, it already had a through-road over Newfound Gap, a skyline road from Newfound Gap to Clingmans Dome, campgrounds at Smokemont and Chimney Tops, and administration buildings at Sugarlands and Oconaluftee.

There were a number of reasons why construction projects were allowed to go forward in these early years despite Congress's and the Park Service's insistence that the park was not fully completed. In the first place, the states of Tennessee and North Carolina began building roads in the late 1920s within the park area before it was turned over to federal administration. Then, after the onset of the Great Depression, the Park Service undertook construction projects under the aegis of various public works programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Public Works Administration. These federal programs, which aimed at relieving unemployment and coping with the national emergency, tended to supersede the limitation on development contained in the park's establishing acts. Finally, pressure from visitor numbers made some development inevitable. The number of people entering the park rose from an estimated 200,000 in 1931 to nearly 700,000 by 1938, making the development of well-engineered roads and campgrounds equipped with sanitation facilities simply imperative.

Development proceeded in these early years under some unusual constraints. As the land base was incomplete, development could only be undertaken in areas under federal control. One of the strongest arguments against premature development was that it would tend to raise land prices within the purchase area. As a result, construction projects were directed away from those areas that still contained private holdings. The first road project undertaken by the federal government was the skyline road from Newfound Gap to Clingmans Dome because the ridge top was remotely situated from any private tracts. On the other hand, construction of the headquarters building was delayed until the late 1930s because the area around Sugarlands still contained many private holdings.

Road development provoked controversy. Some wilderness enthusiasts argued that the Clingmans Dome Road, built nearly to the highest elevation in the very heart of the park, tended to diminish the wilderness values that the park was intended to preserve. Although Park Service officials readily sympathized with that viewpoint, they countered that the national park must serve the mass visitor who wanted to get to the main attraction by automobile. The difference of opinion created a rift between the Park Service and some of the national park's most ardent supporters.

Road-Building by Tennessee and North Carolina

In 1925, Sevier County voted a $100,000 bond issue to finance a state road from Gatlinburg to the Tennessee state line. Proponents of this measure expected that the State of North Carolina would build a road from the other side to meet it, creating a through-road that would immediately draw tourists to the incipient national park and benefit the local economies in both states. The Tennessee Department of Highways and Public Works located a route that led up the West Prong of the Little Pigeon River a distance of thirteen miles to Newfound Gap. As there was another mountain pass nearby called Indian Gap, the road was erroneously called the "Indian Gap Road."[1] The so-called Indian Gap Road stirred controversy, although the lines for and against this road were not so clearly drawn as they would be a few years later over the Clingmans Dome Road.

No one protested this road from the standpoint that the core of the park should be left inviolable from cars. Not even Robert Sterling Yard, the imperious executive secretary of the National Parks Association and self-anointed guardian of national park standards, was much exercised about it. Although Yard, over the next decade, would become a harsh critic of the Park Service for building too many roads in the

national parks, for now he was supportive. Fear that the rising tide of car tourists threatened to overwhelm the parks was misplaced, he wrote sanguinely in 1927. "The motor tourist is a motor tourist. He sticks by the road. He can be concentrated because he refuses to be anything else, and concentration of crowds within definite selected areas means saving the vast bulk of the System's wildernesses from trampling and deterioration."[2] His condescending attitude toward the car tourist notwithstanding, Yard agreed with Mather that large numbers of visitors were a good thing for the national parks as they would tend to assure congressional support for the national park system. Yard advised Chapman, "if you want to get very large motor patronage, you must have one point of concentration (perhaps one on each side of the range) where, within a comparatively small area, will grow up a city of the woods, with hotels, camps and entertainments bunched all within comfortable walking distance or a few minutes drive."[3]

Park boosters such as W. P. Davis and David Chapman tried to stop the Indian Gap Road from being built, not because they wanted to preserve the area in a roadless condition, but because they thought the road would increase land values and make the task of land acquisition more difficult. They wanted to postpone the project until after the land was acquired and transferred to the federal government. Furthermore, Chapman questioned whether the road was properly located to protect scenery. If routed a different way, the road would not intrude on the view from Mount Le Conte. Chapman brought this issue to Cammerer's attention. Cammerer directed the Park Service's chief landscape engineer, Daniel R. Hull, to consult with the Tennessee Department of Highways and Public Works about the location of the road. This meeting confirmed that the topmost section of the road would be visible from the summit of Mount Le Conte and it led to an extended correspondence between Cammerer and C. N. Bass, the state highway commissioner. Cammerer warned that the road might have to be rebuilt if it was not designed to national park standards. Meanwhile, Knoxville's Mayor Ben A. Morton appointed a special committee to investigate whether the road, if constructed, would raise land prices. The committee was empowered to appeal to Governor Peay to stop the project if it found that land values would likely be affected. Ultimately, neither the concern about the road's effect on land values nor the concern about its effect on scenic values swayed the governor, and the state went ahead with building the road in July 1928. Blasted out of rock cliffs, the "road produced a well defined landscape scar on the mountain side," according to Superintendent Eakin's description five years later. As predicted, its narrow width, sharp curves, and steep grade did not meet national park standards and it had to be substantially rebuilt.[4] Terminating at Newfound Gap, since the road on the North Carolina side did not materialize for several more years, the Indian Gap Road was in every sense a boondoggle.

Park boosters on the North Carolina side had the same concerns about holding down land prices and preserving scenic values as their counterparts in Tennessee did, but they had more influence. When the North Carolina Highway Commission began surveying a route up the Oconaluftee River to Newfound Gap in the late summer of 1929, Mark Squires, chairman of the North Carolina Park Commission, wrote to J. S. Stikeleather, the district engineer, urging him to suspend the project until all the land for the park was acquired. Stikeleather cooperated, abruptly withdrawing the survey crew. About the same time, Squires raised concerns about the width of forest clearing on a road that the state highway force was building to Cataloochee. Verne Rhoades, executive secretary of the North Carolina Park Commission, inspected this road, agreed with Squires, and quickly brought the matter to the attention of the head of the highway commission in Raleigh.[5]

In the early 1930s, the North Carolina Park Commission resumed work on building a road to Newfound Gap in close cooperation with the Park Service. It graded and surfaced the road from the park boundary to Smokemont, leaving it to the federal government to build the more difficult section from Smokemont to the state line.[6]

Road-Building by the Park Service

Members of the Tennessee and North Carolina park commissions were undoubtedly aware that when the Park Service finally began to develop Great Smoky Mountains National Park with roads, those roads would be built to a high standard. The Park Service was making great strides during the 1920s in raising the standard of road design in national parks. At the start of the decade park roads were generally very poor. They were "rotten…incredibly bad… soft-bottomed dirt roads" that "only a determined American tin-canner would take a car over," wrote one journalist in 1924.[7] By the end of the decade new park roads were generally superior to the approach roads leading up to them. The initiative to improve park roads began with Mather, a great fan of highway driving himself, who quickly perceived the growing importance of the automobile as the primary means by which the American people would experience and appreciate their national parks. Mather envisioned that the national park system would develop in tandem with the nation's highway system, with good highways facilitating comfortable travel from park to park. National parks and

The modern style of the observation tower atop **Clingmans Dome** was controversial when it was constructed in 1960. It replaced a much more rustic tower built by the CCC.

state parks would be arranged like beads on a string for those people wanting to make park-to-park tours by car. His interest in the automotive experience led to his concern about preserving scenery along approach roads, and he was a great supporter of the concept of parkways.[8]

Mather did not see much conflict between roads and wilderness. He promised not to "gridiron" the parks with too many roads. He thought the parks contained ample backcountry for wilderness enthusiast to lose themselves in. In Mather's view, the Park Service mission to conserve the scenery and natural and historic objects in national parks in an "unimpaired" condition did not inhibit the Park Service from developing these areas with roads as long as the roads did not mar the scenery. As historian Richard West Sellars has written, "during the Mather era the service came to regard national parks as being 'unimpaired' as long as their development was restricted to that which supported tourism and was fitting to the natural scenery."[9] Sellars has called this approach "facade management" — preserving nature by protecting the resplendent facade of the natural scene. It was in the spirit of facade management that Cammerer urged the Tennessee highway commissioner to reroute the Indian Gap Road so as to hide it from view from Mount LeConte. This would "be far more preferable from a park service standpoint," Cammerer wrote, as it would go far toward "retaining this wonderful area in its natural condition."[10]

The Park Service turned to landscape architects for help with the design of roads and other development areas in national parks. While landscape architects generally dealt with much smaller public spaces than national parks, their theories and principles were readily adapted to a grand scale. Indeed, famous landscape architects such as Frederick Law Olmsted and Charles W. Eliot had long argued the connection between landscape architecture and national park design. In 1916, the American Society of Landscape Architects got behind the movement to establish the National Park Service. Recognizing the conundrum presented in the mission to preserve natural conditions and provide for public use and enjoyment of these same areas, the society passed a resolution stating that "safe and sane administration" of the national parks needed to "make fullest possible use of wise expert professional counsel" by landscape architects.[11] It was Cammerer who first suggested to Mather that he create a landscape design division within the Park Service. Mather took Cammerer's advice, and by the late 1920s the Park Service had a handful of landscape architects working in an office

in San Francisco under Chief Landscape Architect Thomas C. Vint.[12]

In addition to design expertise, the Park Service needed a great deal more construction money than the dribble of development funds the national parks had received during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Mather and Albright worked assiduously to build support in Congress for an ambitious program of park development, and their efforts bore fruit in the spring of 1924 when Congress passed a measure providing $7.5 million for road and trail construction in national parks over the next three years, most of it directed toward improving existing roads. Mather responded by forming an agreement between his agency and the Bureau of Public Roads. The Bureau of Public Roads would see that park roads were built to high standards for safety and performance, while the Park Service's landscape architects would oversee aesthetic considerations such as locating the road to take advantage of scenic vistas, ensuring that the road lay lightly on the land, and writing the contract specifications for such visual design elements as bridges and guardrails. The two agencies then went to work devising a "second program" of road construction in the national parks for an estimated $51 million. Congress approved the program and made an initial appropriation of $5 million in 1927.[13]

While ramping up the Park Service's road development program, Mather, Albright, and Cammerer began discussing the need for a "master plan" for each national park. Taking the concept from city and regional planners, the Park Service leaders adapted the planning process to fit the needs of national park development — essentially, to prepare the parks for the new automobile age. Each master plan would represent the Park Service's conception of that park's ultimate development, including all roads, overnight visitor accommodations, and administrative areas. The master plan would be a "working organism" subject to modification over time, yet it would have the visionary goal of anticipating the totality of development in each park.[14]

On April 3, 1931, Director Albright issued Office Order 228, which called for three planning documents for each park: a Park Development Outline to be prepared by the superintendent, a General Development Plan to be prepared by the Landscape Division, and a Six Year Advance Program to be prepared by the superintendent. The three documents were to be prepared in sequence, with the level of communication between the park superintendent and the Landscape Division increasing at each stage of the process. This order represented the Park Service's first effort to systematize master planning throughout the national park system. Albright included Great Smoky Mountains National Park in the planning program despite its incomplete status.[15]

The park's first superintendent, J. Ross Eakin, had arrived only in January 1931 (following the establishment of federal administration and protection covering an initial land base of 158,000 acres, deeded to the United States by Tennessee and North Carolina the previous year). Eakin made statements to the local press that the Park Service would be preparing a development plan for the park during the coming year. In the fall, Eakin reminded Albright of those commitments and requested help from headquarters to prepare the park's first general development plan. Albright detailed two assistant landscape architects, Charles E. Peterson and Roswell V. Ludgate, to visit the park and assist with that task.[16]

Eakin, Peterson, and Ludgate proposed to develop the park with 222 miles of roads — substantially more than would eventually be built. The plan listed the routes in order of priority, and route numbers contained in the plan were subsequently used in identifying construction projects. Route 1 went from Gatlinburg over Newfound Gap to Boundary Tree and was divided into its Tennessee (1-A) and North Carolina (1-B) sections, each 15 miles in length for a total length of 30 miles for this main park road. Route 2, called the "Skyway," followed the mountain crest from Newfound Gap to Deals Gap, a distance of 44 miles. It was divided into three sections, with the first section (2-A, the only one built) ending at Clingmans Dome. Route 3 ran from the Sugarlands administrative area through Elkmont to Cades Cove, then onward (in a section that was never built) to Chilhowee Mountain. Route 4, never built, would have connected Cades Cove to the Skyline at Ekaneetlee Gap. There were numerous other routes down the list in priority, including most notably an extensive network of connecting routes through the Balsam Mountain and Cataloochee areas in the southeast corner of the park.[17]

Practically as soon as this plan had been approved, the announcement came of a $509,000 allotment for road construction in Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The allotment was part of a larger appropriation for national park roads in the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932. The money was secured through an amendment to the bill by Representative James W. Taylor (R-TN), which earmarked a portion of the funds for "national parks authorized under the act of May 22, 1926."[18] In this way, the prohibition on development in those parks was lifted. Albright announced in his annual report to the secretary that the work programmed for Great Smoky Mountains National Park under this authorization was "the one exception to deferring development of the park until the minimum land requirement is met."[19] As the depression wore on, this exception proved to be precedent-setting, opening the door to much

more advance development in the park under the mantle of emergency relief work.

Since this money was part of an emergency relief act, Superintendent Eakin got several projects started as quickly as possible. The major portion, $400,000, was allocated to Project 2-A, the first section of "Skyline" from Newfound Gap to Clingmans Dome. The Bureau of Public Roads surveyed this route in the fall of 1932 and prepared construction contracts for the following year. In addition to this project, other road surveys were initiated, progress was made on the North Carolina side of the main park road, and unemployed men were put to work on trail construction and roadside cleanup. To supervise the latter, Assistant Landscape Architect Ludgate, together with an engineer, Robert P. White, were put on the park staff under force account.[20]

From the outset, Ludgate took an active role in the location and design of Project 2-A, or the Clingmans Dome Road as it came to be known. Location was important not only to provide visitors with scenic vistas along the route, but to minimize and conceal the scar on the landscape. Running mostly along the North Carolina side of the state line, the road was so placed as to be nearly invisible from other points in the park. Ludgate insisted on the construction of long retaining walls as an alternative to extensive use of fill, because deep fills tended to entail more tree removal and to present a more conspicuous mark on the landscape from afar.[21]

The Clingmans Dome Road was built between 1933 and 1935. Controversial though it was — the rising wilderness challenge that this road helped to crystallize will be discussed later — the completed project exhibited many of the aesthetic design features that make park roads of this era so distinctive. In order to harmonize the road cut with the landscape as much as possible, all retaining walls, culvert headwalls, and curbing at pullouts were made with local stone. Special care was taken with guardrails. These consisted of simple stone parapet walls built to a uniform 21 inches thick and 18 inches high, except in some places where the height was to vary between 18-inch sections and 23-inch sections to avoid monotony. The design guidelines also specified use of irregular, roughly squared stones, to be arranged in unequal courses with broken and raked joints, with a slight batter applied to the ends of wall sections. These specifications were personally approved by Director Albright.[22]

Before this project was completed, other road construction projects were underway as well. Beginning in 1933, funding for road development in Great Smoky Mountains National Park came from the Public Works Administration (PWA), one of the New Deal's first federal relief agencies. President Roosevelt established the PWA by executive order under authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act of June 16, 1933. The PWA directed relief funds to government agencies that were in the best position to initiate road construction and other types of public works projects. The PWA was different from other relief agencies such as the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) in that it aimed to relieve unemployment through government contracts that would revive the construction industry. A large part of what the PWA did was to assist the federal government in taking over from state governments the lead role in paying for highway construction. Roosevelt appointed Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes to administer the PWA, and Ickes saw to it that the national parks, including the three authorized eastern national parks, received a generous share of the emergency funds that passed through his agency. Indeed, with the Park Service's many master plans suddenly taking on extra force as useful instruments for getting construction projects started quickly, NPS planners soon began to compare this unprecedented federal largesse to the wonder of Aladdin's lamp.[23]

The road from Gatlinburg to Newfound Gap or Project 1-A, the old Indian Gap Road built by the Tennessee Department of Highways, was rebuilt to new specifications. The desire to utilize the existing alignment as much as possible created an unusual challenge as the old grade was too steep in places and contained many blind curves. In one section, two tight switchbacks were replaced by a wide 360 degree curve with the road crossing over itself as it gained elevation. Called the Loop Over, this unusual feature dazzled tourists and appeared on postcards and souvenirs for years after it was completed in November 1935.[24]

Route 3 in the park development plan, the road from the Sugarlands administrative area over Fighting Creek Gap to Little River, then along Little River and Laurel Creek to Cades Cove, was surveyed between 1934 and 1937. Construction began on various segments of it in the mid-1930s. The section from the Sugarlands administrative area to Fighting Creek Gap, which already existed as a substandard road, was reconstructed to Bureau of Public Roads standards in 1935.[25] The next segment from Fighting Creek Gap to Little River was not completed until 1939. The section along the Little River, which utilized the existing railroad bed, and the spur road up to Elkmont, which did as well, were completed sooner. The final segment into Cades Cove was nearly complete when progress was interrupted by World War II.[26]

The Civilian Conservation Corps

At the beginning of March 1933, in the final days of the Hoover administration, there were 75 men working on roadside cleanup for a federal dole in Great Smoky Mountains

National Park. In the next year and a half, with the advent of the Roosevelt administration and the New Deal, this number swelled to 4,350. Most were young men enrolled in the CCC who lived and worked in the park for months, or in some cases years, performing roadside cleanup, landscaping, trail construction, and many other types of work at the Park Service's direction. Eventually there were 18 CCC camps in the park — more than twice as many camps as were located in any other unit in the national park system.[27]

The CCC presented Superintendent Eakin with an opportunity and a challenge. One purpose of the organization, plainly, was to accomplish valuable conservation work. Its other purpose was to provide emergency relief for enrollees. These were distinct, albeit compatible purposes. Park superintendents were instructed to view each enrollee not just as a source of labor but as a new client, a new type of visitor who could find spiritual renewal in nature through the collective CCC experience.[28]

Getting the CCC started proved to be a mammoth task. President Roosevelt's announced goal was to have a quarter million men enrolled by July 1933. Director Albright, serving out his last months in government service, represented the Interior Department on the CCC's organizing council in the spring of 1933 as the administration formulated how this goal was to be accomplished. It soon became obvious that conservation agencies like the NPS and the U.S. Forest Service were too small to build and run the camps as originally envisioned; only the U.S. Army could handle that. Therefore, the division of responsibility between government agencies was made as follows: the army would process the enrollees and form them into companies with army commanders, dispatch the companies to their respective camps, build the camps, and maintain discipline in the camps; the conservation agencies such as the NPS and the Forest Service would select all CCC camp locations, furnish the camps with tools and vehicles, employ the enrollees in useful conservation work, and supervise their efforts.[29]

Superintendent Eakin was called to Washington for ten days in early April 1933 to help plan his park's prominent role in this emergency mobilization of unemployed men. During the following month he cooperated with army officers in establishing the first five camps of 200 men each, procured trucks and tools for each camp, and worked with state and county relief officers in North Carolina and Tennessee in securing certification for all enrollees. Eakin encountered difficulties with North Carolina officials whom he found to have violated procedures by making selections on the basis of political party identification. Other problems surfaced in Cocke County, Tennessee, where relief officers tried to claim a fee from each person enrolled, and in Sevier County, Tennessee, where relief officers tried to get certain enrollees delisted based on false reports that they were convicted bootleggers. Reporting on all this frenetic effort at the end of May, Eakin frankly admitted that he and his staff were consumed by it, working long hours without regular meals or sleep. "My longest day was on May 27, when I was on the go 21 hours," he recorded.[30]

While the Park Service worked with army commanders in mobilizing this new workforce, the Labor Department was given the special task of enrolling supervisory personnel in the CCC. These would be older men with experience in forest work or a building trade who would serve as camp leaders and crew foremen for the young enrollees. The law required that they be recruited from the local area and that they receive a higher rate of pay than the other enrollees, so that the CCC would not take away local jobs or further depress the wage scale.[31] Foremen employed in Great Smoky Mountains National Park earned from $110 to $166 per month. A few of the foremen were actual park residents, including Willie Myers and Wiley Cooper of Cades Cove and Minyard Conner and Ed Bradley of Smokemont. Others came from area towns such as Cosby, Townsend, Maryville, Bryson City, and Waynesville.[32]

Most enrollees who passed a year or two in the Great Smokies were from the South, and many were from the local area. A substantial number were "mountaineers" who lived within the park area. Technically, enrollees had to be 18 to 25 years old, single, unemployed, physically fit, and from a family on relief, but Eakin appears to have been given more latitude than this in putting local men on the rolls.[33] Generally, enrollees were assigned to companies with other men from the same city or county. African Americans were considerably underrepresented in the CCC and in most cases they formed separate companies. It appears that few if any black companies were deployed in Great Smoky Mountains National Park.[34] Native Americans likewise formed separate units, which were deployed on Indian reservations and administered by a separate branch called the CCC-Indian Division. Some 500 members of the Eastern Band of Cherokee sought work in this organization and about 100 found employment, mostly doing erosion control work on Qualla Boundary lands.[35]

Such a rapid mobilization of young, unskilled labor inevitably led to much questionable work being done. In the early days, especially, the CCC's work was sometimes superficial, shoddy, or even harmful. Federal officials, including Eakin, were much concerned about inefficiency and waste. The waste was not difficult to document since the organization had rigorous reporting requirements. Camp supervisors filed monthly progress reports on the health and productiv-

ity of the men in their charge and on the quantity of each kind of work performed by their unit. CCC inspectors made regular visits to camps and filed reports as well. One such inspection led to charges of unusual waste in Great Smoky Mountains National Park. A review of the monthly progress reports showed that costs of services by CCC labor in the park were completely out of line with average costs of services by CCC labor nationwide. For example, roadside cleanup cost $2,649 per acre in Great Smoky Mountains National Park compared to $475 per acre elsewhere. Fire hazard reduction was $54.90 per acre compared to $4.30 per acre elsewhere. Horse trail construction was running anywhere from $3,000 to $12,000 per mile compared to $1200 per mile elsewhere. The list went on.[36]

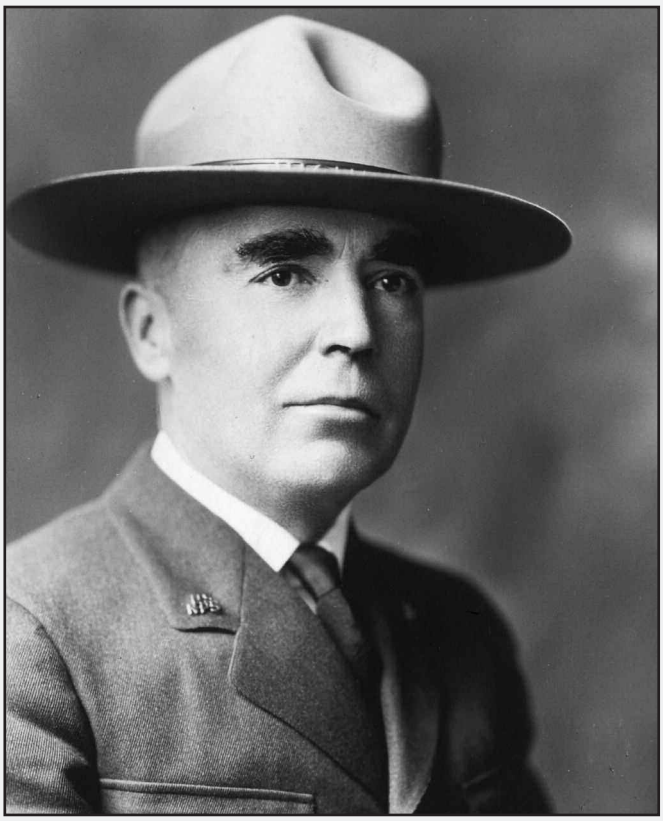
This CCC inspector, G. A. Schulze, was also an assistant forester in the Park Service's Branch of Forestry. Schulze tried to probe these figures with the park superintendent and NPS officials in Washington, but he got only evasive responses. He made a report to the NPS chief forester, John D. Coffman, and still felt the problem was being neglected. Finally, frustrated by two years of inattention to the matter by his superiors, Schulze sent the information to Representative Weaver in 1936. The North Carolina congressman had no interest in making a public issue of the CCC's performance in the Great Smokies; however, it may have been his spur that caused the Park Service to make an internal audit of the park's accounting books in the winter of 1936-37. The audit disclosed sloppy bookkeeping in the period under investigation (1935 to 1936) but found no evidence of wrongdoing. Nevertheless, the auditor's report became a weapon in the fracas. In April 1939, Senator McKellar brought the auditor's report to the attention of the Senate, accused Eakin of misappropriating $132,000 (a gross distortion of the auditor's findings), and demanded his removal.

At this point, the issue was no longer about the Park Service's competency in administering the CCC, nor even about the competency of Superintendent Eakin; instead it took a bizarre turn and became a battle of wills between McKellar and Ickes. At first, Ickes had decided to placate the senator by arranging for Eakin's transfer out of the park through a job swap with the superintendent of Shenandoah National Park. However, in his own mischievous way, Ickes neglected to apprise McKellar of his decision, allowing him to learn about it in the newspapers, which only served to enrage the senator. McKellar stormed into Ickes' office and declared that a transfer would not do; Eakin must be fired. Ickes, for his part, insisted that Eakin had been found innocent of wrongdoing and that he could not allow such meddling in the Park Service by a member of Congress; therefore, he would rescind the transfer order.[37]

McKellar then retaliated by introducing an amendment to the Department of the Interior appropriations bill that would have effectively ousted Eakin by denying him a salary. The amendment stated, "No portion of this allotment may be used to pay the salary of J. Ross Eakin." As the powerful chairman of the Senate appropriations committee, McKellar almost succeeded, but the measure was defeated by 31 nays to 28 yeas, with 36 abstaining. Not giving up, McKellar pressed for a Senate investigation of Eakin. The next month, he got a resolution approved naming an investigating committee and appropriating $5000 for the task. The committee members were Senators Carl A. Hatch (D-NM), Henry F. Ashurst (D-AZ), and Gerald P. Nye (R-ND), while McKellar was allowed to oversee the prosecution. Eakin had to go to Washington to testify in his own Senate trial. The experience nearly broke his health. The superintendent was finally exonerated in the committee's report in January 1941.[38]

The comparatively high cost, or low efficiency, of the CCC in Great Smoky Mountains National Park remained unexplained. Probably it had something to do with the CCC's extraordinarily large presence — 18 camps, more than twice the number assigned to any other park. Possibly it was connected to the fact that there was no other money for development in Great Smoky Mountains National Park other than what came through the CCC or the PWA. Whatever the case may have been, the CCC accomplished a great deal. Each camp of 100 to 200 men normally divided into several work crews of 12 to 20 men each, so that at any given time there were a hundred or more active work crews in the park. The crews felled and removed dead chestnut trees, removed debris from the edges of newly constructed roads, and landscaped new road embankments. They built hundreds of miles of foot trails and horse trails. They constructed campgrounds, a fish hatchery, foot bridges, and fire lookouts. As time went on, CCC foremen and work crews took on increasingly sophisticated assignments involving carpentry and masonry. Much of the CCC's work was superseded by later development, but some vestiges still survive in the park, such as the stone bridges in the headquarters administrative area at Sugarlands and the Oconaluftee Ranger Station. CCC crews also built their own camp buildings, which typically included barracks, latrines, mess hall, recreation building, garage, tool shed, and offices. Eakin located the camps with a view to minimizing their impacts on natural resources; most of them occupied sites of former logging camps and did not require additional clearing.

The network of abandoned railroads, wagon roads, and trails left by the logging era presented an unusual foundation for recreational trail development. The CCC converted some railroad grades into automobile roads despite administration



J. Ross Eakin reported for duty as the first superintendent of Great Smoky Mountains National Park in 1931, three years prior to the site's official establishment. From his office in a Gatlinburg hotel, he commanded an army of Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) enrollees who constructed much of the park's enduring infrastructure.

policy that prohibited use of the CCC for road construction projects. For example, the spur road up the Middle Prong of the Little River was converted by a CCC crew by removing ties, smoothing the surface, and adding drainage ditches. The Little River Lumber Company contributed the use of heavy equipment for this project. Many railroad grades were converted for use as "motorways" or "truck trails" whose primary function was for forest protection as they facilitated the movement of fire fighting crews and equipment into the backcountry. Eakin specified that the width of these roads should be kept to nine feet, exclusive of side ditches.[39]

In at least one instance, a scenic motorway was built with tourists in mind. CCC camps at Sugarlands undertook the improvement of an old wagon road up Roaring Fork, which would afford the motorist views of rock cliffs, waterfalls, and heavy growth of rhododendron, laurel, and large hemlock trees. The CCC crews not only improved the road for car use, but constructed handsome dry masonry walls and culverts. This development was notable in that it was a road built for tourists by the CCC, it was not in the park development plan, and it anticipated the development of a "nature motor trail" in this same location during the Mission 66 era.[40]

Eakin took a personal interest in establishing standards for trail construction. He stipulated minimum widths and grades as well as standards for proper surfacing and ditching. Trails were of two standard widths, four feet and two feet, for horse and foot traffic respectively. Eakin defended the four-foot width of horse trails, which some people found excessive, as necessary to protect against erosion. Experience had shown that when narrow trails in the Great Smokies were not properly graded they became muddy, and as hikers tried to walk around these muddy sections a single path could quickly turn into a series of paths ten to twelve feet wide. Moreover, Eakin thought that some of the criticism of the four-foot-wide trails was based on their "newness and rawness," which he countered by pointing out that the rawness would soon be obliterated as vegetation in the park was "very prolific."[41]

Since it was an emergency program, the CCC was funded in half year increments called "enrollment periods." As the economy began to recover, the CCC program was gradually reduced. By 1937, the eighteen camps in Great Smoky Mountains National Park were reduced to seven. Eakin expressed regret at the loss of manpower. Aside from its effect on the development program, Eakin worried that the reduction in force would cripple the park's fire protection. "I see no hope of properly protecting the park in the near future," he wrote to the regional forester. "We have been gradually whittled down...and there is no reason to believe we shall not lose more camps at the next enrollment period, more camps the period after that, etc. It is most discouraging."[42]

The CCC was terminated within months after the United States entered World War II. One measure of how valuable the organization had been to Great Smoky Mountains National Park was the list of projects that were left unfinished when work stopped on August 8, 1942. These included two bridges across the Oconaluftee at the Kephart fish hatchery and Smokemont, quarters at Oconaluftee Ranger Station, installation of utilities in the area, a flume for the pools at the fish hatchery, extension of the Alum Cave parking area, and roads at Cataloochee and Hazel Creek.[43]

Administration Buildings

Development of the Sugarlands administrative area was delayed until the late 1930s as land acquisition continued in that vicinity. Cammerer had first suggested that the area would make a suitable site for headquarters during his 1927 survey. Bryson City was suggested as an alternative site but was not seriously considered. Superintendent Eakin established his

temporary headquarters for a brief time in Maryville, then in Gatlinburg, where the park administration occupied two small frame buildings on the property of the Mountain View Hotel beginning in 1931. By 1934, Eakin was persuaded that Sugarlands was the best place to establish headquarters. During the winter of 1934-35, Eakin assisted Deputy Chief Landscape Architect Charles E. Peterson and Deputy Chief Engineer Oliver G. Taylor in producing the park's first master plan.[44] This plan included a "Sugarlands Developed Area" that would contain both a headquarters complex and a visitor lodging complex; however, the Park Service decided within a few years that it would not develop visitor lodging within the park.[45] Thus, by the time plans for the headquarters administration building crystallized in 1937, it had become likely that this would be the only large building in the park and as such, "should be the finest of all administrative buildings in the National Parks."[46]

The architectural design was originally prepared by the Eastern Division of the Branch of Plans and Designs. The park's resident landscape architect, Frank Mattson, produced some later elevations, while Charles I. Barber, a Knoxville architect, served as a consultant and produced the final set of elevations approved by Director Cammerer. The final architectural design reflected a reworking of the western NPS rustic style into a distinctive eastern expression that incorporated elements of colonial revivalism and Tennessee building traditions. The spacious lobby, which originally served as a public information area, was modeled after the Blount Mansion in Knoxville, the home of Tennessee's first territorial governor and reputedly the first frame house built west of the Alleghany Mountains.[47]

The building was built by a company out of Charlotte, North Carolina, under a $65,000 allotment from the PWA, in 1939. The walls were built with native stone (quarried at Ravensford on the south side of the park and cut to size by the CCC), while the roof was made with Buckingham Virginia slate. The interior flagstone floor in the lobby was made of Tennessee crab orchard sandstone, while the facing and lining of the fireplace was done with Virginia alberene, a soapstone.[48]

The park staff occupied the new building in January 1940, finally relieved of their cramped temporary headquarters in Gatlinburg. During 1940 and 1941, the CCC did considerable landscaping around it. The building was situated to present a commanding view down two tangents of the wye intersection where the Newfound Gap Road intersected the Little River Road. Since the existing grade placed the building below the road level, the lawn area in front of the building was excavated to create a broad dip in front of the building in order to create the appearance that the building sat on a slight eminence. Native trees and shrubs, including tulip poplar, maples, dogwood, and rhododendron, were planted on the grounds.[49]

Senator **Kenneth McKellar** of Tennessee badgered Superintendent Eakin for at least four years, distracting him from his work and possibly damaging his health. According to one account, McKellar felt that he should have more say in running the new park, especially in making key staff appointments.

The Oconaluftee Ranger Station, also called the North Carolina Headquarters, was planned and built at the same time. The site for this secondary administrative area was chosen for the fact that the valley of the Oconaluftee River broadens at this point, providing plenty of room for development. Smokemont was also considered but was used for campground development instead. The site was also chosen over another level area found at the mouth of Mingus Creek, mainly because the Oconaluftee site was three miles closer to the park entrance.[50]

The master plan proposed that this secondary administrative area would comprise a ranger station and information office, a separate museum building, a residential group, and a utility group. In an early edition of the master plan the museum building was to be situated apart from the rest of the complex at Mingus Creek; in a later edition it was to be situated south of the ranger station and on the opposite side of the Newfound Gap Road. The residential and utility groups were to be located north of the ranger station and on the opposite side of the river. Owing to the slowdown in develop-

ment with the coming of World War II, the ranger station was the only part of this plan that got built.[51]

The architectural design of the ranger station was similar to the headquarters. The building exhibited the same native stone facing on its exterior walls, and it featured a full-length front porch with six supporting posts. The roof was supposed to be made with the same slate material used on the headquarters building but was completed with wood shingles instead, probably to get it done in time for the September 1940 dedication of the park. The shingles were replaced by slate tiles in 1955. The floor plan was designed to accommodate both an information area for visitors and a chief ranger's office in the main block with other offices in the rear ell of the building.[52]

Construction on the building began in December 1938 under a PWA allotment of $18,000, but the work was soon turned over to the CCC, which accomplished all of the quarrying and transporting of stone from the nearby Ravensford quarry, as well as all masonry and carpentry. Park staff moved into the building on November 25, 1940. After it was occupied, CCC crews completed the landscaping and construction of parking areas.[53]

Visitor Counts

Despite economic hard times, Great Smoky Mountains immediately began to draw large numbers of visitors. Although hard times generally depressed tourism as people spent less money on non-essentials, it also had a countervailing effect of creating more leisure time for people who were unemployed or underemployed. It was remarked, for example, that many local people came to the park to fish (often in order to feed their families) three or four times a week. During the hardest years of the Depression (1931-33), most national parks experienced a drop in visitor numbers as Americans purchased fewer automobiles and less gasoline and deferred recreational travel. But by 1934, Americans were buying these commodities as avidly as they had in the previous decade, and national park visitation grew prodigiously during the rest of the decade.

The same incongruities appeared at Great Smoky Mountains. In his monthly report for July 1932, Eakin reported that "the unemployment situation is acute," and noted "it requires practically the entire time of one man to tactfully meet applicants who desire employment in connection with our contemplated road and trail program." But in the same month, he also reported that more than 4,000 people had entered the park on July Fourth — an estimated ten percent increase over the previous year. And further in the report, he stated that "the increasing number of campers is becoming a problem."[54]

The park administration did not begin making official estimates of the total number of visitors on an annual basis until 1941, but it did make visitor counts on given days, such as July Fourth, in order to monitor year-to-year trends. Rough counts were also made by making traffic counts at the Gatlinburg entrance and then adding 20 percent to reflect additional people coming into the park by way of the other five entrances. Although approximate, these visitor counts did show strong and steady growth of visitor numbers during the 1930s, in spite of the economic hard times. The park administration did not record what percentage of these people were car camping. It did sometimes record the state of origin of each car. A count of cars entering through Gatlinburg in October 1935, for example, tallied 12,297 automobiles from 42 states and the District of Columbia and Canada. Two-thirds of all cars were from Tennessee, while about one twentieth of the total came from North Carolina, demonstrating that use of the park was predominantly local. (Presumably the lopsided ratio of Tennessee to North Carolina cars was approximately the reverse on the other side of the park.) On the other hand, the wide representation of states showed that the park was already developing a nationwide constituency. Significant showings were made by the northern states of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and New York, as well as the southern states of Kentucky, Georgia, and South Carolina. Cars from all states carried an average of two to three passengers, regardless of whether they had come from a few hundred or a few thousand miles away.[55]

The Wilderness Challenge

The movement to create a national park in the Great Smokies drew together two types of nature lovers: those who liked to hike, ride horseback, and camp in the wilderness, and those who liked to admire wild scenery through a windshield or from a porch. The difference between these two types was in their aesthetic experience of the wild, with the first type enjoying physical challenge and sensual immersion in nature, and the second type appreciating modern conveniences like the automobile or the tourist lodge as a comfortable frame for their nature experience. The difference was subtle at the beginning of the 1920s, when the "tin-can" tourist was still pioneering a new kind of adventure travel, raw and physically demanding in its own right, but that was quickly changing. As cars became more efficient and reliable, as cars' interior space became more comfortable, as car ownership spread through the middle class, as pleasure driving became an American pastime, as service stations and other roadside amenities sprang up in every town and crossroads,

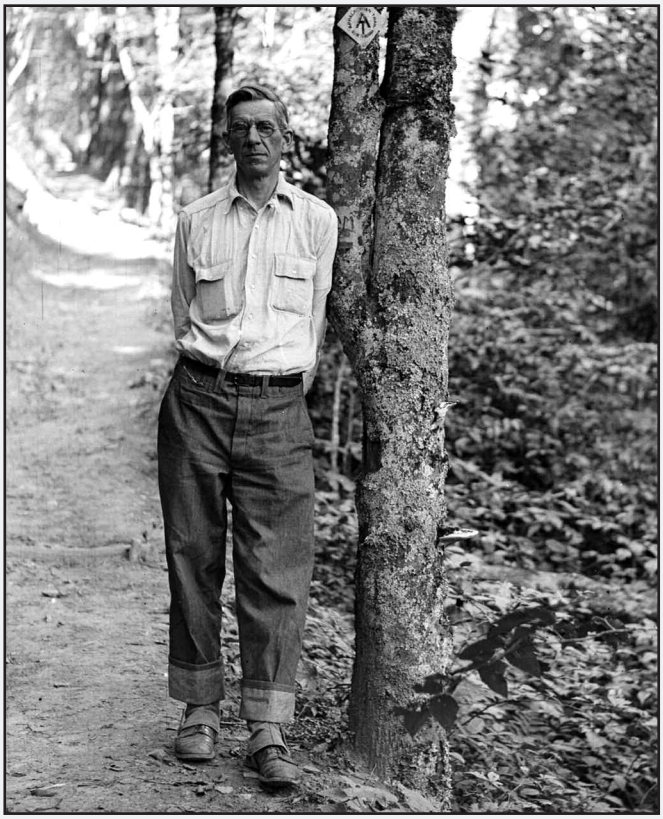
and as hard-surfaced roads replaced the wagon roads of yesteryear, all of these changes combined to widen the difference of experience between the hiker and the motorist. Increasingly, the hiker type of nature enthusiast saw the car as anathema to experiencing nature in the wild. That opposition to the presence of the car in the wild gave birth to the modern American concept of wilderness, subsequently codified in the Wilderness Act of 1964, which essentially defines wilderness as an area that is kept off-limits to the motorist. Road development in Great Smoky Mountains National Park, particularly the Clingmans Dome Road and its proposed continuation to Deals Gap, was one of the flashpoints in an emergent national wilderness preservation movement in the 1930s.[56]

The Park Service was deeply ambivalent toward this wilderness preservation movement. Park Service officials, who were often well-traveled in the backcountry themselves, tended to identify strongly with the wilderness enthusiast's form of nature appreciation, and it stung them personally when wilderness enthusiasts opposed them and challenged their commitment to wilderness preservation. But they also felt duty bound — indeed, deeply moved by their democratic ideals in some cases — to develop national parks for the benefit of the great majority of people who would never venture far from the road. "I am primarily a trail man. I never ride on an automobile road if I can help it," Albright wrote to a concerned citizen in Knoxville. "On the other hand, all of us have to reconcile ourselves to the viewpoint that everyone should have a chance to see and enjoy parts of these great national parks."[57] Cammerer expressed that same conflict between his personal and official response to the proposed skyline road in an internal memo to Albright. "I dread the thought of a road along the crest of the Smokies westward from Newfound Gap although I don't see how it can be prevented," he wrote in February 1932.[58]

Opposition to the skyline road in the Smokies built slowly, even though it was to acquire national significance by the mid-1930s. The first person to protest this development was Harvey Broome, a young Knoxville attorney and member of the Smoky Mountains Hiking Club, who wrote passionately to Albright in 1931 in response to the park development plan. Albright tried to mollify Broome and other skeptics by explaining that the road would not follow the crest so much as traverse below the ridgeline from gap to gap, and further, he promised that the crest from Newfound Gap to the east edge of the park would remain inviolate, an area big and wild enough for people to get lost in. Given those assurances, both the National Parks Association and the Smoky Mountains Hiking Club endorsed the plan to build a road from Newfound Gap to Deals Gap.[59] But Albright's idea of a balanced approach did not satisfy everyone. The Izaak Walton League of America and the Prairie Club, a Chicago-based conservation group, offered polite criticism of the Park Service's plan late in 1932, while Willard G. Van Name of the American Museum of Natural History turned up the heat a notch in a caustic letter to Ickes in June 1934, "I suppose we should be very thankful that the disfiguring crest highway is to deface only about half the length of the park instead of the whole, but I cannot help doubting whether half the park ought to be thus sacrificed."[60]

Meanwhile, Broome had recruited two prominent wilderness advocates to assist him in fighting the skyline road. They were Benton MacKaye, a regional planner with TVA and one of the principal architects of the Appalachian Trail, and Robert Marshall, chief of forestry in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. During the 1920s, MacKaye had developed wilderness ideas that flowed from his concern about rampant, unplanned, urban growth, or what he called the "metropolitan invasion." He had proposed "wilderness ways," or extensive green belts, as a means to control, deflect, and channel this metropolitan invasion so that the expanding population would distribute itself to best advantage to meet its physical and psychological needs. The Appalachian Trail, in MacKaye's thinking, would serve as the organizing thread for a vast wilderness way composed of public parks and forests extending the whole length of the Appalachian Mountains, with offshoots reaching into the lowlands. In addition to a continuous trail and network of shelters along the crest, MacKaye envisioned numerous "approach trails" joining the crest trail to hamlets in the lowlands, the whole complex presenting a survival of American primitivism or a bastion of what he called "outdoor culture." In MacKaye's view, Americans should want to rally and defend their outdoor culture against the metropolitan invasion, and there was no better place for it than along the Appalachian Mountains.[61]

Marshall was the author of an influential essay, "The Problem of the Wilderness," in which he espoused that the hiker type of nature lover derived a much more profound pleasure from the wilderness experience than the motorist got from driving to view scenery. Marshall's purpose was to defeat the fatuous argument that any given wilderness should be developed for automobile access so that more people could get into the area and enjoy it. In the case of wilderness, providing for the enjoyment of many spoiled the intense satisfaction of a few; therefore, Marshall contended, some wilderness areas ought to be withheld from road development and protected for the recreational benefit of this relatively small constituency. Marshall's conception of wilderness as a minority right challenged the Park Service's



Benton MacKaye, a regional planner with TVA and one of the principal architects of the Appalachian Trail, was opposed to the skyline road and wrote a paper about the "metropolitan invasion," condemning excessive road development in the park wilderness. It was subsequently published in *The Nation*.

argument that national parks must be developed in a democratic way, to serve all people equally.[62]

At a Central States Forestry Congress held in Knoxville in May 1934, MacKaye presented a paper, "Flankline vs. Skyline," which he followed by introducing a resolution condemning all development of skyline roads in the southern Appalachians. Eakin was also attending the congress and persuaded members not to consider the resolution without having the other side presented. Eakin was inclined toward the democratic argument for park road development; his chief objection to MacKaye's paper was the estimates it gave of the number of motorists or hikers who would use a road or trail respectively. After the congress, Broome got the paper published first in *Appalachia*, the journal of the Appalachian Mountain Club, and then in *The Nation*, with its much wider readership.[63]

Immediately following the congress, Marshall wrote to Robert Sterling Yard, executive secretary of the National Parks Association, extending a discussion the two men had been having about what they saw as the Park Service's overzealous road development program. Was it time to organize a group aimed at preserving wilderness and opposing undesirable road projects? Later that summer, Ickes directed Marshall to inspect the Blue Ridge Parkway's southern end, which was proposed to go across Indian forest land on the Qualla Boundary, entering Great Smoky Mountains National Park near the southern end of the Newfound Gap Road. Not surprisingly, Marshall's report to Ickes recommended dropping the plan to extend the skyline road southward beyond Clingmans Dome to Deals Gap.[64] Probably influenced by both Marshall's advice and MacKaye's article in *The Nation*, Ickes wrote a terse memo to NPS Associate Director Arthur E. Demaray on September 7, 1934: "I will want no contracts let for trails and roads in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park until I have approved the plans. I am seriously considering setting up a small board to pass on all proposals for roads and trails in national parks and monuments. What would you think of this?"[65] The first part of this memo was a directive specific to the park; the second part was a query that appeared to stem from the discussion Marshall had been having with Yard about the need for oversight of the entire Park Service road development program.

The Park Service deflected the secretary's proposal to establish a board of review, but it took more hits on its skyline road proposal, first by Marshall, then by Ickes. In October 1934, Marshall used the occasion of a meeting of the American Forestry Association in Knoxville to rip the Park Service's plan. (After this meeting, Marshall, MacKaye, Broome, and another wilderness advocate, Bernard Frank, conceived a plan to establish an advocacy group while driving from Knoxville to Great Smoky Mountains National Park to visit a CCC camp. The Wilderness Society was founded one year later.)[66] The following month, Ickes addressed a gathering of national park superintendents at the Interior Building on C Street. "I want as much wilderness, as much nature preserved and maintained as possible," he told them. "We have too many roads." In another speech in September, Ickes reiterated that the Park Service's plan to extend the skyline road through the Great Smokies was shelved. "This is an automobile age," he said. "But I do not have much patience with people whose idea of enjoying nature is dashing along a hard road at fifty or sixty miles an hour." The speech was appreciatively reprinted by The Wilderness Society in its new magazine, *Living Wilderness*.[67]

Although Cammerer remained strongly in favor of the skyline road, he responded soberly to these criticisms by Marshall and Ickes. He formed a special committee of six senior technical staff in the branches of education, forestry, wildlife, engineering, and planning and design, and directed the committee to make a thorough inspection of Great Smoky Mountains National Park and its proposed road and

trail program. This committee recommended that Eakin scale back the number of four-foot-wide horse trails planned for development until the park administration had a clearer understanding of how much visitor demand for this type of travel there would be. It requested that Eakin keep truck trails out of some of the main drainages. On the crucial issue, however, the special committee deadlocked, with three members supporting further development of the skyline road and three members opposing it.[68]

Cammerer continued to believe that the skyline road was both right and inevitable. He was "for it one hundred percent, heart and soul," he told one dubious citizen in Knoxville. He was "unreservedly committed," he informed another. He had "never wavered" in his "belief that the high line road ought to be continued along the crest from Clingman's Dome to someplace near Deal's Gap," he wrote to yet another. Barraged with letters from residents of Knoxville who were opposed to the skyline road, Cammerer sent long, heartfelt, reasoned replies to each one. Meanwhile he met with members of the Smoky Mountains Hiking Club and made public statements that were quoted in the Knoxville newspapers. The gist of his thinking was that the mass of people deserved the pleasures that only the skyline road would afford them. Ten years earlier he had hiked the whole length of the ridgeline himself, and had seen the most thrilling display of flame azaleas in his life, but these unique experiences only deepened his conviction that this wilderness should be made accessible to motorists. "I think it is the height of selfishness for hikers to say that when the entire eastern half of the park has been reserved free from roads that the entire western section must also be so reserved," he wrote. "A park must be usable and used in order to justify its establishment."[69] He might have added that he knew as well as anyone the amount of toil and treasure expended in getting this park established.

In 1936, wilderness defenders raised a new issue in their fight to stop the skyline road. It appeared that the Clingmans Dome Road had exposed the spruce and balsam forest to an unnatural amount of wind damage. Not only did windstorms appear to be toppling more trees than normal, but the ability of the forest to regenerate in these areas looked uncertain as the soil appeared to be drying out and eroding at an excessive rate. Broome referred to the "thin brown line of death" along the uphill side of the road where the carpet of moss was drying out. Together with Bernard Frank, Robert Marshall, and other committed individuals, he began making systematic counts of the number of trees toppled by wind storms along the edge of the road. The Park Service countered with its own studies. Eakin maintained that the blowdowns were occurring at a normal rate except perhaps around the large parking area on Forney Ridge at the end of the Clingmans Dome Road. Confident that the condition on Forney Ridge would eventually become stabilized, he was mainly concerned about the impression made on visitors by so much fallen timber. At that one location, the Park Service proposed to "assist Nature" by anchoring a few key trees at the edge of the parking area with cables. Although limited to a few trees in this one area, the fact that the Park Service proposed to secure trees with cables appeared to offer proof that the skyline road was not just a scar on the landscape but also destructive to the forest in this harsh environment.[70]

In January 1937, Marshall informed Ickes that the *Knoxville News-Sentinel* had quoted Cammerer as stating that the Park Service was surveying the route from Clingmans Dome to Deals Gap. Asked by Ickes what was going on, Cammerer explained that these were not instrument surveys, merely "studies" of "proposed locations" made by park personnel. In reply, Ickes instructed Cammerer to discuss the proposed route with Marshall before submitting anything further to him. Since Marshall was only a branch chief in another agency, this was truly a humiliating rebuff. Cammerer replied to Ickes by typing a single, terse line on the bottom of his memo and returning it: "The above has been noted, and will be followed."[71] But there is no record that Cammerer ever had such a consultation with Marshall, and the skyline drive proposal slowly faded. It is likely that Cammerer hoped to outlast Ickes in office and get approval for his road from his successor. He could not have predicted that the Roosevelt administration would continue to hold power through an unprecedented third term and the start of a fourth, with Ickes staying on to become the longest serving interior secretary in history. Cammerer himself had to step down in August 1940 after suffering a heart attack, and the man whom Ickes chose to replace him, Newton B. Drury, was closer to Ickes and Marshall in his views on road development.

Cammerer was normally not one to hold a grudge, but Marshall had irritated him to no end through this ordeal. In July 1938, he wrote a spiteful, if poignant, letter to Ickes informing him that a beautiful spruce forest on the Cherokee Indian Reservation — a forest under Marshall's purview as — had been recently obliterated by logging crews. Cammerer had hiked through this forest and had considered including the area in the park, but had decided it would be protected well enough by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Cutting down this forest seemed to him "the worst piece of vandalism" that had come to his attention in recent years. It was all the more deplorable, he wrote, "because it was done under the authority of a man who should have known better, and who is always ready to criticize others for alleged short-

comings of that sort."[72]

About the same time this logging was done, the Eastern Band of Cherokee finally yielded to intense political pressure from members of Congress, the state of North Carolina, and federal officials to sell a right-of-way across the reservation for the completion of the southern end of the Blue Ridge Parkway. However, Secretary Ickes and the National Park Service paid dearly for the compromise agreement that was finally negotiated with the tribe. Rather than taking the route that Ickes had preferred, which went from Soco Gap down Soco Creek, the compromise route followed the ridge top and descended into Raven Fork, entering the park near the Oconaluftee Ranger Station. This meant that the road had to be constructed through the very kind of high-elevation spruce and balsam forest that the Clingmans Dome Road penetrated. The decision prompted a resolution by The Wilderness Society opposing all skyline roads in the southern Appalachians. Ironically, just one week after Cammerer wrote to Ickes about the removal of the Cherokee's spruce forest, Ickes wrote to Robert Sterling Yard, now with The Wilderness Society, awkwardly explaining why he believed this skyline road would not lead to the same type of forest destruction by high winds and erosion that had caused concern around Clingmans Dome.[73] The wilderness challenge had come to stay, and with it had arrived the beginning of an ecological conscience.

[1] "Says 'Indian Gap' Road Will Not Increase Values of Park Area Land," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, June 22, 1927; S. L. Majoles to Austin Peay, April 12, 1927, and David C. Chapman to National Park Service, August 20, 1928, File 630 Part 1, Box 310, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II. Apparently before the road was surveyed it was expected to go over Indian Gap. The name of the road revived local memory of an old road built through Indian Gap during the Civil War by Colonel William Thomas and the Cherokee. See "Auto Highway Soon to Link Smoky Towns," *Asheville Times*, July 7, 1929.

[2] Robert Sterling Yard, "The Motor Tourist and the National Parks," *National Parks Bulletin* 8, no. 50 (1927): 12.

[3] Robert Sterling Yard to David C. Chapman, March 12, 1927, File 37, Box I, David Chapman Collection, GRSM.

[4] Arno B. Cammerer to C. N. Bass, July 10, 1926, Bass to Horace M. Albright, July 20, 1926, Cammerer to Daniel R. Hull, August 26, 1926, and Cammerer to Files, April 14, 1928, File 630 Part 1, Box 310, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II; "To Investigate Effect of Gap Road on Park," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, June 22, 1927; J. R. Eakin to The Director, July 13, 1933, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM.

[5] J. S. Stikeleather to Mark Squires, September 23, 1929, and Verne Rhoades to E. C. Brooks, August 22, 1929, File 212.3, E. C. Brooks Papers, North Carolina State Archives (hereafter NCSA).

[6] E. B. Jeffers to Horace M. Albright, December 19, 1931, File 630 Part 2, Box 310, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II; National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service for 1932* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932), 46.

[7] Herbert Corey, "Steve Mather Sells the Parks," *Collier's* 73 (June 21, 1924): 10.

[8] Ethan Carr, *Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 86-87.

[9] Richard West Sellars, "Manipulating Nature's Paradise: National Park Management under Stephen T. Mather, 1916-1929," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 43 (Spring 1992): 5.

[10] Arno B. Cammerer to C. N. Bass, July 10, 1926, File 630 Part 1, Box 310, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[11] James Sturgis Pray, "The American Society of Landscape Architects and our National Parks," *Landscape Architecture* 6, no. 3 (April 1916): 119-23.

[12] Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 87-88.

[13] Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 195.

[14] Henry V. Hubbard, "Landscape Development Based on Conservation as Practiced in the National Park Service," *Landscape Architecture* 29 (April 1939): 108.

[15] Horace M. Albright, "Office Order No. 228 – Supplement No. 1," September 29, 1931, File 201 Part 1, Box 1081, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[16] J. R. Eakin to The Director, October 6, 1931, and Horace M. Albright to Oliver G. Taylor, no date, File 201 Part 1, Box 1081, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[17] "Sketch Map Highway System, Great Smoky Mountains Nat'l Park," no date, File PRA – GRSM – Narrative Report – October 1939, Box 5, GRSM General Correspondence 1933-53, RG 79, NASER; *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service for 1932*, 46.

[18] *Congressional Record*, February 27, 1932, 72d Cong., 1st sess., 4884-4886; David C. Chapman to Zebulon Weaver, March 1, 1932, File 6, Box 1, Zebulon Weaver Collection, WCU.

[19] *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service for 1932*, 46.

[20] J. R. Eakin to Zebulon Weaver, August 3, 1932, File 10, Box 1, Zebulon Weaver Collection, WCU.

[21] V. Roswell Ludgate to J. R. Eakin, November 28, 1932, File 2, Box I, Design and Construction Collection, GRSM.

[22] National Park Service, "Great Smoky

Mountains National Park, Park Development Historic District," no date, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form in File Park Development Period, Headquarters Attic Files, GRSM.

[23] Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 264.

[24] Historical American Engineering Record, "Roads Survey: Development of Park Roads" (pp. 113-14), no date, GRSM.

[25] J. R. Eakin to Oliver G. Taylor, March 29, 1935, and Eakin to The Director, August 5, 1935, File 631-2 Part 2, Box 489, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[26] National Park Service, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Park Development Historic District," no date, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form in File Park Development Period, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[27] J. R. Eakin to The Director, April 10, 1933, and September 17, 1934, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM; Brown, *The Wild East*, 123.

[28] Theodore Catton, *National Park, City Playground: Mount Rainier in the Twentieth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 99-100.

[29] Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s* (Washington: National Park Service, 1987), 77.

[30] J. R. Eakin to The Director, June 10, 1933, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM.

[31] John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967), 34-35.

[32] Untitled, undated list of foremen by camp, File 252 Employment, Box 7, GRSM General Correspondence 1933-53, RG 79, NASER.

[33] J. R. Eakin to The Director, July 13, 1933, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM.

[34] In March 1935, for example, all 17 companies in the park were white (J. R. Eakin to The Director, March 4, 1935, Box 6, GRSM General Correspondence 1933-53, RG 79, NASER.

[35] Brown, *The Wild East*, 123.

[36] G. A. Schulze to Zebulon Weaver, February 17, 1936, File 24, Box 1, Zebulon Weaver Collection, WCU.

[37] Ted Davenport, "A Tribute to J. Ross Eakin," no date, Box 11, Ed Trout Collection, GRSM.

[38] Frome, *Strangers in High Places*, 221-227.

[39] J. R. Eakin to The Director, July 13, 1933, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM.

[40] J. R. Eakin to The Director, February 15, 1934, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM.

[41] J. R. Eakin to Arno B. Cammerer, September 29, 1936, File 640, Box 1135, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[42] J. R. Eakin to Fred H. Arnold, March 17, 1937, File 207.05-1, Box 2, GRSM General Correspondence 1933-53, RG 79, NASER.

[43] J. R. Eakin to The Director, August 12, 1942, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM.

[44] Arno B. Cammerer to J. R. Eakin, September 17, 1934, File 600-01, Box 1098, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II. Superseding the development plan of 1931, the Master Plan for Great Smoky Mountains National Park was signed by the director on July 5, 1935. (Herbert Evison to J. R. Eakin, no date, same file as above.)

[45] National Park Service, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Park Development Historic District," no date, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form in File Park Development Period, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[46] Anonymous, "Park Administration Building, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," undated typescript, File 12, Box I, Design and Construction Collection, GRSM.

[47] Anonymous, "Park Administration Building, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," undated typescript, File 12, Box I, Design and Construction Collection, GRSM.

[48] Anonymous, "Park Administration Building, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," undated typescript, File 12, Box I, Design and Construction Collection, GRSM.

[49] National Park Service, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Park Development Historic District," no date, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form in File Park Development Period, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[50] National Park Service, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Park Development Historic District," no date, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form in File Park Development Period, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[51] National Park Service, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Park Development Historic District," no date, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form in File Park Development Period, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[52] National Park Service, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Park Development Historic District," no date, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form in File Park Development Period, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[53] National Park Service, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Park Development Historic District," no date, National Register of Historic

Places Nomination Form in File Park Development Period, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[54] J. R. Eakin to The Director, August 9, 1932, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM.

[55] News release, November 4, 1935, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM.

[56] Paul S. Sutter, *Driven Wild: How the Fight against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 1-7, 16. On the changing car culture in the 1920s, see James J. Flink, *The Car Culture* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1975). See also Louter, *Windshield Wilderness*.

[57] Horace M. Albright to Robert Lindsay Mason, November 17, 1932, File 630 Part 1, Box 311, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[58] Arno B. Cammerer to Horace M. Albright, February 3, 1932, File 630 Part 2, Box 310, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II. Charles Peterson, the landscape architect, apparently felt conflicted about the skyline road, too. According to Eakin, "Peterson stated he would never urge that this road be built but did not see how it could be prevented." (J. R. Eakin to Oliver G. Taylor, January 30, 1932, File 630 Part 2, Box 310, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.)

[59] "Wants People to Get Lost in Park," January 30, 1932, unidentified newspaper clipping in File 204-020 Part 1, Box 302, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II; E. G. Frizzell to Arno B. Cammerer, January 30, 1933, File 630, Box 1135, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Daniel S. Pierce, "The Road to Nowhere: Tourism Development versus Environmentalism in the Great Smoky Mountains," in *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History, and Culture in the Modern South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 202-03.

[60] Thomas W. Allinson to Horace M. Albright, November 7, 1932, and S. B. Locke to Ray Lyman Wilbur, October 24, 1932, File 630 Part 1, Box 311, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[61] Benton MacKaye, "Outdoor Culture," *Landscape Architecture* 17, no. 3 (April 1927): 163-71; MacKaye, "Wilderness Ways," *Landscape Architecture* 19, no. 4 (July 1929): 237-49.

[62] Robert Marshall, "The Problem of the Wilderness," *Scientific Monthly*, 30, no. 2 (February 1930): 141-48.

[63] Larry Anderson, *Benton MacKaye: Conservationist, Planner, and Creator of the Appalachian Trail* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 269.

[64] Sutter, *Driven Wild*, 231-32.

[65] Harold L. Ickes to Arthur E. Demaray, September 7, 1934, File 631-2 Part 2, Box 489, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[66] Sutter, *Driven Wild*, 232-33; Pierce, "The Road to Nowhere," 203.

[67] T. H. Watkins, *Righteous Pilgrim: The Life and Times of Harold L. Ickes, 1874-1952* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1990), 471, 549-51; Pierce, "The Road to Nowhere," 204.

[68] Oliver G. Taylor, Ben H. Thompson, V. H. Cahalane, H. C. Bryant, J. D. Coffman, and Charles E. Peterson to The Director, May 1935, 600-01, Box 1098, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[69] Arno B. Cammerer to F. Woods Beckman, July 28, 1936, Cammerer to Olcott Deming, September 22, 1936, Cammerer to Albert G. Roth, September 21, 1936, and Cammerer to Dorothy W. Haasis, September 22, 1936, File 630 Part 4, Box 1133, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[70] Harvey Broome to Arno B. Cammerer, May 19, 1936, Broome to J. R. Eakin, June 23, 1936, Broome to Harold L. Ickes, March 8, 1937, and Eakin to Cammerer, March 12, 1937, File 630 Part 4, Box 1133, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[71] A. E. Demaray to Harold L. Ickes, January 28, 1937, Ickes to Robert Marshall, February 6, 1937, Ickes to Arno B. Cammerer, February 5, 1937, and Cammerer to Ickes, February 10, 1937, File 630 Part 4, Box 1133, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[72] Arno B. Cammerer to Harold L. Ickes, July 20, 1938, File Mountains – Great Smokies, Box 4, Records of Arno B. Cammerer, 1922-40, RG 79, NA II.

[73] Harold L. Ickes to Robert Sterling Yard, July 28, 1938, File 630 Part 5, Box 1134, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

Chapter Five

Building the Park: From WWII to Mission 66

On August 21, 1940, newspapers announced that President Roosevelt would attend the official opening of Great Smoky Mountains National Park on Labor Day, September 2. The park staff had been anticipating this landmark event for more than a year. Several times it had been put on the calendar and then cancelled due to matters of state. After reading about it in the press, Superintendent Eakin received confirmation from the Washington office that the dedication would take place as announced. When the big day arrived, spectators began gathering at Newfound Gap before dawn and by mid-afternoon the crowd numbered 10,000. Overflow parking extended several miles up Clingmans Dome Road, where several hundred numbered parking stalls were marked out in alphabetical sections, and buses loaned by the Cherokee Indian school shuttled drivers to the ceremony site. To handle the large crowd and provide security, the entire ranger and warden staff were on hand, assisted by 40 highway patrolmen from North Carolina and Tennessee and 180 members of the CCC. Another 300 or so CCC boys were stationed along the road from Sugarlands at intervals of about 270 feet to guard against sabotage. In the preceding days CCC work crew had strung a double strand of wires the whole distance from headquarters to the state line, through trees and across gaps, in order to allow the ceremony to be broadcast by NBC, CBS, and Mutual radio.[1]

The presidential party arrived at about four o'clock in the afternoon. As the motorcade appeared, the Knoxville High School Band and the Kings Mountain High School Band struck up "God Bless America" from the platforms that had been built for this occasion. The dignitaries took their seats on the first terrace of the recently completed Rockefeller Memorial. The podium was placed exactly on the state line so that each speaker stood with one foot planted in each state. Secretary Ickes, presiding, gave a short speech, read a telegram from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., introduced the two state governors, who each gave a speech, and finally presented the president, whose address was the highlight of the ceremony. Roosevelt briefly noted the significance of the occasion, then turned his remarks to the somber international situation and the rising Fascist threat to American liberties.[2] Afterwards the bands played "The Star Spangled Banner."

With this formal dedication, Great Smoky Mountains National Park finally gained recognition as a completed park, fully open for the public's enjoyment and eligible for development on a par with other parks in the national park system. It had been creeping toward that status for many years. Already it was the most visited national park in the country, a position it would never relinquish. But visitor numbers, which had climbed steadily in the 1930s despite the economic depression, were about to plummet as the nation entered World War II. More critical than visitor numbers in the long term, the war years began a period of severe economic retrenchment for the National Park Service and a hiatus in this park's development program that would create mounting problems as peace and prosperity returned and visitor numbers climbed to new heights in the 1950s. World War II not only cast a shadow over the dedication ceremony on that Labor Day in 1940, it created conditions that would profoundly influence park use and development over the next two decades.

The War Years and After

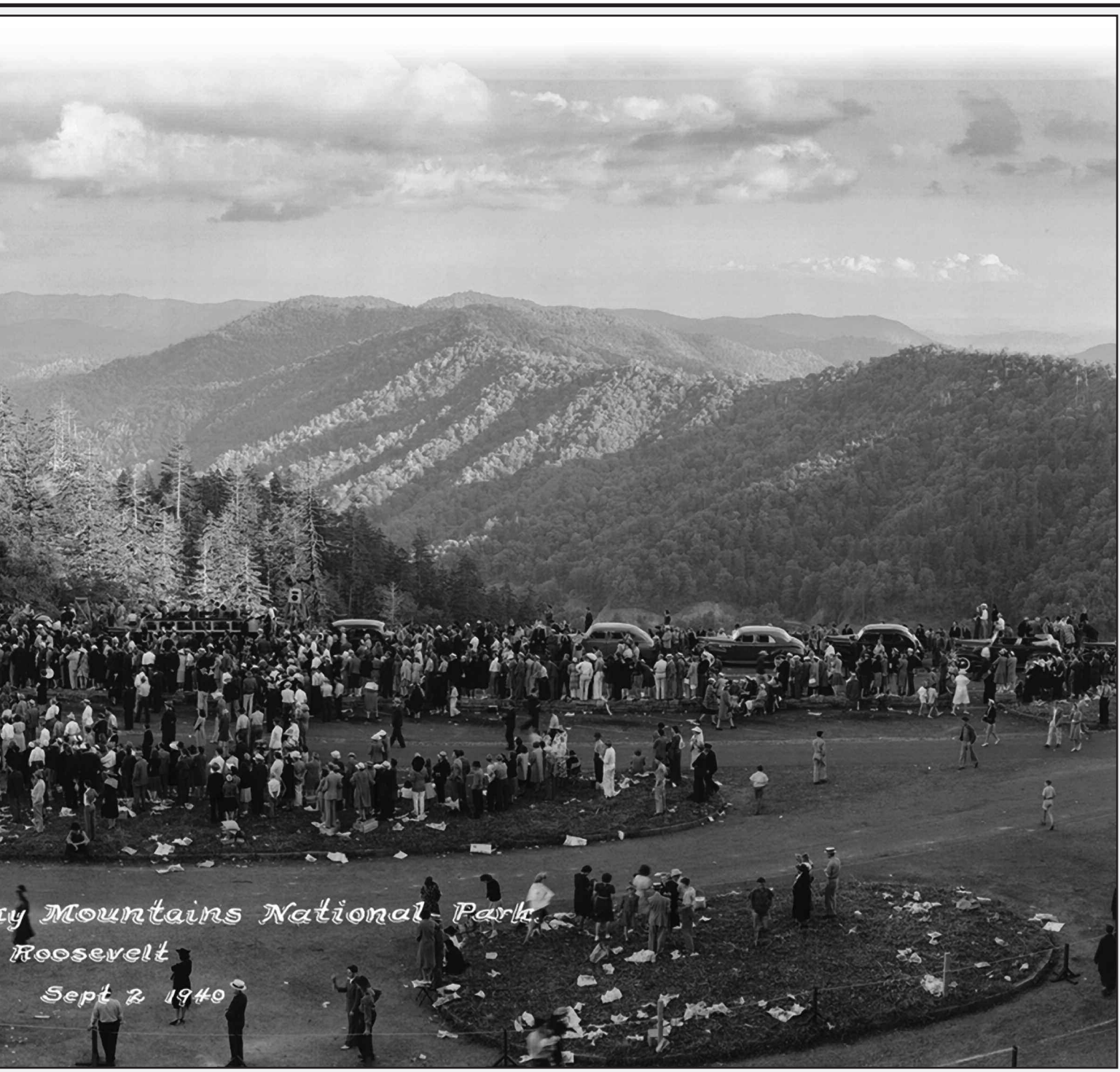
In 1940, visitors to Great Smoky Mountains National Park enjoyed access to 66 miles of high-standard roads, including Newfound Gap Road, Clingmans Dome Road, and Little River Road. Unimproved roads gave access to Cades Cove (via Rich Mountain, as the Laurel Creek road was still impassable), Cherokee Orchard, Greenbrier Cove, and Cosby Creek on the Tennessee side, and Cataloochee, Heintooga Ridge, and Round Bottom on the North Carolina side. The eventual Balsam Mountain Road, which would connect Heintooga Ridge and Round Bottom, did not yet exist, nor did the final section of the Blue Ridge Parkway from Soco Gap to Ravensford. There was a road partway up Deep Creek that barely crossed the park boundary; however, a proposed extension of that road further inside the park had been opposed by wilderness advocates and rejected by Ickes in the mid-1930s.[3]

Visitors who were interested in leaving the road system

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt stood on the North Carolina-Tennessee border at Newfound Gap as he officially dedicated the new park in September, 1940.

could choose from about 500 miles of newly constructed or improved horse and foot trails. Eight overnight shelters were spaced at regular intervals along the 71-mile stretch of the Appalachian Trail through the park. Each shelter consisted of a three-sided structure with wood-frame bunk extending along an interior wall, a fireplace, and a spring located nearby. Each one could accommodate up to six people. Hikers could also find accommodation at the backcountry lodge on top of Mount Le Conte. Motorists wishing to camp in the park had a choice of two free, modern campgrounds at Smokemont and Chimneys, both equipped with running water and toilet facilities.[4]

With the help of check stations at the two campgrounds, the park administration compiled an official tally of 1,310,010 visitors in 1941. As soon as the nation entered World War II, however, visitation fell precipitously, dropping by nearly half



His speech included these words: "In this park we shall conserve the pine, the red bud, the dogwood, the azalea, the rhododendron, the trout and the thrush for the happiness of the American people."

in 1942 and by nearly half again in 1943. This rate of decline was consistent with trends seen throughout the national park system. At least three factors contributed to the decline. People's leisure time decreased, especially among the hundreds of thousands of workers who took jobs in war industries. Promotion of national park vacations, both by the Park Service and state and local chambers of commerce, practically came to a stop. Most importantly, the federal government instituted rationing of gasoline and rubber tires to conserve those strategic resources for the war effort.[5] At the beginning of 1943, Eakin reported that gas rationing had a pronounced effect on tourism in the area. A cartoon in a local newspaper showed a bear slapping a tourist on the back and a ranger explaining, "You're the first tourist he has seen for some time and he's just glad to see you."[6]

For Harvey Broome, the wilderness advocate who had

Knoxville attorney **Harvey Broome** (center), photographer Dutch Roth (left), and a companion sit around the campfire in the Smokies. Broome, along with Ernie Dickerman and others, were some of the first to push back against efforts to build more roads and facilities in the park. Broome teamed up with Robert Marshall, Dickerman, Benton Mac Kaye, Aldo Leopold, Howard Zahniser, and William O. Douglas to push for the Wilderness Act, which was signed into law in 1964.

launched the effort to stop construction of the skyline road from Clingmans Dome to Deals Gap, gas rationing and the war set his mind to thinking heavy thoughts about the spread of car culture and modernity. "Last night I looked out a window of my house," he wrote in his journal on February 26, 1942. "Not a car was in sight, all that I saw was the embracive peace of a snowy landscape. Again I wondered if the machine age had brought any real contribution to human happiness. Without the automobile, the every day world about us would perforce take on some of the peace of the deeper woods, which we drive so far to experience. The prospect is rather bleak. Once the war is over, the world will fairly crawl with the machines which are being denied us today. And overhead where today there is one plane, there will be ten."[7]

If Park Service officials did not necessarily share Broome's sense of foreboding about the postwar era, Park Service forecasts did assume that the annual growth in visitor numbers would resume, or likely even accelerate, as soon as the war ended.[8] Furthermore, Park Service planning for the postwar era tried to anticipate a brave new world of highly mechanized travel. Newton B. Drury, the new director of the National Park Service, noted that the war was giving a tremendous impetus to aviation, and that there would be a new demand for air travel to national parks after the war. Anticipating a period of experimentation by commercial air service and private plane use after the war, and imagining the "noise and confusion" it would bring, Drury maintained that those aviation experiments should be undertaken in areas away from the national parks until the future of this new mode of transportation became clearer, at which time the policy could be reviewed. Drury also observed that the prewar emphasis on the development of overnight lodges in national parks was based on the use of older, slower modes of transportation for getting to national parks. After the war, railroad travel would likely fade in the presence of ever greater numbers of automobiles, rendering these lodging facilities obsolete. Holding up the example of Great Smoky Mountains National Park as a potential model for postwar national park design, he asked: "Should future planning envision only such facilities as are necessary for daytime use, depending upon nearby communities to furnish sleeping accommodations?"[9]

More immediately, the war caused an almost complete cessation of development in the national parks. Congress cut

appropriations for the National Park Service from $33 million in fiscal year 1940 to $5 million in 1943.[10] As Drury explained to the American public in an article published in *American Forests* in August 1943, the war forced his agency to alter its program, curtailing development and minimizing visitor services while placing more emphasis on core functions of protection and maintenance.[11]

Even routine or "preventive" maintenance was deferred in most parks, including Great Smoky Mountains National Park. This was necessitated by deep cuts in park operations budgets, loss of personnel to the Armed Services, and transfer of heavy equipment to other agencies more directly involved in the war effort. When the CCC camps were shut down in Great Smoky Mountains, one of the CCC's last jobs was to round up every available truck tire for use by the army. Deferment of preventive maintenance led to rapid deterioration of buildings and roads. Old residences that were being used for ranger quarters, when not maintained, fell apart under the normal pounding of wind and rain. Asphalt pavement on the major park roads was permitted to dry out and crack and eventually crumble under the wear of traffic.[12]

These problems were only beginning to be felt at the end of World War II. Great Smoky Mountains continued to defer preventive maintenance for two more years as the park remained on what were essentially wartime annual budgets through 1947. Not until 1948 did the park receive a modest allotment with which to begin addressing its maintenance backlog, which, under the circumstances, was termed "rehabilitation."[13] The situation was no different in other national parks. Although the Park Service was able to pick up substantial budget increases toward the end of the decade, the Park Service's budget for 1950 stood at just $30 million, still $3 million short of what it had been ten years earlier.[14]

Given all the work stoppages and maintenance deferrals, the July 1943 agreement between the Park Service, TVA, Swain County, and North Carolina put the Park Service in a curious position. In that agreement, it will be recalled, the Park Service pledged to develop a road around the north shore of Fontana Lake when Congress appropriated money for it. However, the lake did not yet exist, the land was not yet in the park, and there was a war on. Even so, the Park Service made a noteworthy effort in the fall of 1943 to initiate construction of the proposed road around the north shore of Fontana Lake. Superintendent Eakin discussed with TVA officials the possibility of employing one or two regiments of army engineers from Camp Sutton, located in Union County, North Carolina, who might be tasked to build the road as a training exercise. Although the army was not interested, the Public Roads Administration (formerly the Bureau of Public Roads) cooperated to the extent that it flagged the first fifteen miles and made a level survey of the first three miles of the route leading from Bryson City to Deals Gap. One reason that even this small amount of work was accomplished in wartime was that the road provided access to the North Carolina Mining Corporation's copper mine, a strategic mineral deposit. Although neither the road nor the mine saw any further development during the war, the effort showed that the Park Service initially sought a way to get the road built to fulfill its obligation right away under the July 1943 agreement. Since the land was not yet part of the park, the Park Service contended that the road did not need to meet national park standards and could be a "pioneer" road. By September 1944, the Park Service changed its position on when the road would be built. Deciding that it was not feasible in the context of the war effort to seek a special appropriation for developing this road, it held that the 1943 agreement referred to future construction and did not specify when the construction would be undertaken.[15]

Parkways and Regional Recreation Planning

Great Smoky Mountains National Park, much more than most national parks, was tied into regional recreation planning and the development of nearby parkways. On the North Carolina side, it connected to the Blue Ridge Parkway and adjoined the TVA's Fontana Dam project. On the Tennessee side, the park acquired two appendages: the Foothills Parkway and the Gatlinburg Spur and Bypass. Most of these external developments did not yet exist, even on the drawing board, when Great Smoky Mountain's first master plan was approved in 1935. During the war, it became clear that the park required a new master plan that would take into account all these developments in the surrounding region.

The Blue Ridge Parkway was conceived by President Hoover during a visit to Shenandoah National Park in 1932. He proposed a skyline drive down the length of the Blue Ridge from Shenandoah to Great Smoky Mountains and asked the Park Service to prepare estimates.[16] Booster organizations in Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee went into action to influence its route, sensing its importance for tourism. The Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association tried to have the parkway routed into Tennessee to end at Gatlinburg. Four years after the project was initiated, Congress authorized the Blue Ridge Parkway by act of June 30, 1936. Ickes settled on the route three months later, determining that it would stay on the North Carolina side of the southern Appalachians. It took another four years of negotiations with the Eastern Band of Cherokee to finalize the route through the Cherokee Indian Reservation from Soco

Gap to Ravensford.[17]

The Park Service, with its early orientation to landscape design, readily adopted the parkway idea. Drawing on the tradition of English landscape gardens, the parkway concept had germinated in the Northeast during the preceding two decades. Historical antecedents of the Blue Ridge Parkway were found in Boston, New York, Cleveland, Chicago, and Milwaukee. An important component of parkway development was the increasing power of eminent domain given to municipal, county, and state park commissions to acquire and manage larger and larger areas of park lands.[18] Another important component of parkway development was its recognition of the car as the dominant mode of transportation, and indeed, its appreciation of the car as an extension of the individual. Parkways elevated the interests of the motorist over the pedestrian in this unique type of public garden at the same time that they privileged the private automobile over alternative forms of public transportation such as the street car or the railroad. Conceived as limited-access highways that relieved traffic congestion while giving the motorist a pleasurable driving experience, the parkway idea anticipated the development of expressways and interstate freeways after World War II.

The making of the Blue Ridge Parkway clinched the Park Service's growing interest in regional highway systems. The Park Service had long shown interest in promoting highway development that would effectively link national parks and urban centers. It also supported measures aimed at preventing traffic congestion and protecting scenery along approach roads to national parks. As early as 1931, the Park Service approved an eastern national park-to-park highway designation that would more or less triangulate Shenandoah, Great Smoky Mountains, and Mammoth Cave while linking the whole complex to Washington. That same year, Albright dispatched two NPS landscape architects to Knoxville to consult with Tennessee officials on a proposed "Tennessee parkway" between Knoxville and Gatlinburg.[19] These actions were emblematic of the Park Service's growing commitment to regional recreation planning, particularly in the East.

The movement to establish a parkway between Knoxville and Gatlinburg faltered for lack of money in the early 1930s, but it gained strength toward the end of the decade when the possibility arose of developing the parkway with federal money under the Park, Parkway, and Recreation Area Study Act of 1936. This law gave the Park Service wider authority to assist state and local governments in developing park approach roads, and it made the Park Service the recognized leader in recreation planning. At the same time that park boosters revived the Knoxville-to-Gatlinburg parkway idea, they proposed another parkway project in East Tennessee: a "foothills parkway" that would run along ridge tops roughly paralleling the park boundary, affording panoramic views of the Smokies and forming a large segment of an eventual around-the-park road. The idea for the foothills parkway originated in part because park boosters were disappointed that the Blue Ridge Parkway was not to end in East Tennessee.

The Park Service renewed discussion with Tennessee officials in 1937 when these plans were still undeveloped. Frank Mattson, the park's resident landscape architect, was directed to make a survey of the county road between Cosby and Gatlinburg, which ran along the north park boundary, with a view to improving this road and folding it into the park through a modest boundary extension. David Chapman, a park booster, argued that the road was treacherous with its many sharp bends and one-lane bridges, and he proposed to get Federal Highway Aid money by designating this road as an approach road.[20]

Over the next two years, discussion between Park Service and Tennessee planners turned to the foothills parkway project. Eakin and Mattson represented the Park Service at a Tennessee State Planning Commission meeting in Knoxville in 1938. Frank Maloney, an associate of Chapman, retired highway engineer, and now the newly appointed chairman of the Great Smoky Mountains Regional Planning Commission, developed the foothills parkway proposal in more detail in the following year. Senior NPS officials supported the idea on its merits — it would head off an anticipated traffic glut on the present, inadequate approach roads, and it would provide a beautiful drive for viewing the Tennessee side of the park — but they were dubious about the Park Service's legislative authority to push the project. They advised Tennessee officials that if the state were to acquire additional lands for the park, including the right-of-way for this road, then the road could be built under the park's existing Road and Trail program.[21]

Maloney responded that it was not possible to acquire all the land lying between the proposed road and the existing park boundary, as this area was too populated and contained too many improvements. He did see the possibility, however, of securing a physical connection between the proposed road right-of-way and the park at its western end on Chilhowee Mountain, which "would allow this right-of-way to be considered as part of the National Park."[22]

After due consideration, the Park Service agreed to support this proposal. But as the proposed route of the foothills parkway extended slightly beyond the authorized area of the park (the area described by the Act of May 22, 1926) it would be necessary for Congress to approve the park addition. The

necessary legislation was prepared and introduced in Congress in 1940.[23] It was finally passed and signed into law on February 22, 1944. It authorized the Secretary of the Interior to accept donations of land from the state of Tennessee as an addition to the park for the construction of a scenic parkway generally paralleling the park and connecting with the park. It stipulated that the right-of-way acquired for the parkway was to comprise an average of 125 acres per mile for its whole length.[24]

In 1945, the Tennessee legislature authorized the Tennessee Department of Highways and Public Works to acquire the necessary right-of-way by donation, purchase, or condemnation. Two years later, the state legislature passed another bill that authorized the state to transfer the property to the United States prior to any construction of the parkway by the federal government. The laws also provided for the reconstruction of a section of U.S. 441 between Pigeon Forge and Gatlinburg and the construction of a limited-access bypass around Gatlinburg into the park. Known respectively as the Gatlinburg Spur and the Gatlinburg Bypass, these additions amounted to approach roads although they were treated administratively as part of the Foothills Parkway.[25]

As World War II drew to a close, Congress began passing measures looking to the nation's return to a peacetime economy. In the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944, Congress approved a three-year program for development of parkways, to commence after the war and to be funded by as much as $10 million per year. With the promise of these significant funds for parkway development in the offing, the Park Service held a joint planning conference for Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the Blue Ridge Parkway at Gatlinburg on July 16, 1945. Attending the conference were Newton B. Drury, Associate Director Arthur E. Demaray, Assistant Director Hillory A. Tolson, Regional Director Thomas J. Allen, Chief Landscape Architect Tom Vint, other landscape architects from the Washington and regional offices, and the superintendents and key staff of both parks.[26]

The conference focused on the Foothills Parkway. It was understood that the parkway would be eligible for moneys appropriated under the Federal-Aid Highway Act, alongside the Blue Ridge, Natchez Trace, and George Washington Memorial Parkways. Furthermore, it was agreed that the Park Service would give priority to development of the Gatlinburg Spur, in keeping with Tennessee's desire that that section should be completed first. The conference then considered how the Foothills Parkway would affect other elements in the road program, namely by taking pressure off other roads. It was agreed that the Little River Road would not be rebuilt to a higher standard, and that there would be no road built from Maryville to Cades Cove through Emerine Gap, as the Foothills Parkway obviated the need for these two developments. Park boosters in Tennessee had been pushing for both projects. On the North Carolina side, meanwhile, it was agreed that while the road between Newfound Gap and Cherokee needed improvement, the Park Service was obligated to give another road priority. Under the agreement made in 1938 concerning the final section of Blue Ridge Parkway from Soco Gap to Ravensford, the Park Service was to build a connection between the Blue Ridge Parkway and the park boundary at Black Camp Gap, and to improve the road from there into the park as far as Heintooga Ridge. This road already existed as a truck trail, but it was agreed to include it in the minor roads program and make it a priority. Finally, there was some discussion of the proposed road around the north shore of Fontana Lake. Preliminary estimates by the Public Roads Administration suggested that this road would cost from $6 to $9 million. The group decided that the road would be developed for recreational access to hiking trails and a boat marina, but that there would be no overnight facilities in that section of the park.[27]

Park Service plans for recreational development of lake access or a marina on the north shore of Fontana Lake remained sketchy at this time. Park Service officials were dubious about whether the future lakeshore would be attractive, given TVA's projection of how much the reservoir level would fluctuate. More significantly, perhaps, the fact that the lake itself would remain outside the Park Service's jurisdiction made them indifferent. That the lake would remain outside the park was rather a peculiar circumstance, unlike the pattern in the West. Concurrent with the development of the Fontana project, the Park Service was forging a close relationship with the Bureau of Reclamation around such large-scale hydroelectric projects as Hoover Dam on the Colorado River and Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River. In these settings an interagency partnership was forming in which the Bureau of Reclamation built and operated the dams while the Park Service administered recreational use of the reservoirs.[28]

The different arrangement developing on the Little Tennessee River owed to the character and youth of TVA. Established in May 1933 at the outset of the New Deal, TVA was an experimental agency dedicated to a comprehensive, government-directed approach to regional planning. While hydroelectric development was at the core of its mission, its larger purpose was to improve the lives of people in the entire Tennessee River watershed. TVA saw recreational planning and development as part of its own comprehensive approach to regional planning. When it built dams, TVA saw a responsibility to develop the reservoirs into recreational,

industrial, and transportation resources for the economic and social benefit of valley residents. Its regional planning staff worked with state and local parks, wildlife refuges, industry, and residential land developers to optimize use of new lakeshores.[29]

In 1938, TVA produced a study, "Recreational Development of the Southern Highlands Region," despite the Park Service's mandate under the Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Study Act of 1936 to accomplish the same. TVA's study emphasized water-oriented recreation and promoted TVA's role in its development. After much internal debate, TVA chose not to publish the study out of concern that it could make TVA appear self-aggrandizing.[30] Nevertheless, when NPS planners approached TVA in 1940 in connection with their own recreational resource study for the region, TVA was uncooperative. TVA favored its own integrative approach and did not want to cede leadership in that area to the Park Service.[31] Not surprisingly, when TVA developed the Fontana Dam project along the south edge of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, it transferred only the land area north of the lake to the Park Service while maintaining control of the lake itself. Later TVA would develop Fontana Village and Fontana Marina for tourists, both of which were located on the south shore of the lake near Fontana Dam.

Funding Delays and Modest Gains

Drury disliked going to the Hill to testify on the Park Service's need for larger appropriations. Yet no Park Service director experienced more anguish over budget matters than he did. Drury described his wartime policy as "holding the line" — accepting sacrifices to meet the exigencies of national defense but only to a certain point, beyond which those sacrifices might cause lasting harm to the national parks. Drury considered it his duty to call Congress's attention to the national park system's funding deficiencies when they impacted administration, protection, and maintenance, but he did not feel so compelled when it came to delays in the development program. With regard to development, he would recommend a program and leave it to Congress and the President to decide how quickly it should be implemented. The pace of development, he said, was a matter of governmental policy. "We can't very well say to Congress that their policy should be to appropriate," he once told a gathering of the Tennessee and North Carolina park commissioners.[32]

Drury's problem was that after four years of making sacrifices, the Park Service was being asked to keep sacrificing while the nation paid down the enormous debt wrought by World War II. This put the national park system further in the hole. In his annual report to the Secretary of the Interior for 1947, Drury stated the overall development program funding needs of the system as follows. For physical improvements, including modernization of concession facilities: $98 million; for the extension and rehabilitation of roads and trails: $110 million; for the completion of parkways already authorized: $120 million. The Park Service, he wrote, could effectively use as much as $15 million annually in each of these three categories for at least seven years. Visitor numbers were back up to pre-war levels and rising, and yet there had been "almost no major developments in any of the parks for the past 15 years."[33] In his annual report the next year, Drury gave the cost for completing all the major roads in Great Smoky Mountains National Park, including rehabilitation of the Newfound Gap Road, as $14.5 million.[34]

In its partially developed state, Great Smoky Mountains National Park was being overrun by visitors. More than a million people entered the park in 1946, about 1.2 million in 1947, and nearly 1.5 million in 1948. Crowding the two campgrounds beyond capacity, throngs of overnight campers spilled into 17 temporary camping areas that provided open space but no running water or flush toilets.[35] They drove over roads that were becoming unsafe due to traffic congestion and deterioration of road surfaces. A number of fatal accidents occurred on the steep and winding road over Fighting Creek Gap, prompting Carlos C. Campbell of the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association, normally a great friend of the Park Service, to complain bitterly that this road had become a "death trap."[36]

F. W. Cron, a federal highway engineer, urged Superintendent Blair Ross to open the Laurel Creek Road into Cades Cove. This road, mothballed when the war began, was complete except for five bridges and paving. Cron thought the park administration ought to build some temporary bridges and make the road available for public use. It would allow more people to see Cades Cove and it would take pressure off the Newfound Gap Road, which was receiving heavy use — sometimes on the order of 500 vehicles per hour for several hours on end.[37]

Growing impatient with the lack of park development, citizens in North Carolina and Tennessee took matters into their own hands. A booster organization known as the Western North Carolina Associated Communities approached park boosters in Tennessee and proposed to make a coordinated effort in demanding action by the federal government. Spearheading this initiative was Charles E. Ray, a businessman of Waynesville, North Carolina. In the spring of 1947, the North Carolina General Assembly gave encouragement by re-establishing the former park commission, which it now charged with promoting Great Smoky Mountains National

Park, the Blue Ridge Parkway, and also national forests in North Carolina. That summer, Tennessee's Governor Jim McCord appointed a Tennessee Conservation Commission to work with the North Carolina group. During the summer and fall of 1947 the two organizations held a number of conferences with park officials, and corresponded with Drury in Washington, gathering information from which they prepared their own plan and cost estimates for completing the park's development. In a final show of solidarity and commitment, the two groups co-sponsored a grand dinner at the posh Mayflower Hotel in Washington, inviting numerous members of Congress and senior officials in the Park Service to attend.[38] Each dinner guest received his own copy of a handsomely printed booklet that laid out the states' recommended program of development.[39]

In the following months the North Carolina and Tennessee groups entered the next phase of their work, lobbying members of Congress to increase appropriations for Great Smoky Mountains in the Interior appropriations bill. Over the past few years, Congress had taken the Truman Administration's annual estimates and reduced them substantially. These lobbyists did just the reverse: they took the administration's estimates and requested line-item increases for administration, protection, and maintenance, as well as major increases for development. Under the "Roads and Trails" budget item, they added two specific projects: the Cades Cove Road (formerly known as the Laurel Creek Road) and the Bryson City-Fontana Road. The net result was to add nearly $1 million to the administration's budget estimate, a near tripling of it.[40]

The solidarity shown by the North Carolina and Tennessee groups did not last. The Tennesseans began to lobby their representatives to secure the Cades Cove Road budget item, ditching the request for a start on the Bryson City-Fontana Road. As soon as the North Carolinians learned of this, they responded in kind. Scrambling to get something certain out of the bill, if not the desired slug of money for the Bryson City-Fontana Road, Representative Monroe M. Redden (D-NC) attached an "earmark" to the bill stipulating that $150,000 of the Park Service's total allotment for road development would be used on developing the Heintooga Road. The bill also contained an estimate of $110,000 for completing the road to Cades Cove, but this item was not earmarked.[41] When the bill moved to the Senate, Redden's earmark was allowed to stand despite an objection by Secretary of the Interior Julius Krug that it infringed on the prerogatives of the executive branch.[42] Although the lobbying effort by North Carolina and Tennessee ended in renewed suspicion and bickering between the two park commissions, it definitely succeeded in bringing attention to Great Smoky Mountains and probably translated into larger appropriations beyond the $150,000 earmark for Heintooga Road. These larger appropriations worked into the Interior Appropriations Act for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1949 and began to affect the construction program in the park beginning in 1950.[43]

In the meantime, the park saw a renewal of construction activities under the administration's own modest initiative beginning in the summer of 1948. The first item was the relocation and construction of the road between headquarters and Fighting Creek Gap, where a number of fatal car accidents had occurred. This section of road was widened, the maximum grade was reduced from 18 percent to 7 percent, and two hairpin curves were replaced by a new alignment with 200-foot minimum radius curves. A second project in that year was the construction of the Twentymile Ranger Station. Replacing a warden station that had burned in 1946, the two-story frame building was the first modern quarters built in the park. A third item was the construction of a short section of the Bryson City-Fontana Road. The road ran a distance of 0.93 mile from the dam northward through rugged terrain, which necessitated much blasting of rock and making of fills.[44]

The next year's construction activities featured the completion of the Cades Cove Road. Approximately eight miles in length, it had been built to a high standard with an 18-foot width, graded, and surfaced with crushed rock before the war, but with five bridges still to be built the road was never opened to traffic. Bids for the construction of the missing bridges were opened on April 19, 1949, and construction was completed in 1951.[45]

By 1951, the construction program was broadening into several projects at once. The Fighting Creek Gap and Cades Cove roads were paved. Resurfacing of the Newfound Gap and Clingmans Dome roads was at last begun. New bridges were built at three locations. Employee residences were built in the Headquarters Residential Area. Finally, work was initiated on the Black Camp Gap to Heintooga Road.[46]

The 12-mile-long Heintooga Road, together with the Balsam Mountain Campground and a picnic area, were completed two years later and dedicated in a ceremony held at Heintooga Overlook. More than 100 people gathered in the bright sun on June 22, 1953, to celebrate the completion of the "first major project on the North Carolina side since the dedication of the national park in September 1940," noted a reporter for the *Asheville Citizen Times*. Director Conrad L. Wirth gave the main address, praising the park commission for its help in obtaining the necessary appropriations and reminding his listeners that the process of developing parks was a slow one, especially at a time when so much of the fed-

eral budget was going to national defense spending. Furthermore, Wirth contended, the Heintooga Road had been completed without impairing the Smokies' "wilderness quality," which, situated as it was in the populous and long-settled eastern United States, made the park "so rare and valuable a possession of the American people."[47]

The celebration at Heintooga Overlook cheered park boosters who had grown weary of delays in the park development program. But frustration still ran high, especially in Swain County, which appeared to be increasingly marginalized in western North Carolina's growing tourism economy. T. D. Bryson, an attorney from Bryson City, led other county residents in protesting the Park Service's dilatory progress on the Bryson City-Fontana Road. In 1952, he got Representative Monroe Redden to introduce a bill in Congress that would take the 44,400-acre addition to the park and return it to Swain County.[48] Although this measure was endorsed by the Merchants Association of Bryson City and the Swain County Wildlife Association, it was opposed by the North Carolina Park Commission. The park commission's opposition to the bill killed any chance it had in Congress.[49]

Before passing a resolution against the bill, the park commission extracted a statement from Director Wirth on the policy of the Park Service in fulfilling its obligation under the 1943 agreement. Wirth averred that the present budget estimate contained an item for starting the road from Bryson City and that the Park Service would move ahead when Congress appropriated the money. "The true situation is that the National Park Service does desire to build the road in question," Wirth wrote.[50]

In 1953, North Carolina began construction of State Highway 28, which would provide a direct route between Bryson City and Fontana Village around the south side of Fontana Lake. Since the basis for the 1943 agreement was to compensate Swain County for the loss of the road on the north side, some people began to argue that the new road made the 1943 agreement obsolete. Neither the head of the North Carolina Highway Commission, R. Getty Browning, nor the head of the park commission, Kelly Bennett, were interested in relieving the Park Service of its commitment, however. Pressed again on the issue, Wirth reaffirmed the Park Service's position that it wanted to build the road. In a letter to Senator Richard B. Russell (D-GA), responding to a constituent's suggestion that the road ought to be dropped from the Park Service's development program, Wirth wrote: "Being bound by the terms of the [1943] agreement, this Service could not recommend Departmental action to abandon the road construction without full agreement by the other three parties." In any case, he added, the NPS wanted to provide visitor access to the Hazel Creek area and the Deep Creek area. Wirth acknowledged, however, that conditions had "changed considerably" since 1943. Not only was the state now building a road around the south side of Fontana Lake, the Park Service had to revise its estimates based on rising construction costs, which meant that the federal government was "committed to a much higher construction cost than was originally contemplated." Wirth sent copies of this letter to three other members of Congress who had also received the constituent's letter.[51]

In 1954, with the development program still in dire need of better funding, the Park Service proposed to charge entrance fees. This proposal was angrily rejected by Kelly Bennett, the chairman of the North Carolina park commission. Although he had stood by the Park Service two years earlier, Bennett now turned against the agency. Speaking to a public gathering in Bryson City on May 2, 1954, he recommended that the federal government return Great Smoky Mountains National Park to the states of North Carolina and Tennessee. "The time has come," he said, "for the people of North Carolina and Tennessee to have a showdown with the federal government on the operation of the park." Since its dedication in 1940, he charged, Congress had "shamelessly neglected this park" and as a result it was "in a state of shocking deterioration." He contended that the two states could jointly administer the park with only minor additions of personnel to their existing park and highway departments if the federal government gave it back to them.[52]

North Carolinians were not alone in their frustration over national park management. Radical suggestions were being heard on other fronts as well. Wyoming's Governor Milward Simpson proposed that his state take over operation of the dilapidated concessions in Yellowstone National Park. John N. Popham, southern correspondent for the *New York Times*, spotlighted the degraded condition of roads, trails, and bridges in Great Smoky Mountains, informing readers that it would take $3 million in construction funds just to get the park back to its starting point in 1940.[53] The prominent writer and conservationist, Bernard DeVoto, suggested in a widely circulated article in *Harper's* that if Congress was unwilling to fund the national park system at the necessary level, it ought to close some of the national parks until the money was available. DeVoto, perhaps like Bennett, was making a rhetorical argument. But it fed on the public's genuine concern that national parks were becoming overcrowded, run down, and even unsanitary.[54]

Mission 66

In 1955, Director Wirth conceived of an ambitious, well-publicized program to rehabilitate and develop the national

parks. Wirth's idea was to submit a comprehensive ten-year plan for the renovation of the national park system, thereby obviating the need to go to Congress and the Bureau of the Budget for development funds in two- and three-year driblets. The program would begin in 1956 and end in 1966, coinciding with the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the National Park Service. He called it "Mission 66." Arguing that the program was needed to rectify nearly 15 years of neglect resulting from budget cutbacks made during World War II and the Korean War, and that it would restore the parks to a condition capable of satisfying the growing millions of Americans who used them each year, Wirth aimed to secure political support for Mission 66 from both President Dwight Eisenhower and Congress.[55]

Great Smoky Mountains National Park featured prominently in Wirth's campaign to build political support for Mission 66. A film crew arrived in the park on a crowded Sunday in June 1955 to shoot movie footage of traffic backups at the Gatlinburg entrance, a "bear jam" on the Newfound Gap Road, overcrowding at Smokemont Campground, and other telling scenes for a film aimed at delivering Wirth's message that the parks were being "loved to death."[56] Wirth also selected the occasion of the superintendents' annual meeting, held that year in Gatlinburg, to unveil his plans for the program. Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay came to the September conference to offer his support before an audience of more than 200 superintendents and area managers.[57]

Wirth also informed key partners, such as the North Carolina and Tennessee park commissions, of his need for their support. Just days after the superintendents' conference, representatives of the North Carolina and Tennessee park commissions traveled to Washington to discuss park needs with Assistant Secretary of the Interior Harry J. Donohue. The park commissions, under new leadership by William Medford and Paul S. Mathes respectively, had once again formed a joint committee for pressing their demands for improving Great Smoky Mountains National Park. On October 10, at the assistant secretary's request, they submitted their demands in a written brief. The five-page brief began with a recitation of the states' contribution in acquiring a large area of land, which had been conveyed to the federal government "for the sole purpose of creating a national park in eastern America within easy reach of most of the population east of the Mississippi," and which now received 2.5 million visitors annually. It then listed the most urgent needs of the park as follows: first, more campgrounds; second, increases in personnel, including more rangers, a second naturalist (to serve the North Carolina side of the park), and a historian; third, improvement of the last four miles of the Cherokee to Newfound Gap Road and improvement of the Little River Road; fourth, an adequate museum at Oconaluftee; and fifth, a stone observation tower on Clingmans Dome.[58] In January 1956, the North Carolina park commission passed a resolution praising Park Service leadership for developing Mission 66. In view of Great Smoky Mountain's high profile, this was an important endorsement.[59]

In the meantime, the Park Service was developing its own agenda for Mission 66 in Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Superintendent Don Hummel and staff prepared a prospectus in the early summer of 1955, and a Mission 66 planning team from the Region One office in Richmond, Virginia reviewed the prospectus in August. On most points, the two planning teams were in agreement. The need for employee housing was a high priority. The longstanding policy to forego development of overnight lodging in the park was reaffirmed. Hummel wanted to discontinue the Mount LeConte Lodge, but Regional Director Elbert Cox thought it was a "reasonable exception to the general policy." The regional team unanimously agreed with Hummel's recommendation that the Bryson City-Fontana Road project should be abandoned because its ultimate use and value did not justify its excessive cost — the first time that that recommendation was made by Park Service officials. (Cox acknowledged that the recommendation ran counter to the 1943 agreement and prior statements by the Park Service, but he thought that North Carolina state officials could be persuaded to drop it.) On one significant point, the regional team disagreed with Hummel and his staff. The prospectus contained two new road proposals: the first, a road from Cades Cove to Fontana Village, the second, a road from Pigeon River to Cataloochee and on to Balsam Mountain. Cox acknowledged the purpose of the road proposals was to relieve congestion on existing roads, but he argued that it would be wise to wait until the Foothills Parkway was completed and then determine if more roads were needed.[60]

The Mission 66 program for Great Smoky Mountains emphasized the wilderness values of this eastern park. The basic problem it posed was how to protect the outstanding wilderness qualities of Great Smoky Mountains while accommodating heavy use. The development plan treated the park area as core and periphery, and it aimed to locate new development around the periphery in order to concentrate visitor use away from the wilderness core. The plan boldly stated, "no major changes are proposed for the road system — any mention of the Bryson City-Fontana Road was omitted. Road construction was to focus on establishing new alignments to improve traffic flow and safety, and short access roads into new developed areas such as campgrounds, picnic areas, and administrative areas. New campgrounds and picnic areas were to be located "along the fringes of the

park" at Smokemont, Deep Creek, Balsam Mountain, Big Creek, Cataloochee, and Proctor in North Carolina; and Chimneys, Cades Cove, Cosby, and Elkmont in Tennessee. Picnic areas were to be located at Big Creek, Deep Creek, Proctor, Collins Creek, and Heintooga in North Carolina; and Cosby, Tremont, Metcalf Bottoms, Millsaps Branch, Elkmont, and Mount Le Conte in Tennessee. Two main visitor centers were to be built at Sugarlands and Oconaluftee. The plan also called for an extensive system of wayside exhibits and self-guiding nature trails.[61]

The Mission 66 plan for Great Smoky Mountains followed a typical pattern of Mission 66 plans for other units in the national park system. It imagined the park infrastructure of roads, campgrounds, picnic areas, museums, and waysides as a circulatory system, and visitors in cars as the blood cells coursing through the system. The essential idea of Mission 66 was to improve visitor circulation so that the park could actually accommodate more people with less congestion. Developments were planned for the purpose of spreading use and encouraging an even flow of movement throughout the park. The interpretive program would play a key part in this effort as it would hold people longer at some points of interest while expediting their passage past others. In a signature Mission 66 statement, the plan predicted: "The entire journey through the park should thus become a continuous series of new pleasures. Most people will linger longer, and rather than concentrate in a few areas, as they do today, much more of the rest of the park along the routes of travel will have interest and appeal."[62] Mission 66 planning reinforced the Park Service's longstanding emphasis on driving to view scenery as the quintessential park experience, even as it claimed to uphold wilderness as the park's most important resource.

Even before Mission 66 projects in Great Smoky Mountains could get underway, however, Representative George A. Shuford (D-NC) requested the Park Service to reappraise its commitment under the 1943 agreement and proceed with survey and construction of the Bryson City-Fontana Road.[63] This led to a meeting between Wirth, state officials, and representatives of Swain County on December 18, 1957, in which Wirth pointed out that neither the state nor the county had built an approach road from Bryson City to the park boundary; therefore, he had assumed that the issue was settled and had not included the road in the Mission 66 program. But in a compromise gesture, Wirth proposed that the state and the Park Service cooperate in building a road from Bryson City as far as Noland Creek. According to this proposal, the state would build a three-mile approach road from Bryson City to the park boundary, and the Park Service would build a five-mile extension ending at the lakeshore, where a "tourist center" would be developed for camping and boating.[64]

Wilderness advocates reinforced the Park Service in its new position. Harvey Broome of Knoxville, now president of The Wilderness Society, asked for confirmation of this new "understanding" with the state and county. C. H. Wharton, a professor of biology in Atlanta, Georgia, claimed to speak for many wilderness users in Georgia when he wrote to Senator Herman E. Talmadge (D-GA) urging him to oppose even this much road development. "Fisherman of the southeast have long prided themselves on having a few streams in this area which cannot be reached by automobile," the Georgian wrote.[65] Wharton charged that Mission 66 was misguidedly trying to serve as many people as possible. "We cannot have a barbecue pit for each family in our National parks in America."[66] Secretary of the Interior McKay and Park Service officials answered these queries in carefully measured words. The Park Service claimed to have the support of state and county officials only insofar as the approach road was concerned, while it unilaterally asserted that the Noland Creek access (or more precisely, a proposed marina at the outlet of Goldmine Branch) would "make unnecessary" a further extension of the road "into the very fine wilderness area at Hazel Creek."[67]

The observation tower on Clingmans Dome, completed in 1959, also created a stir. An editorial in *National Parks Magazine* lambasted the Park Service for selecting a modern design that seemed ill-fitting in the wilderness setting and for proceeding without public input. The Park Service was deluged with letters. Although the Park Service had not violated any procedural rules in its planning, design, or contracting process, the flap over the tower was a strong indication of changing public opinion. Park Service officials smarted from the criticism, believing the modern design was sound both aesthetically and practically; nevertheless, they saw that a spirited defense of the tower would only make matters worse for them.[68] The controversy pointed to the need for more public involvement in decision making, a lesson the Park Service would take to heart as it engaged the wilderness advocacy community more fully in the following decade.

By 1960, Mission 66 was running into a stiff headwind from conservation groups concerned about too much development. Still, the program succeeded to the extent that it provided funds for many development projects that were incontrovertible and long overdue. Great Smoky Mountains saw much rapid development of campgrounds, picnic areas, employee residential housing, and physical plants. Notable improvements included a new residential area for employees at Oconaluftee and several state-of-the-art campgrounds

laid out with individual camping sites, amphitheaters for campfire talks, and extensive water and sewer systems. The crowning achievement of this building program was the Sugarlands Visitor Center. Mission 66 planners virtually invented the visitor center, a multipurpose facility that normally brought together a visitor orientation desk, public restrooms, small museum, and staff offices. The large, modern building at Sugarlands contained a reception lobby, natural history museum, small auditorium, public restrooms, and offices, storage, and laboratory space for the naturalist staff. Park naturalist Arthur Stupka cut the ribbon in front of the new Sugarlands Visitor Center at a dedication ceremony held on October 24, 1960. Wirth attended this dedication, just as he had attended the Heintooga Overlook dedication seven years earlier. In his speech, the director highlighted the park's unique origins and the Mission 66 program that had brought the park to this moment in its history. A large crowd had assembled on that beautiful autumn day, and as soon as the ribbon was cut it surged toward the doors of the new building.[69]

[1] J. R. Eakin to The Director, October 10, 1940, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM.

[2] Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diaries of Harold L. Ickes, Vol. 3: The Lowering Clouds, 1939-1941* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), 310-11; "The Great Smoky Mountains National Park," *Science* 92, no. 2384 (September 6, 1940): 212-13.

[3] District Engineer to Hillory A. Tolson, August 1, 1935, File 631-2 Part 2, Box 489, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[4] National Park Service, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947).

[5] Newton B. Drury, "National Park Service," in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1942* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942), 163.

[6] J. R. Eakin to The Director, January 10, 1943, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM.

[7] Harvey Broome, *Out Under the Sky of the Great Smokies: A Personal Journal* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), 26.

[8] Newton B. Drury, "National Park Service," in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1944* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944), 217.

[9] *Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1944*, 218-19.

[10] Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 227; Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, 454. Wirth states that the NPS budget, including the cost of CCC camps in national parks, amounted to $33,577,000 in 1940 and reached a low of $4,740,000 in 1945. Ise reports that appropriations declined from $21 million in 1940 to $5 million in 1943 and remained near that level until 1947.

[11] Newton B. Drury, "The National Parks in Wartime," *American Forests* 49, no. 8 (August 1943): 375.

[12] Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, 234.

[13] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1948, RG 79, NASER.

[14] Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, 227.

[15] Gordon R. Clapp to Newton B. Drury, December 2, 1943, File 046.2-7, Box 314, Office of the General Manager Administrative Files, Record Group 142 – Records of the Tennessee Valley Authority (hereafter RG 142), NASER; J. R. Eakin to Regional Director, September 7, 1943, Hillory A. Tolson to Howard K. Menhinick, June 30, 1944, and Tolson to Regional Director, September 30, 1944, File 630 Part 6, Box 1134, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Regional Director to Superintendent, February 14, 1945, File 4, Box VII, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[16] Shankland, *Steve Mather of the National Parks*, 298.

[17] Anne V. Mitchell, "Culture, History, and Development in the Qualla Boundary: The Eastern Cherokees and the Blue Ridge Parkway, 1935-40," *Appalachian Journal* 1996, no. 24 (Winter 1997): 144-191.

[18] Phoebe Cutler, *The Public Landscape of the New Deal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 51; Anne Mitchell Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Motorway: A Blue Ridge Parkway History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 15.

[19] Horace M. Albright to Arno B. Cammerer, November 25, 1931, File 632 Part 1, Box 311, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[20] Arno B. Cammerer to David Chapman, January 8, 1937, File 632 Part 2, Box 489, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[21] A. E. Demaray to Frank Maloney, October 23, 1939, and Arno B. Cammerer to J. W. Cooper, October 30, 1939, File 18, Box XVII, Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association Collection, GRSM.

[22] Frank Maloney to A. E. Demaray, October 24, 1939, File 18, Box XVII, Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association Collection, GRSM.

[23] A. E. Demaray to Newton B. Drury, October 19, 1940, File 630 Part 6, Box 1134, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II, Drury to Frank Maloney, October 30, 1941, File 20, Box XVII, Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association Collection, GRSM.

[24] Act of February 22, 1944.

[25] National Park Service, *Foothills Parkway Master Plan* (Denver: Denver Service Center, 1969), 4.

[26] "Great Smoky Mountains – Blue Ridge Road Conference," no date, File 630 Part 6, Box 1134, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[27] "Great Smoky Mountains – Blue Ridge Road Conference," no date, File 630 Part 6, Box 1134, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[28] Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, 369; Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, 55-56.

[29] Aelred J. Gray and David A. Johnson, *The TVA Regional Planning and Development Program: The Transformation of an Institution and its Mission* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 34.

[30] Tennessee Valley Authority, "Recreational Development of the Southern Highlands Region: A Study of the Use and Control of Scenic and Recreational Resources;" February 1938, mimeographed report in Box 261, and James Lawrence Fly to Earle S. Draper, October 31, 1938, File 913.4-2, Box 199, Records of the Chairman and the Members of the Board of Directors, 1933-57, RG 142, NASER.

[31] Conrad L. Wirth to Howard K. Menhinick, October 8, 1940, and Robert E. Sessions to Files, November 11, 1940, File 046.2-7, Box 314, Office of the General Manager Administrative Files, RG 142, NASER.

[32] Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers*, 48; Minutes of Joint Meeting of the Members of the Sub-Committees of the Tennessee Conservation Commission and the North Carolina National Park, Parkway and Forest Development Commission Appointed to Promote the Development of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, September 25, 1947, File 10, Box XII, Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association Collection, GRSM. Also see Byron Pearson, "Newton Drury of the National Park Service: A Reappraisal," *Pacific Historical Review* 68, no. 3 (1999): 397-424.

[33] Newton B. Drury, "National Park Service," in

Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1947 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947), 328-29.

[34] Newton B. Drury, "National Park Service," in *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1948* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948), 322.

[35] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1948, RG 79, NASER.

[36] Newton B. Drury to Carlos C. Campbell, November 27, 1945, File 630 Part 6, Box 1134, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[37] F. W. Cron to Blair Ross, July 9, 1947, File 630 Part 6, Box 1134, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[38] Charles E. Ray to Julius A. Krug, April 22, 1948, Miscellaneous Records 1947-1964, North Carolina National Park, Parkway, and Forests Development Commission Collection, NCSA.

[39] "North Carolina and Tennessee present the Situation as to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and a Recommended Program," January 1948, Box 26, Gov. W. Kerr Scott Collection, NCSA.

[40] Charles E. Ray to The Subcommittee on the Interior Department, April 12, 1948, Box 36, Gov. R. Gregg Cherry Papers, NCSA.

[41] Monroe M. Redden to Charles E. Ray, June 2, 1948, Miscellaneous Records 1947-64, North Carolina National Park, Parkway, and Forests Development Commission Collection, NCSA.

[42] "Park Funds Unchanged in Senate," *Asheville Citizen Times*, June 12, 1948.

[43] The Park Service found that the sum earmarked for Heintooga Road was too small to initiate the work under a reasonable contract, so it held the money until sufficient additional funds could be added to it. Newton B. Drury, "National Park Service," in *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1949), 304.

[44] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1949, RG 79, NASER.

[45] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1949, and Superintendent's Annual Report for 1952, RG 79, NASER.

[46] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1951, RG 79, NASER.

[47] "Heintooga Road Dedicated in Impressive Ceremonies," *Asheville Citizen Times*, June 23, 1953.

[48] Pierce, "The Road to Nowhere," 207.

[49] Resolution by the Merchants Association of Bryson City and Swain County Wildlife Association, February 28, 1952, and Resolution by North Carolina National Park, Parkway, and Forests Development Commission, March 27, 1952, Box 125, Gov. W. Kerr Scott Collection, NCSA.

[50] Conrad L. Wirth to Kelly E. Bennett, March 11, 1952, Box 125, Gov. W. Kerr Scott Collection, NCSA.

[51] Conrad L. Wirth to Richard B. Russell, March 9, 1953, File D30 Part 3, Box 1056, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[52] "Bennett Favors Return of Park to Two States," *Asheville Citizen*, May 3, 1954.

[53] "A Spotlight on the Park," *Asheville Citizen*, April 10, 1954.

[54] Mark Barringer, "Mission Impossible: National Park Development in the 1950s," *Journal of the West* 38, no. 1 (January 1999): 22.

[55] Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, 242.

[56] Edward A. Hummel to The Director, June 27, 1955, File A98, Box 17, Administrative Files Great Smoky Mountains National Park, RG 79, NASER. A "bear jam" is a traffic jam caused by motorists stopping on the road to view a bear.

[7] Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, 250; Conrad L. Wirth to Kenneth McFarland, July 14, 1955, File A 98, Box 17, Administrative Files Great Smoky Mountains National Park, RG 79, NASER; "National Park Service Maps 10-Year Plan," *Asheville Citizen*, November 6, 1955.

[58] William Medford and Paul S. Mathes to Harry J. Donohue, October 20, 1955, enclosing "Brief on Urgent Needs of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park," Miscellaneous Records 1947-64, North Carolina National Park, Parkway, and Forests Development Commission, NCSA.

[59] William Medford to Conrad L. Wirth, January 26, 1956, and Wirth to Medford, February 3, 1956, Miscellaneous Records 1947-64, North Carolina National Park, Parkway, and Forests Development Commission, NCSA.

[60] Elbert Cox to Don Hummel, August 24, 1955, File A98, Box 17, Administrative Files Great Smoky Mountains National Park, RG 79, NASER.

[61] National Park Service, "Mission 66 for Great Smoky Mountains National Park," File 5, Box III, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[62] National Park Service, "Mission 66 for Great Smoky Mountains National Park," File 5, Box III, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[63] George A. Shuford to Conrad L. Wirth, May 8, 1957, File D30 Part 4, Box 1057, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[64] Secretary of the Interior to Harvey Broome, 31, 1958, File 3, Box VI, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[65] Quoted in Herman E. Talmadge to Conrad L. Wirth, May 27, 1959, File 4, Box VI, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[66] C. H. Wharton to Herman E. Talmadge, May 25, 1959, File 4, Box VI, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[67] Jackson E. Price to Herman E. Talmadge, June 5, 1959, File 4, Box VI, Park Management Collection, GRSM. Subsequent investigations covered alternative sites for a marina with particular attention to Monteith Branch. Planners envisioned a floating dock that would ride up and down on the fluctuating lake surface, boat ramp, and parking area. See Superintendent to Regional Director, March 31, 1959, File 030 Part 6, Box 1057, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[68] Kelly E. Bennett to Bruce M. Kilgore, March 5, 1959, Box 409, Gov. Luther H. Hodges Collection, NCSA; John B. Cabot to R. A. Wilhelm, March 10, 1959, File Clingmans Dome Tower, Box IX, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[69] "Smokies Visitor Center Is Dedicated," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, October 24, 1960.

Chapter Six
An Impasse over Wilderness

Planning and development in Great Smoky Mountains National Park entered a time of innovation, doubt, polarization, and impasse during the 1960s and 1970s. The wilderness preservation movement won a great victory when Congress enacted the Wilderness Act of 1964, and afterwards wilderness defenders turned an eagle eye on this largest of eastern national parks with its significant acreage of roadless domain. Meanwhile, the park continued to experience phenomenal growth in visitation, with problems of traffic congestion and crowded campgrounds becoming ever more acute. Spurred by conservation groups like the National Parks Association, the Park Service began to reassess the park's overall development scheme and to push for regional planning to protect the park.

Pressure of Numbers

On a Fourth of July weekend in 1960, all the major campgrounds in Great Smoky Mountains National Park filled to capacity. As people were deflected to the primitive overflow campgrounds, these quickly turned into tent cities. At Abrams Creek on the Saturday of that weekend, some 500 people jammed into an area containing just ten picnic tables. By late afternoon, rangers were advising disappointed visitors that the park had "no vacancy." Among nearly 8,000 people who were turned away from the campgrounds, several hundred families defiantly and wearily parked and slept in their cars wherever they could find a clearing by the road. Following the weekend holiday crush, a reporter for the *Charlotte Observer* wrote, "Campers beware." Those looking for a family getaway or a little serenity in the mountains were apt to find "just a forest slum."[1]

At the beginning of the 1960s, Great Smoky Mountains National Park faced greater pressure of numbers from the camping public than ever before. Since the end of World War II, the park had been growing in popularity as a destination for summer vacations, especially among lower-income residents of the surrounding states. As the two-week summer vacation became a staple of most manufacturing jobs in the region, many blue-collar families discovered camping in the Smokies to be an affordable form of outdoor recreation and a respite from summer heat. Families with school-age children normally took their two-week vacation between mid-June and Labor Day, and many factories contributed to this pattern by shutting down for a two-week cleaning during the summer. Indeed, numerous factories in the surrounding region closed on the Fourth of July and remained closed for two weeks while the workforce went on vacation. Great Smoky Mountains saw a surge of visitor use during this particular period each summer.[2]

While the problem of overcrowding was especially acute in Great Smoky Mountains, it afflicted many other national parks as well. The American people were going camping in unprecedented numbers. Ten days after the Fourth of July weekend in 1960, Director Wirth announced that $2.5 million would be spent in the new fiscal year on campground development, expansion, and rehabilitation throughout the national park system. Under Mission 66, Wirth reminded the American public, plans called for 30,000 campsites to accommodate as many as 100,000 campers per day by 1966.[3]

Despite this aggressive campground development program, however, Mission 66 planners had to admit that actual visitor demand far exceeded their projections in 1956 – both at Great Smoky Mountains and throughout the national park system. At the start of Mission 66, the Park Service had estimated that visitation for the entire national park system would grow to 80 million visitors per year by 1966, but that level was reached in 1961.[4] Similarly, the Mission 66 plan for Great Smoky Mountains anticipated about 3.5 million visitors annually by 1965, but actual visitation surged past that mark in 1960 when an estimated 4.5 million visitors entered the park. The error was repeated in the master plan update for Great Smoky Mountains in April 1960. Assistant Superintendent David deL. Condon, the author of that document, projected that the park would have an annual visitation of 4,625,000 in 1970, but actual visitation exceeded that amount only one year later and attained a whopping 6,778,500 in 1970. Annual visitation to Great Smoky Mountains grew by no less than 263 percent from 1955 to 1970.[5]

This astonishing rate of increase put development plan-

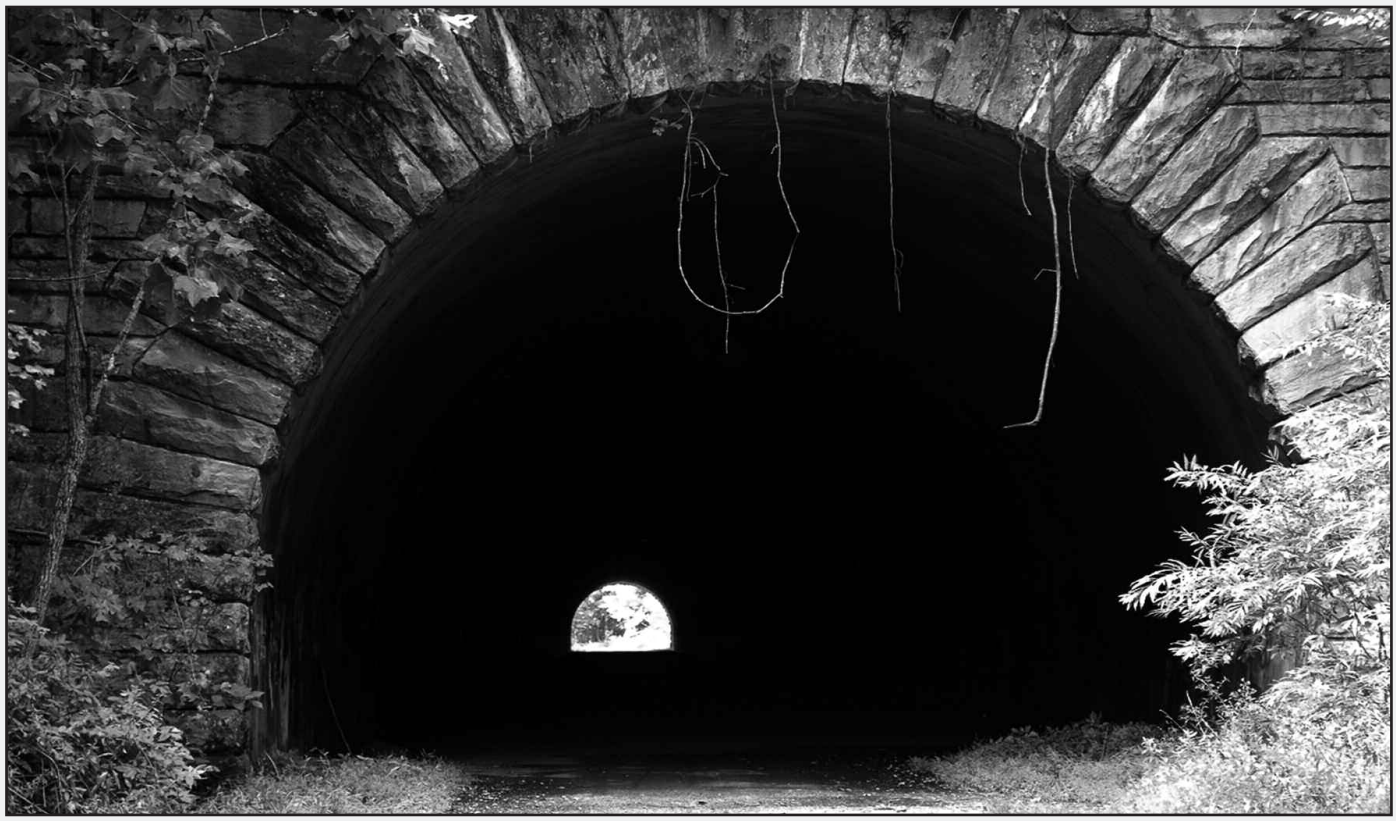
Shortly after the end of World War II, visitation to the Smokies began to skyrocket. By 1960, the public and park managers were becoming concerned about "loving our parks to death."

ning in a tumult. To the local tourist industry, it seemed that construction of campgrounds and other visitor facilities was not occurring fast enough to keep pace with rising demand; for them, the solution was more development. To conservationists, it appeared that new development was only encouraging more use; the conservationists' response was to limit development in the park and encourage some of the population to seek outdoor recreation elsewhere. As in the past, the Park Service was caught in the middle of these clashing points of view and sought to steer a course in between them. More than in the previous decade, however, the Park Service steered toward the conservationists' position. By the mid-1960s, the unrelenting growth in visitation had become almost alarming. The Park Service saw the need to cap development, if not actual visitation, and to work with partners such as the Forest Service in an effort to encourage more outdoor use of non-park lands. As Superintendent George W. Fry wrote in 1964, "We are operating under the philosophy that we need to preserve the wilderness aspects of the park, preserve the historical traditions, and define the limits beyond which we will not develop."[6]

At the beginning of the Mission 66 era, Park Service planners had embraced the automobile and assumed that Great Smoky Mountains could absorb much more visitor use if visitors could be encouraged to move about the park in such a way that traffic jams were averted. Circulation was the watchword in Mission 66 planning. By the mid-1960s, this had changed. Park Service planners no longer regarded driving to view scenery as the basic visitor experience, nor did they still feel sanguine that better traffic flow would allow the park to sustain more use. Instead they recognized the need to separate one type of visitor from another, to differentiate the backcountry user from the motorist, for example, and to manage various sections of the park for different purposes. Management zoning replaced visitor circulation as the new paradigm for planning. To a large extent this new paradigm followed the dictates of the Wilderness Act of 1964, which required the Park Service to recommend wilderness areas within each national park. But it also stemmed from the realization that Great Smoky Mountains and other national parks were approaching their recreational carrying capacity.

The North Shore Road

Developments in the longstanding issue of the proposed north shore road served to highlight the emerging new paradigm for park planning. It will be recalled that in a four-party agreement in 1943 involving TVA, the Department of the Interior, the state of North Carolina, and Swain County,



In a four-party agreement in 1943 involving TVA, the Department of the Interior, the state of North Carolina, and Swain County, the Department of the Interior pledged to build a road around the north shore of Fontana Lake when Congress appropriated money for it. Equally important to the reevaluation of the 1943 agreement, however, was the growing appreciation for wilderness values associated with the north shore area. By 1960, the Park Service was in a distinctly awkward position, philosophically inclined to eliminate the road from its development program yet honor bound to stand by the 1943 agreement. It was a political hot potato that simmered until the parties agreed on a monetary settlement to the county in 2010.

the Department of the Interior pledged to build a road around the north shore of Fontana Lake when Congress appropriated money for it. By 1960, opponents of the road development were stating that the 1943 agreement was outdated because a new state road around the south shore of the reservoir made the north shore road unnecessary as a transportation link between Bryson City and Fontana Dam. Equally important to the reevaluation of the 1943 agreement, however, was the growing appreciation for wilderness values associated with the north shore area. By 1960, the Park Service was in a distinctly awkward position, philosophically inclined to eliminate the road from its development program yet honor bound to stand by the 1943 agreement.

The Park Service's response to this dilemma was a mixture of compromise and delay: it would develop a road for a portion of the distance while soft-pedaling the overall project, effectively discouraging Congress from giving the road full funding. In the late spring of 1960, the Park Service awarded a contract to W. B. Dillard Construction Company of Sylva, North Carolina to begin construction of the north shore road from the end of the newly completed state road out of Bryson City as far as Goldmine Branch. While the construction effort went forward, the Department of the Interior sought clarification from the state of North Carolina as to whether the 1943 agreement was still binding. Acting Secretary of the Interior Elmer F. Bennett inquired of Governor Luther Hodges if the state wanted the road built all the way to Fontana Dam. Hodges replied that he would consult with various state officials and then give his answer.[7]

While the governor's answer was pending, conservation groups including the National Parks Association and the North Carolina Wildlife Federation, Inc., wrote to the governor urging that the road terminate at Noland Creek (or its tributary, Goldmine Branch). Their principal argument was to protect wilderness values in the area beyond Noland Creek, especially the area's superb trout fishing. The Board of Commissioners of Swain County, for its part, prepared a "brief" for Hodges urging the road's completion to Fontana Dam. The brief argued primarily that the road would help develop Swain County's economy.[8]

Four months later, Governor Hodges gave his answer in a letter to Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton. He stated

that there was "no question" that the Park Service had a "binding obligation to build the road," and that he thought it should fulfill its obligation. The governor referred to language in the 1943 agreement stating that the Department of the Interior regarded a "road connection between Deals Gap and Bryson City as an important link in a planned 'around the Park' road." Further, he interpreted the 1943 agreement to mean that the Department of the Interior would "in good faith seek the necessary funds from Congress." Hodges rejected the view that State Route 28, built in the 1950s, made the road unnecessary. That road was "not an effective traffic artery between Fontana and Bryson City," as it was narrow with sharp curves, lacked scenic interest, and had not been built to serve as a substitute for the anticipated .[9]

Hodges went on to challenge conservationists' views that the road would impair wilderness values. The area could only be described as a "wilderness," Hodges argued, in the sense that it was uninhabited at the present time. Less than 20 years earlier, the area had contained approximately 3,000 residents, and had included the town of Proctor. This was not "a virgin or primeval wilderness" compared to the "true wilderness" found in the heart of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the governor maintained. The latter qualified as wilderness because the land had "never been settled or inhabited," and the forests had "never been cut over."[10]

By using such a strict definition of wilderness, Hodges actually followed the lead of some wilderness defenders. Harvey Broome, for one, distinguished between previously logged sections of the Smokies and the park's "virgin core."[11] But the purist view of wilderness mostly appealed to those in favor of development projects, because they thought their hand was strengthened if they could point to historical precedent and show that an area's wilderness values were already compromised. Charles Elliott, who described the controversy for readers of *Outdoor Life* in February 1961, neatly summarized these two points of view. "Proponents of the wilderness say any claim that the region might be considered wilderness is strictly a laugh. Lumbering operations as far back as 1892 cut not only virgin stands, but recut many thousands of acres of second growth…Those who oppose the road declare that, while the region may not be genuine virgin wilderness, in less than 20 years nature has gone a long way toward healing the man-made scars, and that within a generation there should be little evidence the area was ever inhabited."[12]

These differences over what constituted "true wilderness" harkened back to the 1920s, when the same debate had occurred while making the park's boundaries. At that time Park Service officials had insisted that cutover areas ought to be included in the park because the forest would eventually regenerate. The differences of view would feature again in the approaching debate over what park lands should be included in "wilderness areas" under terms of the Wilderness Act of 1964. As in the 1920s, Park Service officials would take the position that past logging did not preclude a tract from possessing the quality of "wilderness." Eivind T. Scoyen, an associate director under Wirth, would champion this idea in a long memo on Great Smoky Mountains National Park in 1964. If the Park Service were to define wilderness as being something essentially unchanged since the birth of the nation then it would have few areas to recommend as wilderness, he pointed out. In his own reconnaissance of the Smokies, Scoyen was surprised to find how far up the mountain valleys the settlers had built their homesteads and how high on the slopes the logging operations had reached. This did not shake his conviction that backcountry areas modified by farming and logging should be managed in the same way as backcountry areas that were essentially untouched as long as the intent was to keep it all wild. "After all," he wrote, "the National Parks are not only for tomorrow but we hope for all future time and Nature will heal and restore."[13]

Park officials were certainly in sympathy with this elastic view of wilderness in 1960, four years before passage of the Wilderness Act. One of the park administration's stated goals, according to an April 1960 revision of the master plan, was to "nurture and protect the lands once agricultural and logged so that they will progressively return to wild lands harboring once again the native fauna and flora." In a numbered list of 57 "objectives and policies" contained in this master plan, not one mention was made of the north shore road. There was only a brief item on the need for a marina at Goldmine Branch to serve boaters on Fontana Lake.[14] Superintendent Overly evidently stood with the director and the regional director in preferring to see the area remain in a wilderness condition.

Despite that barely-stated preferred alternative, however, the federal government's obligation under the 1943 agreement remained binding. In response to Governor Hodges' letter, Secretary Seaton announced that the Park Service would extend the road segment from Bryson City to Goldmine Branch for another 30 miles to Fontana Dam, giving motorists a route through the southern portion of the park. Further, he instructed the Park Service to program the additional mileage in its road plans. The Office of the Secretary issued a lengthy press release, which emphasized the Department's obligation under the 1943 agreement, reviewed the recent correspondence it had with Governor Hodges, and quoted the governor's opinion that the area was not "true wilderness." The press release made it clear that the secretary

did not favor the road but felt bound by the contractual obligation and the governor's letter to move ahead with it anyway.[15]

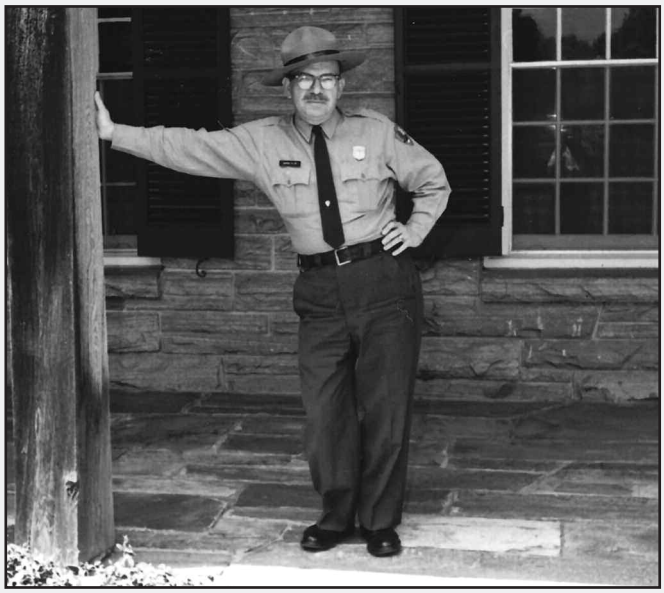
Numerous conservation groups protested the secretary's decision. When John F. Kennedy was elected president that November, and selected Stewart L. Udall to be his Secretary of the Interior, several conservation groups directed their attention to the new secretary in the hopes that he would reverse his predecessor's decision. The Sierra Club's Bruce M. Kilgore predicted that the newly elected 87th Congress would "take a very careful look at the $16,000,000 budget item for this road, which would destroy important national park values in order to parallel an equally suitable road for handling necessary traffic."[16] Anthony Wayne Smith, executive secretary of the National Parks Association, urged Udall to undertake a renegotiation of the 1943 agreement, looking to the development of a federal highway around the southern shore of Fontana Lake instead.[17]

Neither Congress nor Secretary Udall took action in 1961 to reconsider the project. Congressman Roy Taylor (D-N.C.), a staunch friend of the Park Service whose district included Swain County, insisted on the road on behalf of his constituents. He worked with administration officials in 1960 and 1961 to get more than $1 million appropriated for the north shore road project.[18] But as road construction proceeded in 1961 and the first part of 1962, Superintendent Fred J. Overly reported troubling results. The road construction sliced through rock formations on steep slopes above the lake, confronting the Park Service with unusually large cuts and fills. The cuts and fills were unsightly both from the road and the lake and presented the danger of erosion and acid drainage into the lake as well as rock fall and slumping along the road itself. In the spring of 1962, an interagency team of experts from the Park Service and the Bureau of Public Roads investigated the road and recommended a restudy. Director Wirth ordered a suspension of work pending a thorough consideration of alternative alignments and road standards, including reduced road width, use of divided lanes for one-way traffic, and increased use of walls and cribbing. The Park Service contended that the existing engineering plans needed drastic revision in order to solve the problems of road safety, excessive construction costs, and scarring of the landscape.[19]

At the same time, Superintendent Overly admitted that the Park Service had no intention to resume construction of the north shore road from the west end of Fontana Lake either, because the proposed route extended across private land that the Park Service had not yet been able to acquire. The land at issue consisted of nine separate tracts totaling about 2,000 acres that belonged to the North Carolina Exploration Company. Condemnation proceedings for a right-of-way had been filed in U.S. District Court in Asheville in 1956, but when the federal government declined a judge's request in December 1961 to bring this case to trial the suit was dismissed without prejudice. Overly explained that the federal government was now in the process of negotiations with the mining company to acquire the entire property rather than just a right-of-way, but this explanation only rankled local citizens who had long resented the fact that the mining property was used as a private hunting preserve in an area where ordinary folks had lost their property through condemnation. Moreover, Swain County people pointed out that the 1943 agreement provided for the road to go around the North Carolina Exploration Company's property if necessary.[20]

Swain County citizens raised a furor, which led to further inquiries of the Park Service by Congressman Taylor, Senator Sam Irwin (D-NC), and the new governor of North Carolina, Terry Sanford. Assistant Secretary of the Interior John A. Carver, who had oversight of national parks, also decided to inquire. That Labor Day weekend in 1962, Carver toured the park with Congressman Taylor and Superintendent Overly, where he not only saw for himself the newly-built section of the north shore road, with its conspicuous cuts and fills and arbitrary terminus located 2.5 miles inside the park boundary, but also observed bumper-to-bumper traffic moving at a snail's pace over the Newfound Gap Road. Afterwards, Carver told newspaper reporters that Superintendent Overly would be temporarily assigned to his office so that, in Carver's words, the administration could "get to the bottom of this situation."[21]

What developed next was a second strategy of compromise and delay, this one backed by the Office of the Secretary. The Park Service took another incremental step in developing the north shore road by putting out an invitation for bids on a further two-mile section of road construction, designated 9A2. Local officials complained that the specifications were substandard and would present tourists with a "roller coaster road" that would be slow and hazardous to drive, but Park Service officials insisted that the specifications would result in a road that would be comparable with many other park roads in mountainous terrain.[22] In the meantime, Assistant Secretary Carver reaffirmed that the federal government must honor its obligation under the 1943 agreement – unless other parties to the agreement should decide that they wanted something else, such as an alternative road or campground development. Governor Sanford soon joined with administration officials in urging Swain County officials to consider alternatives to the north shore road with an open mind.[23]



George Fry, in front of park headquarters. Fry tackled a number of thorny issues during his tenure at the Smokies, including a new master plan, the north shore road, and wilderness designation.

By suggesting that it might develop an alternative that would be acceptable to North Carolina and Swain County as well as conservationists, the administration was inching closer to a regional planning approach for resolving the Park Service's dilemma stemming from the 1943 agreement. This was not the first time that development issues in Great Smoky Mountains National Park had prompted an exercise in regional planning. The matter of approach roads, especially on the Tennessee side, together with other external developments such as the Blue Ridge Parkway and the growth of tourist services in gateway communities, had necessitated a regional planning perspective in previous eras of the park's history. But over the next decade the Park Service would venture farther into regional planning for the benefit of Great Smoky Mountains than it had ever attempted before — or perhaps would attempt again.

The Master Plan Study Committee

Two individuals were behind the new regional planning effort for Great Smoky Mountains: Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., and Superintendent George W. Fry. Both were new appointees. Hartzog had served as assistant superintendent at Great Smoky Mountains in 1957 and 1958 and knew the park well. Following his tour in the Smokies he served as superintendent at Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, where he oversaw construction of the Gateway Arch and represented the Park Service in the campaign to establish Ozark National Scenic Riverways. Handpicked by Secretary Udall to succeed Conrad Wirth, he became the seventh director of the National Park Service in January 1964. Hartzog inherited Mission 66 at a point long after it had lost its luster, and he also inherited two new and important mandates before the year was out: first, the recommendations of the Leopold Report (named for its lead author, A. Starker Leopold of the University of California, Berkeley), which Secretary Udall accepted as a new basis for park management; and second, the Wilderness Act, by which Congress gave the Park Service ten years to recommend boundaries for wilderness area designations within all existing national parks. Both of these mandates called for a corrective tilt toward preservation in the Park Service's mission to balance preservation and use. In addition, Hartzog made it one of his central goals to make the national park system "relevant to an urban America."[24] All of these circumstances contributed to Hartzog's interest in Great Smoky Mountains and his inclination to experiment in this most visited national park in the nation.

The second individual who pushed the new regional planning effort was Superintendent Fry. Park staff at Great Smoky Mountains considered George Washington Fry to be the "grand old man." Local people held him in high esteem.[25] A veteran of the CCC, he had obtained his first civil service appointment as a ranger at Crater Lake in 1938, worked for both the Park Service and the Forest Service in Colorado during the 1940s, served as superintendent at Isle Royale in the late 1950s, became chief of operations in the regional office in Omaha in 1961, and assumed duties as superintendent of Great Smoky Mountains on November 10, 1963.[26] At the time of his arrival the superintendent position had been vacant for six months and a number of important issues were pending, the chief one being the future of the north shore road.

In March 1964, Hartzog appointed a Master Plan Study Committee of five individuals to prepare a high-level conceptual framework for the development of a new master plan for Great Smoky Mountains. The members of the committee were Stanley W. Abbott, superintendent of Blue Ridge Parkway; Harold P. Fabian, member of the Advisory Board on National Parks; Eivind T. Scoyen, retired associate director; H. Reese Smith, a Park Service engineer; and Howard R. Stagner, deputy assistant director in charge of resource studies. Hartzog told the committee that he believed an alternative to the north shore road would be found, and that it would not be built in any case before the Park Service completed a new master plan for the park. He further informed the members that they had a "blank charter" in developing guidelines for the master plan, except that he did not want them to use the term "wilderness" in their report, as the def-

inition of "wilderness" in the pending wilderness bill was not yet firmly established and he did not want management options placed "in a straight jacket before we know the nature of the straight jacket."[27]

Even before the new master plan study got underway, Fry wanted to initiate a joint Park Service-Forest Service plan through the two agencies' Southeast regional offices. He argued that the Park Service now needed to "define the limits" of development within the park and as part of that project it needed the Forest Service's help to take some of the load off Great Smoky Mountains by developing recreational facilities on the Cherokee, Pisgah, and Nantahala national forests. When the master plan study group assembled in the park in April, the superintendent soon convinced them that the park needed a "regional Master Plan study."[28]

The study group spent a week exploring the park by car, jeep, horseback, and foot. It met with key park staff, landscape architect V. Roswell Ludgate who represented the regional office, retired park naturalist Arthur Stupka, and retired park landscape architect Raymond Wilhelm. On this initial visit it purposely did not meet with community groups and organizations, deferring that task until its next visit. The preliminary report resulting from this reconnaissance was divided into four sections, which identified park values, problems, "factors" (developments outside the park) and "concepts" (a list of specific actions to address problems).[29]

The study group listed four preeminent park values, which were essentially spatial and anticipated the zoning that would underlie the new master plan. The premier value of the park was its nearly 200,000 acres of "virgin" (old-growth) forests. The study group wanted to delineate the boundaries of this "primeval zone," but not for the purpose of foreclosing development within the area. Rather, it saw the need to bring more visitors into "intimate contact with the natural elements of this environment." Three other preeminent park values were the scenic value of mountain streams, the scientific and educational value of second-growth forests, and the historical value of structures and other remains of past settlement.[30]

The study group found the most important problem facing the park to be "the limited exposure of the visitors to the basic resources and values of this Park." Existing developments were inadequate to handle the number of visitors or to place visitors in intimate contact with core park values. The second biggest problem was crowding. Congestion was compounded by the concentration of visitor services in Gatlinburg and Cherokee, the linear aspect of the Newfound Gap Road, and the location of some heavily used campgrounds on that main arterial. A third problem area related to the neighboring communities, which brought strong political pressure to bear on the Park Service to develop the park with more roads and campgrounds.[31]

Following the advice of Superintendent Fry, the study group took stock of major highway developments outside the park that would affect visitor use in the future. These included the Gatlinburg Bypass, programmed but not yet completed; the Foothills Parkway, still at an early stage of construction; Interstate 40 between Knoxville and Asheville, then nearing completion; various state highway projects; and a planned extension of the Blue Ridge Parkway to Atlanta. With the exception of the Blue Ridge Parkway extension, which never occurred, each of these developments was certain to impact the park, but the precise effects could not be predicted. In most cases, the anticipated effects cut two ways. For example, it was anticipated that Interstate 40 would absorb some of the local traffic currently using U.S. Highway 441 through Newfound Gap and ease congestion on that road. In particular, it would deflect commercial truck traffic around the park. On the other hand, the interstate highway system would make Great Smoky Mountains more accessible to a wider population and contribute to even heavier recreational use of the park. The study group noted that the state of Tennessee planned to develop recreational areas along this interstate route, potentially absorbing some of the demand for camping and picnicking facilities that would otherwise fall on the park. Similarly, the Gatlinburg Bypass would likely ease congestion through Gatlinburg, but it might also exacerbate the bottleneck effect that the gateway community had in funneling people through that park entrance.[32]

Based on its analysis of park values, problems, and surrounding developments in the transportation network, the study team developed a list of 16 concepts to guide subsequent planning efforts. Although this section of the report pointed toward a new development planning synthesis based on management zones, the 16 concepts also exhibited a Mission-66-style listing of development projects, including the Foothills Parkway, the Newfound Gap Road, the Cataloochee Road, and the north shore road. With regard to alleviating congestion on the Newfound Gap Road, the study team considered two alternatives: one, a second road roughly paralleling the existing road that would allow one-way traffic on this pair of two-lane highways; and the other, a standard park road crossing the mountains in the western portion of the park. Proponents of the twin highways over Newfound Gap argued that the one-way, two-lane roads could accommodate more people driving at variable speeds. The study team was dubious, however, noting that the route would "not relieve, but intensify traffic concentration through both the Cherokee and Gatlinburg approaches." It

favored a second trans-mountain road in the western portion of the park despite likely opposition by commercial interests in Cherokee and Gatlinburg.[33]

The Final Report of the Study Committee

The study team returned to the area during the summer to meet with community groups. It received written statements from the North Carolina National Park, Parkway, and Forest Development Commission, the Western North Carolina Associated Communities, the Smoky Mountains Hiking Club; the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association; The Wilderness Society; and Tom Alexander, who informally represented horseback riders and packers.[34] Notably, the organizations differed over what to do about the through-park road. The Knoxville-based Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association advocated a second trans-mountain road paralleling U.S. 441, while the Smoky Mountains Hiking Club favored a "wait-and-see" approach until I-40 and other highway developments outside the park were completed.[35] The North Carolina organizations wanted a second trans-mountain road between Bryson City and Cades Cove.[36] After receiving this input, the study team prepared a final report to the director in September 1964.

This report blended and refined many of the "concepts" contained in the preliminary report, but in its organization and structure it was a very different report. At Hartzog's request, the study team now brought to the fore the concept of delineating management zones. The director dropped his earlier admonition against use of the term "wilderness." Moreover, the study team, in a conspicuous nod to the Park Service's new bureaucratic rival, the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, used the land classification system recommended in the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission's 1962 report, starting with a discussion of Class V "wilderness" or "primitive" lands within the park. Through this restructuring, the report acquired a different emphasis, putting preservation ahead of use.[37]

The study team called for an expansive view of what land should be included in the Class V category. It should not be limited to old-growth forest areas, but should include areas formerly logged or farmed that were "now in process of recovery" or returning to a wilderness condition. In places, the Class V boundary ought to extend to the edge of the park. This would involve considerable enlargement of the area shown as "primitive" that the park staff had recently prepared at the study team's request. "We are not in agreement with those who would say that wilderness once destroyed is forever destroyed," the report stated. Noting the historic logging and natural regeneration that had occurred through much of the park, the authors insisted, "If we adopt a wilderness zone as being something essentially unchanged since our Nation's history began, then such areas are limited and even rare."[38]

Continuing with a discussion of Class VI "historic areas," Class III "recreation areas," and Class IV "unique natural areas," the report then arrived at the core principle that would distinguish this new master planning effort from the Mission 66 era's paradigm of visitor circulation. "In general, and as a development policy, intensive use areas such as mass campgrounds and picnic areas will find a logical place near the fringes of the Park and in the lower reaches of the valleys. As we move inward the intensity of the development diminishes, and the degree of preservation of natural quality increases to climax in the wilderness. Proper zoning of the entire National Park," the report concluded, "is a basic tool for preservation."[39]

Zoning was also a management tool to provide for the public's enjoyment. In another notable departure from Mission 66 thinking, the study team rejected the concept of a homogenized park experience in which the visitor drove to view scenery. Not everyone was content with windshield wilderness; many longed to get away from the presence of the automobile and to experience a more intimate and sensual connection with nature. Moreover, not all front-country visitors were content to conform with the established pattern in Great Smoky Mountains of either camping in a car campground or finding their lodging outside the park and visiting the park by day. The existing facilities failed to accommodate those people who liked to stay in overnight lodging inside a national park. "A well-balanced apportionment of space must be complemented by a well-balanced apportionment of opportunity to the several classes of visitor who seek inspiration in this National Park," the report stated.[40]

This logic led to the report's sharpest criticism of existing conditions and perhaps its boldest recommendation for future development. The study team was aware of the long-standing policy at Great Smoky Mountains that all overnight lodging facilities would be provided by the surrounding communities, in particular the gateway towns of Gatlinburg and Cherokee. (Exceptions were made for Mount LeConte Lodge and the Wonderland Hotel, as they pre-dated the park.) The study team argued that the policy had outlived its usefulness. More than thirty years of day-use management in the park had created a visitor use pattern that was "based to a major extent on getting in and getting out." The typical visitor had "few relaxed moments not tied to a car in a parking lot to enjoy the quiet of the morning or evening hours, to go to a campfire lecture, or feel footloose for a hike or ride

on the trails." It was true that campgrounds offered people the opportunity to be in the park during night hours, but not everyone liked to camp. Consequently, the study team argued, the Park Service was failing to discharge its responsibility to provide for the public's enjoyment. It recommended an end to what it called a "day-use theory" of park management, and the introduction of concession-operated overnight lodging facilities.[41]

The study team endorsed the longstanding goal to develop an around-the-park road system, noting that it had its counterpart in the beltways that were taking shape around many American cities as an outgrowth of the interstate freeway system. It was not so enthusiastic as planners had been in previous eras. "When completed," the team advised, "the belt system should take the first shock of traffic moving in on the major approach roads, and distribute the load around the skirts of the Park to a selection of features and facilities." From these various points the visitor would "dart in and out of Class III zoned areas of the Park." The belt system, in short, would absorb a portion of the total visitor load on the park, catering primarily to a class of visitors who were content to see the park's periphery.[42]

After further consideration of trans-mountain road proposals, the study team argued forcefully against a second road paralleling the existing Newfound Gap Road, contending that such a system would simply inundate Gatlinburg and Cherokee and the existing main arterial through the park, as well as create unacceptable new scars in the most handsome portion of the park. Instead, it recommended a second crossing farther west, breaching the mountains between Silers Bald and Thunderhead Mountain. The route would bridge Fontana Lake east of Hazel Creek, ascend Welch Ridge, descend the other side of the mountains to Tremont, and with cooperation by the Tennessee Department of Highways, continue to Townsend and join the Foothills Parkway near Walland. The report noted that this route would not cut through any of the so-called primeval heart of the park, nor would it intersect the Hazel Creek drainage, a prized natural area.[43]

On the pressing issue of the north shore road, the study team acknowledged the Park Service's commitment to Swain County on the one hand, and the unacceptable environmental cost of the road on the other, and offered an alternative development. This centered on upgrading State Highway 28 and developing recreational facilities on Fontana Lake in cooperation with TVA and the Forest Service. Road access to the lakeshore would be limited to the south shore on the national forest, while overnight lodging and camping facilities would be developed by the Park Service on the north shore. A ferry system would take visitors across the lake to take advantage of the variety of lodging, camping, fishing, and hiking opportunities on the other side. The study team compared this pleasant vision with the wilderness-bounded community of Stehekin at the end of Lake Chelan in Washington's North Cascades. It would depend on TVA's willingness to maintain a constant lake level during the visitor season, but the possibility existed to make Fontana Lake into "a national recreation area of high order."[44]

Just as the study team was completing its report, the Wilderness Act became law on September 3, 1964. The law required the president to submit recommendations on all areas eligible for inclusion in the national wilderness preservation system within a ten-year period, with a third of those recommendations due by September 3, 1967. Hartzog decided that the Park Service's wilderness review would be incorporated into the master plan process, and that the Great Smoky Mountains wilderness recommendation would be the first one out of the gate. Pushed by the public's growing demand for more open government, the Park Service scrambled to develop policy on how it would involve the public in the wilderness review and master plan process, and to what extent it would publicize key planning documents such as the report by the master plan study committee. As these procedures were still being worked out in the fall of 1964, the study team's report was not made public.[45]

The Master Plan and Wilderness Hearings

Wilderness considerations crowded out other issues as the study team's conceptual framework was put to work in drafting a master plan. One of the study team's key recommendations, to introduce concession-operated overnight lodging in the park's developed areas, was rejected without serious discussion. Regardless of its merits, Hartzog and Fry probably recognized that the proposal to overturn the park's longstanding policy on overnight accommodations would offend local business interests as well as conservation groups. The Park Service needed to pick its battles wisely, not alienate all of its support at once.[46] Another key recommendation, that Fontana Lake might be made into a national recreation area with the cooperation of the Forest Service and TVA, was also quietly dropped. Apparently Hartzog and Fry were convinced that it was not a viable option. Well after the master plan was completed, in December 1966, Superintendent Fry finally broached this idea with J. Aubrey Wagner, chairman of TVA. Wagner's reply was cordial but emphatic: TVA could not possibly operate the Fontana project so as to maintain a constant lake level during the tourist

season. In the event of drought conditions, the lake could be drawn down as much as 200 feet. Fry relayed this negative reply to Hartzog with the revealing comment, "I hope this is the answer you were expecting and that we can now move forward another step."[47]

Two other key recommendations of the study team, both relating to wilderness designation, got more traction. First, the concept that "wilderness" need not be pristine, that areas of second-growth forest should be included within the wilderness boundary, replaced the notion that wilderness designation should be restricted to so-called "virgin heart" areas where no logging or farming had ever occurred. Second, the concept of core and periphery, with preservation focused on the wilderness core, and public use areas relegated to the park's periphery, was readily incorporated into the master plan, buttressed by wishful thinking that an eventual beltway around the park would distribute visitor use fairly evenly among those peripheral development sites.[48]

In September 1965, one year after the study team made its report, Hartzog announced that the master plan was nearly complete and would be made public in the next month. Hartzog made the announcement at the annual superintendents' conference, which was held that year in Gatlinburg. He also disclosed that former superintendent John C. Preston, now at Yosemite, would conduct the wilderness hearings for Great Smoky Mountains.[49]

Immediately following the superintendents' conference, Hartzog and Fry met with Congressman Taylor and members of the Swain County Planning Board in Bryson City to discuss the proposed trans-mountain road. Hartzog offered the road as an amendment to the 1943 agreement; once the road was built, the Park Service would be discharged from its obligation to build the north shore road. In order to win Swain County's support for this bargain, the route was changed so that the road would start from Monteith Branch, where the Park Service had already proposed to develop a large marina. After this meeting, Swain County and North Carolina officials agreed to the amendment. The Park Service announced the proposal in advance of the wilderness hearings in order to test public reaction. When editorials in several newspapers across the nation expressed strong opposition, Secretary Udall decided to postpone approval of the agreement until after the wilderness hearings.[50]

The Park Service finally made the master plan and wilderness proposal public in April 1966. Packets containing a map and a description of the proposed wilderness boundaries were made available at four locations: park headquarters, Oconaluftee Ranger Station, the regional office in Richmond, Virginia, and the Interior Building at 18th and C Streets in Washington, D.C. The master plan was made available at these same locations, although it hardly attracted any notice compared to the keen public interest in the wilderness proposal. The *Federal Register* notice on the release of these documents also announced that two public hearings would be held on June 13 in the Gatlinburg Civic Auditorium and June 15 in the Court Room of the Federal Building in Bryson City.[51]

An estimated 450 people attended the first hearing in Gatlinburg, and another 200 crowded into the Court Room in Bryson City or stood in the hall when the room filled to capacity. John C. Preston, the hearings officer, heard statements from the Tennessee and North Carolina state governors; one congressmen in each state, representatives of state; county, and municipal governments; spokespersons for 65 civic and conservation organizations; and 119 private individuals. Every government official who testified endorsed the Park Service's wilderness proposal, while a substantial majority of the non-government organizations and individuals who appeared expressed opposition to it. Predictably, the proposed trans-mountain road drew general support from local people and considerable criticism from parties who came from distant points. Preston and Fry were both surprised that not one question was asked about the master plan; the public's attention was fixed firmly on the wilderness proposal.[52]

What the Park Service proposed was to establish six wilderness areas, separated either by road corridors or potential road corridors, which would total 247,000 acres or a little less than half of the total park area. Almost half the wilderness would be in a contiguous mass centering on Mount Guyot in the eastern half of the park. In addition to the non-wilderness corridor along the length of Newfound Gap Road, it proposed non-wilderness corridors between Cataloochee and Heintooga, along Parson Branch Road from Cades Cove to the southern park boundary, and between Tremont and the north shore of Fontana Lake.[53]

Compared to the area of old-growth forests that park staff had mapped in 1964, these wilderness boundaries might have seemed generous. But that was not the basis for comparison. Almost a year previously, the Smoky Mountains Hiking Club had produced its own wilderness proposal and map, which The Wilderness Society endorsed and published in its magazine. This counterproposal would have established wilderness over about 350,000 acres. It would have created just two large areas separated by the Newfound Gap Road, and would have covered all the other corridors that the Park Service wanted to keep open for road development. The starkest difference between the two proposals involved the wide swath of territory between Tremont and the north shore of Fontana Lake, which the hiking club thought should

all be preserved as wilderness.[54]

Conservationists attacked the Park Service proposal as a betrayal of its mandate to preserve the Great Smokies in a wilderness condition. The most stinging indictment came from Anthony Wayne Smith of the National Parks Association, who described the six wilderness areas as "dismemberment" and "ecologically unsound." He feared that the park would be balkanized into relatively small wilderness areas on the one hand and heavily-impacted development areas on the other, leading to decline in biological diversity.[55]

The wilderness hearings were a historic event, the first of their kind after passage of the Wilderness Act and a harbinger of the public review process for federal land management decisions that would become one of the hallmarks of the new environmental movement. To the Park Service's credit, the event was orderly and illuminating. The Wilderness Society, the National Parks Association, and the Smoky Mountains Hiking Club, among other conservation organizations, gave the event wide publicity and helped to generate public dialogue. The public response effectively stymied the Park Service's plans to program a second major road development through the park.

But in another sense the wilderness hearings were a disappointment, for they failed to point to a way out of the impasse which had formed over the north shore road and the proposed wilderness recommendation. Hartzog had hoped that the hearings would identify a basis for compromise that would enable the Park Service to move forward in developing a wilderness recommendation for Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Indeed, it was hoped that the process would serve as a timely model for other parks to follow. Instead the wilderness recommendation was shelved until such time as the north shore road question was resolved. Belatedly, the Carolina Mountain Club proposed a solution in April 1967 — an extension of the Blue Ridge Parkway to Bryson City coupled with a new scenic road around the south shore of Fontana Lake and on around the west side of the park, joining with the Foothills Parkway.[56] It was a revival of the old proposal to develop an around-the-park road, repackaged to feature Bryson City as a new southern terminus of the Blue Ridge Parkway. Udall and Hartzog both jumped on board this proposal. Udall pressured Swain County and North Carolina officials to accept this alternate road in lieu of the trans-mountain road, suggesting that the 1943 agreement could be amended to obligate the Department of the Interior to complete this road instead. In other words, this amendment to the agreement would substitute for the 1965 amendment, which Swain County and North Carolina officials had signed but the Secretary of the Interior had decided not to sign, following the criticism that the trans-mountain road proposal had received from wilderness defenders.[57] In December 1967, Udall raised the stakes when he finally rejected the idea of a trans-mountain road from Bryson City to Townsend, suggesting that Swain County could have this amendment or no amendment.[58] Swain County officials answered by announcing that they were taking preliminary steps to bring legal action against the federal government.[59] In March 1968, members of Congress from North Carolina and Tennessee met with Udall and prevailed on him to restudy the issue. Udall agreed to reconsider his decision, but he did not call for another Park Service study.[60] Rather, he waited until two weeks before he was due to leave office, and then reaffirmed his earlier decision in a letter to Tennessee's two senators, Howard H. Baker, Jr., and Albert Gore. Baker commented that he was not surprised by Udall's intransigence, and that he would pursue the issue with Udall's apparent successor, Walter J. Hickel, who was awaiting Senate confirmation in the Nixon cabinet.[61]

The Trans-Mountain Road Proposal Revived

The election of President Richard Nixon in November 1968 gave new hope to proponents of a second trans-mountain road. More and more people in North Carolina and Tennessee had warmed to the idea of a road between Bryson City and Townsend since it had been proposed by the Park Service study team in 1964. Undeterred by conservationists' objections that it would impair wilderness values, and unconvinced by the Park Service's back pedaling on this issue, proponents of the road refused to let it go, even when Secretary of the Interior Udall twice rejected it. In some people's view, the trans-mountain road had almost become obligatory like the long-promised north shore road. After all, Swain County and the state of North Carolina had negotiated with the Park Service in good faith to substitute this road for the phantom north shore road, only to see the Secretary of the Interior back down from the agreement. With Secretary Udall leaving office, proponents of the trans-mountain road hoped to leverage that unsigned agreement into a new federal commitment.

On March 18, 1969, a large delegation of north shore road supporters met with the new secretary, former Alaska governor Walter J. Hickel. As governor, Hickel had made headlines the previous year by punching a road through hundreds of miles of delicate arctic tundra to the newly discovered oil field at Prudhoe Bay, Alaska, in bold defiance of a national coalition of conservation groups. Not surprisingly, conservationists howled when Hickel consented to a meeting on the Smokies trans-mountain road proposal. The del-

egation of road supporters included all four senators from North Carolina and Tennessee, three representatives, members of the two states' park commissions, and several prominent citizens of western North Carolina. Representative Roy Taylor reaffirmed that the trans-mountain road would be an acceptable substitute for the long-promised north shore road. A second park road between North Carolina and Tennessee was necessary in any case, Taylor argued, to relieve traffic problems on U.S. 441, which had become on occasion "the world's longest parking lot."[62] Hickel stated that before making a decision he wanted to meet with spokespersons for the other side.

Responding to this invitation by the Secretary of the Interior, the Tennessee Organization for Wilderness Planning, which was based in Oak Ridge, organized a trip to Washington among the conservation community. Some 92 people, representing 33 organizations, converged on the nation's capital in chartered buses, private automobiles, and airplanes, where they were joined by ten members of Congress for a meeting with the secretary on June 23. The strong showing by conservationists was hardly a surprise to Hickel. At the end of this meeting, the secretary announced that he had instructed the director of the Park Service to initiate a thorough restudy of the situation and submit recommendations to him by December 1970.[63]

In the meantime, Hickel had decided to keep Hartzog in the director's position despite demands by several Republican members of Congress that Hartzog be fired. As it turned out, it was Hickel, not Hartzog, who lost his job on account of politics; less than two years into Nixon's first term, the president fired Hickel for disloyal remarks he made about the administration's Vietnam War strategy. As a result, Hickel did not get another chance to decide on the trans-mountain road.

Hartzog assigned the restudy to the Eastern Service Center in Washington. Although focused around the proposed trans-mountain road and alternatives, the restudy was conceived as a comprehensive transportation study of the park and the surrounding area. It included a complete inventory of all roads within the park, an analysis of traffic flow and congestion, an examination of traffic accident records and hazard spots, and a review of existing and future road development around the park by Tennessee and North Carolina. The restudy effort received the endorsement of Hickel's successor, Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton, and was completed in 1971.[64]

The Transportation Concepts Report

The 60-page report was presented in landscape format with copious maps and a restrained amount of text, a format aimed at reaching members of Congress. Each transportation alternative or other facet of park development was introduced by a bold caption, given a brief discussion, and depicted on a base map for easy comparison with other alternatives. Conceptually, the report offered three points of departure for looking at transportation alternatives: the first, a "background" section that traced the history of the 1943 agreement and the government's obligation to fulfill that agreement; the second, a description of the present traffic congestion problem; and the third, a mention of the park's outstanding forest resources and pending wilderness recommendation. These three points of departure were given equal weight, and the transportation point was presented as a matter of resolving all these conflicting needs at once.[65]

The transportation alternatives were presented in two sections. The first section, "Possible Solutions," presented eleven different proposals that were either current or historical. Some of these ideas had been advanced by people outside the Park Service and had never had much support within the Park Service. Such was the case for the alternative of building an additional two lanes in the existing U.S. 441 corridor. "The existing road occupies most of the available land in the narrow stream valley that it utilizes for much of its length, and is currently subject to occasional rockslides of considerable magnitude," the report stated. "The widening or improvement of the road would cause unacceptable damage to the prime virgin forest bisected by this route and severely damage the natural scenic beauty of the stream valleys." Other "possible solutions" included the north shore road, trans-mountain road, Blue Ridge Parkway extension, Foothills Parkway extensions, reconstruction of State Highway 28 south of Fontana Lake, a beltway using existing roads, and transfer of the 44,000 acres that had come into the park via TVA back to Swain County.[66]

The second section was titled "National Park Service Proposals," and consisted of Alternatives A and B, with the latter being the recommended alternative. Both alternatives exhibited fresh and innovative thinking and made a significant departure from previous Park Service proposals. The first alternative, entitled the "visitor transit concept," proposed to develop a combination of rail and bus transportation to convey visitors on a car-free loop trip through the park. A new rail system would take visitors one way between Forney Creek and Elkmont, and a bus system would transport them back to their place of beginning via the Newfound Gap Road. The rail system would entail 7.5 miles of rail line on either side of the mountain crest plus approximately 1 mile of tunnel under the crest. All but 3.5 miles of the 16-mile rail line would be built on existing railroad bed that dated

back to the logging era. The estimated cost of the rail system was $40 million. The Park Service envisioned that stops or layover and transfer points along this visitor transit system would be located for easy access to wayside interpretive exhibits, scenic overlooks, picnic and tent camping areas, and hiking trails and fishing streams. The Newfound Gap Road would eventually be closed to all car traffic.[67]

Alternative B, the recommended alternative, was perhaps even more revolutionary. Although it did not envision a rail and bus system, and in that sense respected the sanctity of the automobile in American life, it proposed an eventual complete abandonment of the Newfound Gap Road. In its place, the Park Service would develop a system of parkways encircling Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The circumferential system of parkways would entail completion of the Foothills Parkway in Tennessee as well as development of a "Cumberland Parkway" around the east edge of the park from Cosby to its intersection with the Blue Ridge Parkway near Heintooga. The total estimated cost for the parkway system was $120 million — three times the cost of Alternative A. The Park Service proposed to phase out use of the Newfound Gap Road, starting with a free shuttle system that would convey visitors to the Smokemont campground, Chimneys picnic area, and Clingmans Dome. Eventually, once the parkways were completed, the Newfound Gap Road would be "obliterated and returned to its natural condition." The encircling parkways would then "protect this valuable resource for future generations and enhance the visitor's experience."[68]

This dramatic proposal to do away with the major road corridor through the park and allow the area to revert to wilderness might have marked a high-water mark for wilderness protection, but it inspired strong negative reaction. Tennessee's Governor Winfield Dunn wrote to Secretary Morton, "under no circumstances will we agree to the provisions of proposal B, closing and eventually obliterating U.S. 441 across the Smokies." He was no more accepting of the proposed rail and bus system.[69] Tennessee's Senator Howard Baker and former Senator Herbert Walters visited Morton in person to express their displeasure with the report. Walters observed that it would probably take an act of Congress to close the road, since the states had turned the road over to the federal government on condition that it would be kept open and no fees imposed. Meanwhile, the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association voiced its opposition to the road closure in a strongly-worded letter to Hartzog, and conservation groups such as the National Parks Conservation Association and The Wilderness Society did not offer any support. Morton told Hartzog he wanted the Park Service to come up with some plan that would settle the matter.[70] This set the stage for yet another planning effort, arguably the most ambitious planning effort undertaken for any single unit in the national park system, which is the subject of the next chapter.

Progress in Building the Foothills Parkway

Construction of the Foothills Parkway was initiated under Mission 66, with the first contract awarded in 1957 for partial construction of the Gatlinburg Spur. Although considered part of the parkway, the spur was technically an enhancement of existing U.S. 441 between Pigeon Forge and Gatlinburg. Through protracted negotiations from 1958 to 1960, Senator Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) saw to a further enlargement of this project so that it included the Gatlinburg Bypass, an alternative route into the park that would take some pressure off the bottleneck through Gatlinburg. At first the Park Service did not want this leg added to the parkway since it would require more points of access than was typical of a parkway. But Kefauver prevailed in getting the bypass authorized. Thus, some fifteen years after Congress authorized the Foothills Parkway in the Act of February 22, 1944, construction finally began on two sections near Gatlinburg that were actually perpendicular appendages to the parkway's intended route.[71]

Construction began on the Foothills Parkway proper on February 9, 1960, at Walland. This leg, designated 8H in project plans, extended 16.6 miles mostly along the summit of Chilhowee Mountain to Chilhowee. It was completed and opened to traffic in 1969. Meanwhile, another 6-mile section at the other end, designated 8A, was completed between I-40 and Cosby. In 1968, another 6.3-mile section (8G) was built from Walland to Carr's Creek and briefly opened to traffic. Erosion problems caused the closure of this section soon after it was opened. The continuation of this section to Wear Valley (8F) was also surveyed and partially constructed but not opened to traffic. When President Nixon took office in 1969, he froze project funds and progress on the parkway came to a standstill. However, both the Transportation Concepts report and the Secretary of the Interior's Advisory Board endorsed the Foothills Parkway in principle, keeping it alive.[72] Currently, park officials are hoping to complete the Walland to Wear Valley section as early as 2016.

Roaring Fork Motor Nature Trail and Cataloochee Access Road

Two other park roads raised somewhat different concerns about aesthetics and the national park experience and gave further evidence of a shift in values in the 1960s. The first of these was the Roaring Fork Motor Nature Trail. This scenic loop road was programmed and completed during the Kennedy administration with funds and labor provided under the Accelerated Public Works Program. For the first three miles the road was built for two-way traffic as it meandered through the area of former settlement known as Cherokee Orchard, then for its remaining seven miles it became a narrow, one-way road that climbed up a ridge and circled back to Gatlinburg down Roaring Fork. Along the way, the road gave close views of tumbling streams, wildflower patches, and hemlock groves. The idea for the road came from the park staff with input from Gatlinburg's mayor Bill Mills, hotel owner Jack Huff, and other community leaders.[73]

Superintendent Fred Overly viewed the road as a nature trail for the motorist, affording people in cars an "intimate view" of the mountain streams and flora. He saw the one-way road as a way to diversify the park's offerings for the visitor. The National Parks Association demurred, arguing that the road was another capitulation to the overwhelming influence of American car culture. The very term "motor nature trail" seemed insidious, a contradiction in terms. In an editorial in *National Parks Magazine* titled "A Trail is A Trail — Or Is It?" the association predicted that the one-lane road would be widened, then blacktopped, then two-laned. "In short, the Automobile Nature Trail is, in our opinion, nothing but an invitation to another road in the park."[74] Anthony Wayne Smith returned to this point in his testimony at the wilderness hearings:

> A trail is a place where a man can walk, feel the ground soft under his feet, not the blacktop; smell the woods, not the fumes of cars; and hear the birds, not the motors. Most park visitors, if given a little encouragement to leave their cars, will do so, and walk the short length of a good nature trail with keen interest. Nature trails, not motor trails, are what the park needs, and what, in our judgment, most visitors want when they go to a park. The motor trail notion should be dropped.[75]

The Park Service apparently heeded this advice, as the "motor nature trail" designation remains almost unique to the Roaring Fork road. The Joppa Ridge Motor Nature Trail in Mammoth Cave National Park may be the only other example of its kind in the national park system.

The second minor park road to raise concerns was the dead-end road to Cataloochee. With the coming of I-40 past the east edge of the park, the state of North Carolina proposed to acquire a right-of-way for an improved park entrance road in that section. The Park Service was receptive, and Congress passed a law on September 9, 1963 authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to accept land by donation from the state of North Carolina for this new entrance road. As a result of this legislation, the Park Service entered into an agreement with the state of North Carolina whereby the state would acquire about six miles of right-of-way and build nearly a mile of road from I-40 toward the park, and the Park Service would build the road to Cataloochee over the remaining five miles of right-of-way.[76]

The Cataloochee Valley was known for its quiet, pastoral setting and relict farm houses, similar in character to Cades Cove but not so crowded. Former residents of Cataloochee returned to the valley each summer for a reunion. Strong feeling existed both among the general public and among former residents that Cataloochee ought to be preserved as a special out-of-the-way place. While the area was already accessible by car, the twisting mountain roads tended to keep visitation low. The new entrance road threatened to pour thousands more tourists into the valley and spoil its quiet character.[77] These voices of protest were raised as early as 1963, temporarily cooling the Park Service's interest in the development project. But the obligation to the state of North Carolina remained, and the issue of whether or not to build the new access road would simmer for another decade.

[1] "N.C. Camp Grounds Bulging at Seams," *The Charlotte Observer*, July 10, 1960; "Campgrounds, Need for Expansion," *The Smoky Mountain Times* (Bryson City, North Carolina), July 14, 1960.

[2] Tom Robbins, interview by Theodore Catton, April 11, 2007.

[3] "More Americans 'Camping Out'," *Salt Lake City Tribune*, July 16, 1960.

[4] "Federal Officials Taking New Look at Mission '66," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, September 10, 1961.

[5] "Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Great Smoky Mountains National Park," April 27, 1960 (this copy prepared and recommended but not approved), Box III, Park Management Collection, GRSM. For annual visitation data, see appendix.

[6] George W. Fry to Harvey Broome, July 2, 1964, File 16, Box II, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[7] National Park Service, "National Park Service Awards Contract for Fontana Lake Road in Great Smoky Mountains National Park," June 2, 1960, Elmer F. Bennett to Luther Hodges, April 26, 1960, and Hodges to Bennett, May 12, 1960, File D30 Part 6, Box 1057, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[8] Anthony Wayne Smith to Luther Hodges, May 24, 1960, and Henry Wilson, Jr., May 10, 1960, File D30 Part 6, Box 1057, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II; Board of Commissioners of Swain County, "Brief

Prepared for the Honorable Luther Hodges of the State of North Carolina," no date, File 13, Box VII, Park Management, GRSM.

[9] Luther Hodges to Fred Seaton, September 1, 1960, Box 81, Governor Terry Sanford Collection, NCSA.

[10] Luther Hodges to Fred Seaton, September 1, 1960, Box 81, Governor Terry Sanford Collection, NCSA.

[11] Harvey Broome, "The Great Smoky Mountains National Park," *National Parks Magazine* 39 (March 1965): 4-7.

[12] Charles Elliott, "Open to Traffic," *Outdoor Life* 127 (February 1961): 23-24.

[13] E. T. Scoyen, "Observations on Great Smoky Mountains Problems," no date, Box II, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[14] "Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Great Smoky Mountains National Park," April 27, 1960 (this copy prepared and recommended but not approved), Box III, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[15] Office of the Secretary, "Park Service to Open Southern Area of Great Smokies Park to Autos," September 7, 1960, File D30 Part 6, Box 1057, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[16] Bruce M. Kilgore to Fred A. Seaton, October 10, 1960, File D30 Part 6, Box 1057, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[17] Anthony Wayne Smith to Stewart L. Udall, March 1, 1961, Howard Zahniser to Udall, February 15, 1961, and Thomas L. Kimball to All Members of the North Carolina Delegation in Congress et al., March 21, 1961, File D30 Part 6, Box 1057, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[18] Roy A. Taylor to Conrad L. Wirth, June 18, 1962, File 6, Box VI, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[19] Jackson E. Price to Roy A. Taylor, June 29, 1962, File 6, Box VI, Park Management Collection, GRSM; "The Fontana Road Problem," *National Parks Magazine*, 36 (July 1962): 18-19.

[20] "Western End of Fontana Road Still Not Planned," *Asheville Citizen*, April 25, 1962.

[21] "Interior Official Says Fontana Road Should be Built," *Asheville Citizen*, September 4, 1962.

[22] Fred J. Overly to Regional Director, May 1, 1963, Overly to William Medford, May 13, 1963, and Merle S. Sager to Overly, May 13, 1963, File 9, Box VII, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[23] "Sanford Statement Ill-Timed," *The Smoky Mountain Times* (Bryson City), September 5, 1963.

[24] George B. Hartzog, Jr., *Battling for the National Parks* (Mt. Kisko, New York: Moyer Bell Ltd., 1988), 33-37, 87-91; quote on 91.

[25] Glenn Cardwell, interview by Theodore Catton, April 24, 2007.

[26] "Personal History," George Washington Fry Collection, MS 2056, Special Collections Library of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

[27] George B. Hartzog, Jr., to Stanley Abbott, March 31, 1964, and Howard R. Stagner, "Report of the Preliminary Meeting of the Great Smoky Mountains Master Plan Committee – Washington, D.C., April 16, 1964," File 13, Box I, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[28] George W. Fry to Regional Director, June 23, 1964, File 15, Box I, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[29] "Summary of the April 18-26, Study of Great Smoky Mountains," File 13, Box I, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[30] "Summary of the April 18-26, Study of Great Smoky Mountains," File 13, Box I, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[31] "Summary of the April 18-26, Study of Great Smoky Mountains," File 13, Box I, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[32] "Summary of the April 18-26, Study of Great Smoky Mountains," File 13, Box I, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[33] "Summary of the April 18-26, Study of Great Smoky Mountains," File 13, Box I, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[34] "Report of Study Committee, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, to the Director, National Park Service, September 1, 1964," File 17, Box II, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[35] "Hikers Advocate 'Wait-and-See' on Park Roads," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 16, 1964.

[36] "Smokies Report is Delayed," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, September 13, 1964.

[37] "Report of Study Committee, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, to the Director, National Park Service, September 1, 1964," File 17, Box II, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[38] "Report of Study Committee, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, to the Director, National Park Service, September 1, 1964," File 17, Box II, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[39] "Report of Study Committee, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, to the Director, National Park Service, September 1, 1964," File 17, Box II, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[40] "Report of Study Committee, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, to the Director, National Park Service, September 1, 1964," File 17, Box II, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[41] "Report of Study Committee, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, to the Director, National Park Service, September 1, 1964," File 17, Box II, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[42] "Report of Study Committee, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, to the Director, National Park Service, September 1, 1964," File 17, Box II, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[43] "Report of Study Committee, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, to the Director, National Park Service, September 1, 1964," File 17, Box II, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[44] "Report of Study Committee, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, to the Director, National Park Service, September 1, 1964," File 17, Box II, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[45] "Smokies Report is Delayed," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, September 13, 1964.

[46] These points, while not made explicitly, may be inferred from correspondence in File D18, Box 994, Administrative Files 1949-1971, RG 79, NA II.

[47] George W. Fry to J. Aubrey Wagner, December 21, 1966, Wagner to Fry, January 6, 1967, and Fry to Wagner, January 10, 1967, File 8, Box V, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[48] Stewart M. Brandborg, "Statement for Smokies Wilderness Hearing," *Living Wilderness* 30 (Spring 1966): 28.

[49] "New Plan Ready for the Smokies," *Asheville Citizen*, September 16, 1965.

[50] Michael Frome, "Beauty or the Bulldozer?" *American Forests* 72 (February 1966): 42.

[51] "Notice of Public Hearing," *Living Wilderness* 30 (Spring 1966): 11.

[52] Superintendent to Regional Director, June 20, 1966, File 13, Box V, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[53] "Description of Wilderness Proposals for Great Smoky Mountains National Park," *Living Wilderness* 30 (Spring 1966): 17-18.

[54] "A Wilderness Plan for the Smokies," *Living Wilderness* 29 (Summer 1965): 32-36.

[55] Anthony Wayne Smith, "Wilderness in the Smokies," *National Parks Magazine*, 40 (August 1966): I-IV.

[56] "Road Around Smokies Proposed by N. Carolina Mountain Club," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, April 9, 1967.

[57] "Alternate Road Plan Suggested By Udall," *Asheville Citizen*, June 6, 1967; "Now national issue, Udall hints at alternate road solution," *Gatlinburg Press*, June 15, 1967; "Harzog says no visible solution to Great Smokies road, asks for Blue Ridge extension," August 10, 1967.

[58] "Mountain Road Vetoed by Udall," *Asheville Citizen Times*, December 10, 1967; "Udall: No Transmountain Road For Swain; Lake Road Okayed," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, December 11, 1967.

[59] "Swain Pushes Suit Against Government," *Asheville Citizen*, December 13, 1967.

[60] "Will Study Park Road, Udall Says," *Knoxville Journal*, March 7, 1968; "Udall Reconsidering Park Road," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, March 7, 1968.

[61] "Udall Again Rejects Road Over Smokies," *Knoxville News Sentinel*, January 7, 1969.

[62] "Tourist Road Backers Meet With Hickel," *Asheville Citizen*, March 19, 1969.

[63] Minutes of Annual Meeting of North Carolina National Park, Parkway and Forests Development Commission, August 25, 1969, Box 40, Governor Robert W. Scott Collection, NCSA; "Great Smoky Mountain Delegation Visits Secretary Hickel," *Living Wilderness* 33 (Summer 1969): 36-37.

[64] Minutes of Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Park, Parkway, and Forests Development Commission, July 20, 1970, Box 185, Governor Robert W. Scott Collection, NCSA.

[65] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Transportation Concepts, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina-Tennessee* (Washington: National Park Service, 1971), 1-11.

[66] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Transportation Concepts, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina-Tennessee* (Washington: National Park Service, 1971), 12-33.

[67] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Transportation Concepts, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina-Tennessee*, 34.

[68] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Transportation Concepts, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina-Tennessee*, 38.

[69] Winfield Dunn to Rogers C. B. Morton, April 30, 1971, Box 369, Governor Robert W. Scott, NCSA.

[70] Minutes of Meeting, Joint Session Tennessee Smoky Mountain Park Commission and North Carolina National Park, Parkway, and Forests Development Commission, May 10, 1971, Box 333, Governor Robert W. Scott, NCSA.

[71] Director to Regional Director, April 27, 1955, Director to Regional Director, July 26, 1956, E. T. Scoyen to Carlos C. Campbell, December 10, 1956, and Scoyen to Regional Director, March 6, 1957, File D30 Part 4, Box 1057, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II; Conrad L. Wirth to Estes Kefauver, March 20, 1959, Campbell to Wirth, March 24, 1959, Scoyen to D. W. Moulton, June 8, 1959, and Scoyen to Secretary of the Interior, December 28, 1959, File D30 Part 5, Box 1057, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II, Campbell to Edward J. Meeman, May 18, 1960, File D30 Part 6, Box 1057, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II; Wirth to Moulton, December 28, 1960, File D30 Part 7, Box 1057, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II; Wirth to Secretary of the Interior, December 31, 1958, File D30, Box 24, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER; Superintendent to Regional Director, January 16, 1959, File D30, Box 25, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER; Superintendent to Regional Director, July 28, 1960, File 3815, Box 5, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[72] Dean Stone, "History of the Foothills Parkway," September 1990, File D30, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM; "Foothills Parkway," no date, File 1, Box I, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[73] "New Scenic Automobile Nature Loop Trail Starts at Gatlinburg," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, April 21, 1963.

[74] "A Trail is a Trail – Or Is It?" *National Parks Magazine* 37 (September 1963): 2.

[75] Smith, "Wilderness in the Smokies," IV.

[76] Richard T. Montgomery to Assistant to the Director, December 8, 1966, and Stanley A. Cain to Wayne N. Aspinall, March 20, 1968, Box XVII, Park Management Collection, GRSM; Boyd Evison, "Statement for Management, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," February 28, 1977 (approved by Regional Director Joe Brown, July 5, 1978), File 5, Box I, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[77] "Roadbuilding and Aircraft in Great Smokies Park," *National Parks Magazine* 37 (January 1963): 15.

Chapter Seven

Planning and Development in the Environmental Decade

Innovation and impasse continued to describe park planning and development as Great Smoky Mountains entered the environmental decade. The problem of park development remained one of reconciling wilderness values with growing visitor use, while negotiating the government's contractual obligation to Swain County. However, doubts raised in the 1960s about the park's basic development scheme — its orientation to day use and the car-bound visitor — took on a new cast in the 1970s amidst the national conversation about energy consumption, dependence on foreign oil, and mass transit alternatives to car traffic.

Historians have wrestled with the larger meaning of the abrupt semantic change from "conservation movement" to "environmental movement" that occurred around the time of Earth Day in 1970. Two distinguishing features of environmentalism, its grassroots appeal and its holistic concern about the health of the planet and the fate of humankind, were already emergent in the movement politics of the 1960s. The environmental movement in the 1970s was inspired as well by a growing currency of ideas based in the natural sciences, such as the concept of carrying capacity and the web of life. It was also shaped by politics: a popular mood of distrust in government (intensified by the Vietnam War, Watergate, and the collapse of two successive American presidencies), a desire for greater public involvement in decision-making, and disillusionment with the affluent society, including its rapture with the automobile.

The decade of the 1970s has been called the "environmental decade" because of a spate of important environmental legislation that was enacted, beginning with the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), which Nixon signed into law on January 1, 1970. Several of these laws were of great significance for national park policy and management. Laws such as NEPA, the Endangered Species Act, and the Clean Air Act, though broad in scope, still had a profound effect in their application to national parks. The National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 prescribed steps the Park Service was to follow in managing the national park system, mandating that a General Management Plan (GMP) would be completed for each unit in the system.

Starting with NEPA, environmental legislation in the 1970s reframed the planning process in Great Smoky Mountains National Park. NEPA called for more deliberation in all government actions affecting the environment. If an action was deemed significant enough to require an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), then the federal agency had to conduct a study based on research and data analysis before taking the action. Furthermore, the proposed action and the EIS had to be submitted to a public review process. While the Wilderness Act of 1964 had already caused the Park Service to involve the public more rigorously in its decision-making process, NEPA took the Park Service much farther in that direction.

Another significant influence on the Park Service, and on Great Smoky Mountains in particular, was the growing interest in land-use planning. Land-use planning aimed to empower local governments to encourage private development that was in the public interest and to control private development that was not in the public interest. At the beginning of the 1970s, land-use planning became a key component of the Nixon administration's environmental legislative program. In the U.S. Senate, Henry Jackson (D-WA) led a bipartisan legislative effort aimed at enhancing the federal role in land-use planning. However, support for the federal legislation steadily eroded as a coalition of home builders, farmers, and business groups lobbied vigorously to defeat it. Eventually the Nixon administration withdrew its support for the bill and when Gerald R. Ford became president he refused to support it as well.[1] This cresting wave of public support for land-use planning formed the context for the Park Service's launch of a new generation of master plan studies in the 1970s. The new master plans (renamed general management plans near the end of the decade) were to reflect a more comprehensive planning effort involving more interagency coordination, greater emphasis on integration of the park with the region, increased opportunity for citizen participation, and a new level of sophistication in data processing with the aid of computer technology. Two big national parks with complicated management issues were selected for pilot studies: Yosemite and Great Smoky Mountains.

Although the Nixon Administration signed the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) into law, federal support for land use planning soon fizzled.

A Regional Effort

In the spring of 1973, the Park Service announced with great fanfare that it was initiating a new master plan study for Great Smoky Mountains National Park. This time, the planning team came from the Denver Service Center, a new Park Service office that combined in one central location the staffs and functions of the former eastern and western branch offices of design and construction located in Washington and San Francisco. The opening of the Denver Service Center signaled the Park Service's rededication to state-of-the-art planning. The Denver Service Center assembled a crack team of planners to send to Great Smoky Mountains, including a sociologist, a resource management planner, an ecologist, an engineer, and a landscape architect. Heading the planning team was David Turello, a 23-year veteran of the Park Service.[2]

Almost as soon as the Denver Service Center team was on the ground its members began to sense that the task of developing a new master plan was even more challenging than they had imagined. Turello expressed "shock" at the intense visitor use pressures in evidence, and reckoned that Great Smoky Mountains was 15 years ahead of other parks in that regard. Moreover, when the team canvassed citizens about the park's future, they found a wide spectrum of views, with some citizens still insisting on a second trans-mountain road and others calling for road closures, the removal of backcountry shelters, and greater wilderness protection. Six weeks after the study was begun, Regional Director George Fry recommended that the Washington office revise the planning directive so as to decouple the master plan from the wilderness recommendation, which still needed to be revised and submitted to Congress by September 1974, arguing that the master plan effort should not be bound by this congressionally-imposed deadline. The Washington office denied the request in August but approved it one month later as the complexity of the planning effort began to emerge. In particular, the Washington office was concerned about how NEPA would affect the process. It was presumed that the master plan could not be completed by 1974, but no one predicted that the effort would stretch over nine years.[3]

The planning team's first step was to encourage local public interest in this planning effort and secure the participation of county governments, state agencies, and other federal land managers in the 13-county area surrounding the park. Team member Charles Riebe attended various regional planning meetings from June through December 1973, soliciting support for an interagency recreational resource planning initiative. Riebe found strong support for it, and an Ad Hoc Steering Committee was formed at the end of the year headed by the superintendent of Great Smoky Mountains and members of the park commissions of North Carolina and Tennessee. Subsequently, the park commissions were replaced on the steering committee by the North Carolina Department of Natural and Economic Resources and the East Tennessee Development District, respectively, and the Park Service superintendent assumed a subordinate role to the state officers. The change in leadership was a deliberate move to allay public concern that the Park Service might overstep its bounds in the regional planning effort. As finally constituted, the working group included members from nine federal agencies, thirteen counties, two universities, the Appalachia Regional Commission, and the Eastern Band of Cherokee, as well as other state offices of North Carolina and Tennessee. With some 75 members, it was loosely styled the Great Smokies Regional Planning Team. Charles Riebe was promoted to co-captain of the Denver Service Center team, with responsibility for coordinating meetings by this large and unwieldy group.[4]

Turello, meanwhile, focused on data collection. Turello cast the net widely, collecting all sorts of data for the whole

13-county area. The planners collected data on the spatial distribution of various natural resources and land forms: forest types, fish populations, flood plains, lakes and streams. They turned to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) for satellite images of the park and surrounding region. They researched textual records in agencies and libraries, gathering historical data from as far back as the CCC era. The natural resources data were assembled in a "Resources Basic Inventory" package and input into computers at the Marshall Space Center's Mississippi Testing Facility under a contract with NASA.[5]

The planners also collected data on visitor use. Traffic counters were installed at numerous points around the park to provide data on vehicular circulation. Statistical reports and registers were combed for data on campground and picnic-area use. A visitor survey was initiated for the park, the first since 1956. As part of the visitor survey, people were randomly flagged down on roads leading to the park and asked about their travel itinerary. The visitor use information was directed at developing two data sets: present conditions and projected use in 1990. Projections for 1990 were derived from a combination of recreational-use trend analysis (extracted from more than 50 separate white papers prepared by different members on the regional team) and interpretation of "the public's desires for the future" (based in part on the visitor use survey).[6]

The amassed data threatened to overwhelm the planning effort. Problems arose with computerizing the data, sharing data among so many team members, and projecting data onto maps. There was an attempt to distill a large part of the data onto a series of transparent overlay maps of the region. TVA prepared one set of 20 overlay maps, while NASA prepared another set of 18. It had not occurred to anyone that site-specific data from different agencies might be oriented to different map projections of the curvature of the earth. This problem stunningly revealed itself when a map of fisheries was produced that showed all of the fish populations to be located on dry land.[7]

Finally the time came to put the information together and produce a preliminary regional plan. Riebe organized a multi-day workshop at Western Carolina University. Deputy Director Robert Stanton came from Washington to kick it off. "We are in an era of great expectations and we have great expectations for this effort," he told the assembled participants.[8] When it became clear that the Park Service expected to have a draft report at the end of the workshop, some participants objected that they did not have all the data; they wanted to go back to their separate offices. Riebe insisted that it was more important that they stay together in one big room and crunch out a report. After six days, they had a preliminary report. It was titled *Coordinated Guidelines for Recreation Resource Use in the Great Smokies Region.*[9]

The regional planning team chose the term "coordinated guidelines" with care, as it underscored the fact that each county in the region retained the right to accept, modify, or reject the guidelines as it saw fit. In a time of national debate about expanding the federal role in land-use planning, the 13 counties guarded their prerogatives. The guidelines had two reciprocal purposes: one, to ensure that the new master plan for Great Smoky Mountains would correspond to actual conditions in the surrounding region as they might develop over the next decade and a half, and the other, to restrict development in the park's abutting counties so as to preserve the region's scenic and recreational qualities. Toward the latter end, the regional planning team recommended that counties, municipalities, and other regional entities "develop and use comprehensive land-use planning and growth management processes" such as subdivision regulations, zoning ordinances, and resource management policies. The guidelines promoted the systematic protection of mountain slopes and summits, flood plains, and other sensitive areas; however, implementation of the guidelines would vary with each local government.[10]

Despite all of the effort to formulate a regional plan based on objective measures, the final result was still political. The regional planning team's specific recommendations on transportation access alternatives were its most eagerly awaited pronouncement. It recommended nine specific additions or modifications to existing roads and highways, including four of central importance to park planning. These four were: extension of the Blue Ridge Parkway from its terminus at Raven Fork to the Deep Creek area near Bryson City, no further consideration of either a second transmountain road or a north shore road, continued emphasis on the concept of a circumferential road around the park, and Park Service preparation of an environmental impact statement on the proposed Cataloochee access road. Moreover, the *Coordinated Guidelines* recommended a package of development-oriented items to substitute for the federal government's longstanding contractual obligation to Swain County. These were: extension of the Blue Ridge Parkway, construction of a visitor center near the new Deep Creek terminus of the Blue Ridge Parkway, federal and state assistance to Bryson City in the development of high-quality destination facilities there, and federal and state promotion of the Deep Creek area as an entrance to Great Smoky Mountains National Park.[11] This package approach was soon fleshed out in a "Ten Point Proposal" for resolving the dispute with Swain County.

The Wilderness Recommendation of 1974

The Park Service had agreed to wait for the regional planning team to issue a preliminary report before its own planning team would move ahead with a new master plan for the park. However, the Park Service did not wait on the regional plan to proceed with its wilderness recommendation for Great Smoky Mountains. Rather, it decided to put the wilderness recommendation on a fast track, since it had already held wilderness hearings in 1966 and did not see a necessity for further public review.

In February 1972, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Fish, Wildlife and Parks Nathaniel Reed announced that the second trans-mountain road proposal was dead and that the corridor for this road, which the Park Service had excluded in its earlier wilderness recommendation, should now be considered for wilderness. Soon after Reed's announcement a wilderness study team was formed and began to review the material contained in the 1966 hearings.[12] The revised wilderness recommendation was completed in August 1974, and an environmental impact statement followed in October.[13]

The Park Service recommended five units of wilderness totaling 390,500 acres. This amounted to about three-fourths of the total land area of the park, and compared favorably with the wilderness proposal put forward by the Smoky Mountains Hiking Club and endorsed by The Wilderness Society in the mid-1960s. It added 147,740 acres to the wilderness area described in the Park Service's preliminary proposal. The largest addition was in the area of the park where the second trans-mountain road had been proposed, but there were also significant additions in the Abrams Falls area, the Mount Guyot area, and the Cataloochee Divide area. In the earlier proposal, the Park Service had recommended a 400-acre corridor to Le Conte Lodge should be excluded from wilderness because the heavily-used trail was used as a supply route to the backcountry lodge. In the revised wilderness recommendation the Park Service proposed this area for wilderness designation, based on an assumption that the lodge would be removed by December 1977. In the earlier proposal the Park Service had also excluded a number of other corridors so as to preserve the option of developing motor nature trails or other forms of motorized access to popular backcountry sites. In the revised wilderness recommendation the Park Service added these areas also.[14]

Some 4,240 acres that had been included in the earlier wilderness proposal were deleted in the 1974 wilderness recommendation. These deletions were mostly due to the development of policy on wilderness management since 1966. For example, the Park Service included in its earlier proposal eight minor roads that it wanted to maintain permanently as a necessary function of maintaining the trail system. With the benefit of new wilderness management policy guidelines, it now recommended that these roads be excluded from wilderness; the roads would remain closed to the public by locked gates. It also recommended deletion of 180 acres for a road corridor to a cemetery in the Meigs Mountain area, south of Gatlinburg. Motorized access to the cemetery was well-established, and wilderness management policy did not make exception for this type of motorized use.[15]

The wilderness recommendation was central to the continuing public discourse on park development, and it is a little surprising to find that all public comment included at the back of the report was eight years old at the time of publication, having been extracted from the 1966 wilderness hearings. In the environmental impact statement that accompanied the wilderness recommendation, the Park Service baldly stated that designation of the recommended wilderness areas would "preclude construction of any major new road across the higher elevation of the park." It went on to observe that the Blue Ridge Parkway could still be extended from Ravens Fork to Deep Creek near Bryson City, and that the north shore road could still be built, if either should be authorized. It noted as well that wilderness designation would preclude widening the road over Newfound Gap to four lanes, a measure that the Park Service had consistently opposed. Congestion on this road might be alleviated in the future, the Park Service stated, by mass transit alternatives such as bus service.[16]

In December 1977, Senator Jim Sasser (D-TN) introduced legislation to create a Great Smoky Mountains Wilderness Area within the national park. His bill largely followed the Park Service's recommendations; the major difference was that Sasser's bill preserved Mount Le Conte Lodge and trail shelters along the Appalachian Trail and excluded these facilities from prohibitions of the Wilderness Act. Sasser's bill also provided that nothing in the act would be construed to affect any rights of Swain County under the agreement of 1943, and it directed the Secretary of the Interior to find an acceptable compromise that would "preserve the community values and the way of life" of Swain County residents.[17] Despite this language, the messy matter of the government's contractual obligations to Swain County was probably fatal to the bill's chances. North Carolina's representative for the western district, Lamar Gudger (D), declared his opposition to the wilderness bill. Sasser re-introduced the bill in 1979 and 1981; each time it

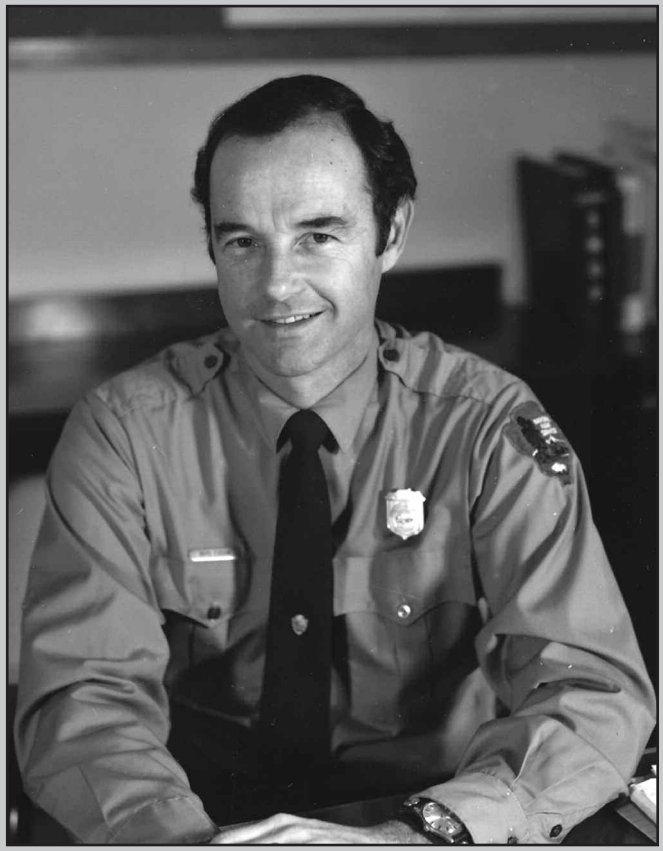
died in committee.

But Congress's inaction on the wilderness recommendation was much less important than the fact that the Park Service had completed the wilderness recommendation and submitted it. Park Service policy, stemming from the Wilderness Act of 1964, required that the area included in the recommendation should henceforth be managed as de facto "Wilderness" with a capital "W" as if it had the full protection of the law.

The Ten Point Proposal

In June 1975, Superintendent Vince Ellis retired and the young and talented Boyd Evison was appointed in his place. Evison was a rising star in the National Park Service. At the time he was tapped to go to the Smokies, Evison was in his third year as superintendent of the Horace Albright Training Center in Grand Canyon, where he was able to give ample expression to his vision of Park Service environmental stewardship. Shortly after entering on duty at Great Smoky Mountains, he attended a meeting in Asheville aimed at finding a settlement of the north shore road issue. Participants were buoyed by the spirit of cooperation that had developed among members of the regional planning team, which had culminated with the six-day workshop and preparation of the *Coordinated Guidelines* in the preceding month. At the Asheville meeting, the specific recommendations made in the *Coordinated Guidelines* were broadened into a "Ten Point Proposal." Evison pledged his support, along with everyone else in attendance, to get the proposal in writing, secure the necessary endorsements, and submit it to Congress.[18]

Had it resulted in an act of Congress, the Ten Point Proposal would have replaced the federal government's commitment to building the north shore road with an extension of the Blue Ridge Parkway from Raven Fork to the Deep Creek area near Bryson City, the construction of a visitor center at the new terminus, and the completion of the existing road as far as Forney Creek. Further, it would have required the federal government to make a cash payment to Swain County equal to the difference between the present-day cost of building the north shore road and the cost of the substitute development, and it would have urged Congress to consider additional annual payments to Swain County to compensate for the loss of taxable private land since the north shore area had been annexed to the park. The Ten Point Proposal also required the North Carolina Department of Transportation to upgrade certain state roads in Swain County. Finally, it called upon the North Carolina Department of Natural and Economic Resources and TVA to provide technical assistance aimed at spurring economic development in Swain County. The provisions for cash payments and technical assistance were added at the insistence of the Swain County Board of Commissioners.[19]



Boyd Evison was a young, rising star in the Park Service when he became superintendent in1975. He was concerned about congestion in the park and became an advocate of public transportation, walking trails, and bicycling.

Swain County's economic problems could not be denied. About 80 percent of Swain County's land area was federally controlled in 1975. This included the Cherokee Indian Reservation as well as land within the national park and the Nantahala National Forest and the area inundated by Fontana Reservoir. Of the 66,221 acres in private ownership in Swain County, some were in-holdings located within the federal areas where development options were restricted, and a substantial portion of the remainder was marginal land. The county had experienced out-migration for most of the past half century, particularly among its youth. The unemployment rate was the highest of any county in the state and per capita income was among the lowest. Most of the population centered around Bryson City, the county seat.[20]

Governor James M. Holshouser, Jr. pushed the Ten Point Proposal with department officials in Washington. In September 1976, the governor met with Assistant Secretary

of the Interior Nat Reed, the new director of the Park Service, Gary Everhardt, and an assistant director of the Office of Management and Budget, Jim Mitchell. The governor explained that the state was pursuing its responsibilities under the Ten Point Proposal, and he was anxious to know if the Department of the Interior would do its part, including give its support to a calculation of what he termed "reparations" for Swain County. While the "reparations" were ultimately for Congress to act upon, it was up to Interior to approve the cluster of federal projects revolving around an extension of the Blue Ridge Parkway to the Deep Creek area. Reed replied that those federal projects would be considered as part of the park's new master plan or "General Management Plan" (GMP) as it was now called. The Park Service was presently working on a draft environmental assessment of management alternatives, which it would put out for public review during the coming winter. After public review, the Park Service would prepare a draft GMP and environmental impact statement, which would be put out for public review as well, perhaps by the fall of 1977. The department did not expect to have a final GMP until 1978.[21]

The "environmental assessment of management alternatives" duly appeared in February 1977 and public meetings were held near the park. Meanwhile, Superintendent Evison developed serious misgivings about the proposed extension of the Blue Ridge Parkway to the Deep Creek area. The ongoing environmental impact study showed that the proposed road would likely incur similar problems to those that plagued the first few miles of road around the north shore of the reservoir, including acid seepage from the exposed Anakeesta rock formation. Evison proposed an alternative, to develop an interpretive center at Deep Creek and a day-use area (picnicking and lake access trail) at the end of the existing north shore road. This idea was put into an environmental review, a follow-up document to the environmental assessment whose ostensible purpose was to weigh the necessity of completing an EIS for the GMP. The environmental review was run through two drafts in the spring of 1977 with the help of the Denver Service Center and comment from the regional office, and the revised environmental review was released to the public in early June. Much more than the environmental assessment, the environmental review provided a coherent blueprint for the GMP. A few weeks after its release, Evison met with the Swain County Board of Commissioners in Bryson City to explain its import in person. He emphasized that the environmental review indicated Park Service "preferences" rather than "fixed decisions" and that it was only a step in the planning process. Still, county officials expressed sharp disappointment, accusing the Park Service of making "empty promises" and chiding the agency for treating the environmental review as an internal effort rather than opening it up to all concerned parties.[22]

With the environmental review, Evison distanced the Park Service from the Ten Point Proposal. The governor of North Carolina, for his part, formed a committee to keep the initiative alive. This task force was called the Study Committee for the 1943 Agreement, and its chairman was David Felmet, head of the North Carolina Park, Parkway, and Forests Development Council. Felmet's committee eventually developed a Twelve Point Proposal in place of the Ten Point Proposal. Instead of extending the Blue Ridge Parkway through the park, it called for a study by the Interior Department to examine the feasibility of extending the parkway through the Cherokee Indian Reservation, with its southern terminus in Bryson City. The Twelve Point Proposal contained a list of other improvements in and around Bryson City, including one demand of particular significance: access to cemeteries in the Swain County area of the park, either by road or motorized watercraft, the latter to be operated by the Park Service. The Twelve Point Proposal also put forth a cash settlement amount of more than $14 million.[23]

In 1980, David Felmet was delighted by an announcement from Secretary of the Interior Cecil A. Andrus that the federal government might settle the matter for $9.5 million. The announcement came shortly after President Jimmy Carter's re-election defeat in November; Andrus was speaking for a lame duck administration and it was up to Congress to appropriate the money. On December 4, 1980, Swain County's Representative Lamar Gudger introduced legislation to appropriate the money. The measure passed the Senate but it was held up in the House because it was presented in the form of an amendment to a spending bill, one of 142 such amendments, and the House was about to recess. As a result, the bill went to joint conference where the House asked the Senate to rescind the Swain County amendment and the Senate complied. The legislation was "deferred without prejudice."[24]

Transportation Alternatives

In the 1970s, discussions about visitor access, wilderness protection, and carrying capacity often came back to people's feelings about cars. People were passionate about cars, both for and against. Some people bemoaned the park's longtime orientation to the motorist and thought that the Park Service ought to exercise environmental leadership in weaning the public from its automobile dependency. Others regarded the Park Service's shift toward wilderness protection as a betrayal of the national park idea; in their view, driv-

ing to view scenery was the most democratic form of the national park experience. While debate about the place of the automobile in the park generally focused on park values and issues, it was often tinged by passions and political views formed in a wider context. This was a time of serious questioning of America's commitment to the car culture. The environmental decade produced a revival of public interest in mass transit, a critical backward look at the development of the federal interstate highway system, widespread disenchantment with the spread of subdivisions and shopping malls, and even a short-lived experiment with a federal conservation speed limit. Alternatives to the car culture were celebrated. In the summer of 1976, for example, Bikecentennial observed the nation's 200th birthday by organizing a trans-America bicycle tour, and more than 4,000 people made the epic trip from Astoria, Oregon to Yorktown, Virginia.

Superintendent Evison was philosophically in tune with the car culture's critics. His first action was symbolic: he immediately began to change the park's automobile fleet, replacing full-size cars with fuel-efficient compacts. In another symbolic gesture, and one that was much more visible to the public, he directed the Maintenance Division to stop mowing roadsides in order to reduce the park administration's fuel consumption. In addition to conserving fuel, Evison reasoned, the unkempt roadsides would send "a message to visitors that they are in a natural area, a place where nature — not man — determines what grows."[25] Early in 1976, the superintendent instituted three minor road closures in the park. The last few miles of the Tremont, Elkmont, and Greenbrier roads were closed not only to the motoring public, but also to vehicular use by park maintenance crews. To enforce the closures he had the Maintenance Division position a boulder in the middle of each roadway —not-so-subtle roadblocks soon known as "Boyd's boulders." More than a hundred citizens signed a petition calling on their local representative and two senators to intercede. John W. Anderson, Jr., executive director of the East Tennessee Development District, wrote a strongly worded protest. Evison calmly responded to these complaints by insisting that a reduction of the park's 234 miles of public roads by 7.1 miles could hardly be labeled a "drastic action." The sections of road placed off-limits to cars were narrow and unpaved and would appeal to hikers, he stated.[26]

Evison initiated an experiment with bus transportation in the park. The purpose was to learn whether scheduled bus service had the potential to reduce traffic congestion, provide better visitor service, and conserve energy. The proposed concession would operate two 50-passenger buses, one from Sugarlands and the other from Oconaluftee, with round trips available to Newfound Gap, Clingmans Dome, and Cades Cove, and intermediate stops available at various trailheads and campgrounds. Bus drivers would be given interpretive training and buses would be equipped with public address systems. The Park Service issued a prospectus in 1978 but the plan sputtered due to lack of public interest.[27]

Evison tried to increase bicycle use by park visitors. He proposed to convert the Little River Road to one-way car traffic from Townsend Wye to Metcalf Bottoms, and to dedicate one-third of that roadway to bicycle lanes. He also wanted bikeways to be incorporated into the Foothills Parkway, and bicycle rental stations to be provided with convenient access to the bikeways. Further measures to promote bicycle use included occasional closure of the Cades Cove loop road to cars (on a few Saturday evenings each summer) and construction of a bike path from Gatlinburg to Sugarlands. Only the latter items were carried into the GMP.[28]

In addition to promoting mass transit and bicycling as alternatives to car transportation, Evison wanted car users to take more opportunities to get out of their vehicles and away from the road. His lasting innovation in this regard was to introduce "quiet walkways," light foot trails where a motorist could pull off the road and walk a few hundred yards into the woods for a taste of quiet and solitude. The quiet walkways were developed in locations where the road shoulder could accommodate one or two cars and the trail could meander over relatively level terrain through a hardwood cove or alongside a stream, providing an easy stroll away from traffic noise. They were designed so that ordinary motorists, without hiking boots or backpacks, would be comfortable leaving their cars. The quiet walkways did not challenge that old staple of visitor enjoyment, driving to view scenery, so much as they afforded a way to augment it.[29]

Some of Evison's ideas about the park road system were controversial. He suggested closing the Parson Branch Road and the Heintooga-Round Bottom Road to motorized vehicles. If these roads could not be closed, they could at least be limited to one-way traffic. Evison supported the development of a new access road to Cataloochee, but he wanted it restricted to one-way traffic, with one-lane inbound traffic allowed from 12:01 a.m. to noon, and one-lane outbound traffic allowed from 12:01 p.m. to midnight. Furthermore, there would be a maximum daily limit of 600 vehicles or 1,800 persons, whichever came first.[30] The Cataloochee access road stirred more public interest, both for and against, than any other road proposal, even eclipsing public interest in the north shore road.[31] The issue was clearly one of recreational carrying capacity, since the area was already accessible by automobile, albeit via a tortuous mountain road out of Cove Creek. Opponents did not want the peaceful valley

to become another Cades Cove, overrun by people driving cars. One citizen, Doris B. Hammett of Waynesville, reflected the temper of the times in her comment: "I believe that our citizens are now more aware of the value of the preservation of a resource such as the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, and will not allow us to destroy the natural values of the park under the guise of better accessibility from the car window."[32] She was right: citizen response would lead the Park Service to drop the proposed access road from the final GMP.

Evison shepherded the park development plan through multiple environmental reviews and two rounds of public hearings, but he did not remain in the park long enough to see the process through to completion. Idealistic and opinionated, he alienated a number of people, particularly in Swain County. His sympathetic stand on wilderness designation and his frank talk of curbing automobile access led certain individuals, such as David Felmet of the North Carolina Park, Parkway and Forests Development Council, to accuse the Park Service of abandoning the cooperative approach developed by the regional planning team. In 1978, the Swain County Board of Commissioners petitioned Washington for Evison's removal. Evison was called to the Washington office, where the Park Service leadership persuaded him that it was time for a change of superintendents. Outside of Great Smoky Mountains, however, Evison's star was still rising. He was promoted to assistant director and soon thereafter was offered the job of director, which he declined in favor of returning to the western parks.[33]

Completing the General Management Plan

Evison's replacement was Merrill D. Beal, the mild-mannered regional director of the Midwest Region. Beal already had some familiarity with Great Smoky Mountains, having served there as assistant superintendent under Vince Ellis in 1972. Returning to the park after a six-year absence, he was rather surprised to find that the GMP had not yet been completed given all the attention it had received around the time of his earlier one-year tour of duty in the park. It seemed to Beal that the planning process had become "bogged down in all the data." Moreover, it had been hurt by the turnover of personnel on the Denver Service Center's planning team. After the departure of Turello first and Riebe after that, another member of the team, Linn Spaulding, had been appointed team captain. A civil engineer by background, Spaulding had begun his career in the Park Service during Mission 66. He had served as a planner in the western branch office before his job was relocated to the Denver Service Center in the early 1970s. He had been on the Great Smoky Mountains project almost since its inception and recognized the need to get the plan done. By this time, the effort was no longer being touted as a pilot study or prototype for other park planning efforts; rather, it was viewed as exceptional in view of the park's complexity. While this plan (and its western companion study, the GMP for Yosemite) were both stalled, the Denver Service Center had moved ahead and produced a number of other general management plans for smaller units in the national park system.[34] Beal explained to Spaulding that in order to get the GMP into a form that would be accepted, the most intractable problems facing the park had to be finessed rather than laid out in detail. A general management plan could not identify solutions to management issues; it could only point managers in a general direction. Evison had conveyed a similar message to the planning team when he was superintendent. "I need a general management plan that's going to talk about the future direction for the park," he once told the planning team on a visit to Denver. He wanted ideas and objectives, not details on various management options. "I'm the manager; I'll figure out how to accomplish it," Evison said. "I need the GMP to tell me what direction we should go." Nat Kuykendall, a young planner who would later become the fourth and final team captain when Spaulding retired in 1980, remembered that Evison's remarks made a deep impression. But it took time for the planners to adjust their thinking. At the beginning of the process they had aimed to include as much detail as possible; by the end they were paring it down more and more and the plan was still too prescriptive.[35]

Under Spaulding's direction, the draft GMP was completed in the first half of 1979 and released for public review that July. Two public meetings were held in Waynesville, North Carolina, and Maryville, Tennessee, on July 25 and 26. Both meetings were well attended. Two issues drew more response than all the others, and both related to road proposals. The first of these was the proposed Cataloochee access road, which raised strong objections. The second issue was the longstanding problem of the federal government's commitment to Swain County. The draft GMP recommended that the north shore road not be extended any further than its present terminus, which drew an impassioned response from residents of Swain County, especially those with an interest in cemetery access.[36]

Written responses to the draft GMP were perhaps even more illuminating. As in the public meetings, the response to the overall plan was basically positive while the response to specific proposals were largely negative. The Cataloochee access road drew more responses than any other item, with 83 percent of the comments being in opposition to it. The

north shore road did not engender as much written comment, but 44 percent of those comments were opposed — opposed, that is, to the Park Service's recommendation of no further extension of it. Other road proposals that drew a strong negative response were the Park Service's recommendation to close the Parson Branch and Heintooga-Round Bottom roads to all motorized use, its proposal to make a section of the Little River Road one-way, and a proposal to construct a new one-way road between Wears Cove and Metcalf Bottom. What these responses demonstrated was that each section of the park had its particular constituency who wanted to keep that section essentially status quo. Taken all in all, the public comments registered considerable resistance to changing the park's road system one way or the other — either reducing it or expanding it. This proved the importance of making a general management plan speak to general park objectives.[37]

The final GMP was produced by the Denver Service Center in 1980. Beal submitted it to the regional office in the spring of 1981, but Regional Director Joe Brown was in no hurry to approve it. In Beal's view, Brown had so much controversy over Great Smoky Mountains that he was "gun shy." Although the final plan finessed the most controversial issues — the north shore road, the Cataloochee access road, the Elkmont leases — certain people and organizations were primed to renew the fight. Beal waited patiently, recognizing "the time had to be right." Finally, Beal arranged for a meeting in Washington with Director Russell Dickinson and Deputy Regional Director Bob Baker. Beal carried the sheaf of documents into the director's office and presented the plan to Dickinson. Dickinson gave the plan his blessing but put it back on Beal to convince the regional director. Beal said he would do his best. The regional director approved the GMP on January 1982 and it was released for public information. After the required 30-day waiting period, a Record of Decision was filed in March 1982 bearing the signatures of Merrill Beal and Bob Baker.[38]

[1] Sidney Plokin, "Policy Fragmentation and Capitalist Reform: The Defeat of National Land-Use Policy," *Politics & Society* 9, no. 4 (1980): 409-446.

[2] David Beal, interview by Theodore Catton, July 19, 2007; "Overpopulation in park will be examined," *Maryville-Alcoa Times*, May 14, 1973; "Controversy Emerges Again Over Highway in Smokies," *Knoxville Journal*, May 17, 1973.

[3] Director, Southeast Region to Director, Denver Service Center, June 27, 1972, and George W. Fry to Tilden J. Curry, June 12, 1973, File 6, and "Chronology of Great Smoky Mountains National Park Master Plan Study," no date, File 9, Box I, Denver Service Center Planning Team Collection, GRSM; "Citizens invited into Park master planning," *Gatlinburg Press*, May 24, 1973.

[4] Great Smokies Regional Planning Team, *Coordinated Guidelines for Recreation Resource Use in the Great Smokies Region* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Natural and Economic Resources, Division of Community Assistance, 1975), xi, 2-3.

[5] "Updating Smoky Master Plan Hindered by Research Lack," *Knoxville Journal*, November 7, 1973; "Smoky Mountain National Park called 'model for good Park Planning,'" *Gatlinburg Press*, March 7, 1974.

[6] "Park Regional Master Plan Survey of Visitor Habits," no date, File 5, Box XVII, Park Management Collection, GRSM; Linn Spaulding, interview by Theodore Catton, October 12, 2007.

[7] Spaulding interview.

[8] "Park Planners Open Meeting," *Asheville Citizen*, April 29, 1975.

[9] Great Smokies Regional Planning Team, *Coordinated Guidelines for Recreation Resource Use in the Great Smokies Region*, 4-6; Spaulding interview.

[10] Great Smokies Regional Planning Team, *Coordinated Guidelines for Recreation Resource Use in the Great Smokies Region*, passim; quotation on p. xi.

[11] Great Smokies Regional Planning Team, *Coordinated Guidelines for Recreation Resource Use in the Great Smokies Region*, ix-x.

[12] Wilderness Recommendations Briefing Statement by Superintendent Vincent Ellis, July 27, 1974, File L48 Wilderness Areas and Research Reserves Part II 1974, Administrative Files, GRSM. The wilderness study was folded into the task directive for the Denver Service Center in January 1973, but eliminated from that task directive in September when it was decided that the master plan and the wilderness recommendation should not be tied to the same timetable.

[13] A final version of the wilderness recommendation was found in File 8, Box 1 of Park Management Collection, GRSM. A draft version of the EIS was found in File 1, Box V, Park Management Collection.

[14] Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Wilderness Recommendation, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina-Tennessee*, August 1974, File 8, Box 1, Park Management Collection, GRSM, pp. 12-14.

[15] Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Wilderness Recommendation, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina-Tennessee*, August 1974, File 8, Box 1, Park Management Collection, GRSM, pp. 11-12.

[16] Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Draft Environmental Statement, Wilderness Recommendation, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina – Tennessee," October 1974, File 1, Box V, Park Management Collection, GRSM, pp. 61-62.

[17] *Congressional Record*, 95th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 123.

[18] Dick Jensen to Boyd Evison, June 26, 1975, File 13, Box II, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[19] "Proposed Basis for Resolution of Swain County, (N.C.) Road Construction Program," no date, File 13, Box II, Park Management Collection, GRSM. The Swain County Board of Commissioners adopted a resolution with essentially the same language on September 5, 1975. Copy in Box 378, Governor James E. Hulshouser, Jr. Collection, NCSA.

[20] "Factors Affecting Swain County's Potential for Commercial Recreation Development," Box I, Master Plan Studies Collection, GRSM.

[21] James E. Holshouser, Jr., to Thomas Kleppe, February 3, 1976, Box 476, Governor James E. Holshouser, Jr. Collection, NCSA; Nathaniel P. Reed to Gary Everhardt, October 1, 1976, Douglas P. Wheeler to Everhardt, October 12, 1976, Reed to James Lynn, October 20, 1976, and Reed to Holshouser, Jr., October 20, 1976, File 11, Box II, Master Plan Studies Collection, GRSM.

[22] Boyd Evison to Regional Director, April 20, 1977, enclosing Environmental Review, File 7, Part 22, Regional Director to All

Interested Federal, State and Local Governmental Agencies; Organizations; and Individuals, June 29, 1977, File 9, Part 23, and Revision to Environmental Review, June 3, 1977, File 10, Part 23, Box II, Master Plan Studies Collection, GRSM.

[23] Jake Hyatt and James L. Coggins to Dave Felmet, November 8, 1979, File 6, Box II, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[24] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1980, GRSM.

[25] Quoted in Brown, *The Wild East*, 260.

[26] Boyd Evison to James H. Quillen, April 11, 1977, and McKinnie Sutton to Jimmy Quillen, March 28, 1977, enclosing petition, Box II, and Evison to John W. Anderson, Jr., February 3, 1976, File 4, Box I, Master Plan Studies Collection, GRSM.

[27] Roger R. Miller to Files, February 4, 1976, Stanley G. Canter to Staff Park Specialist, August 27, 1976, Jerry A. Eubanks to Jack Brown, January 20, 1978, and "Prospectus: Tour Bus Transportation Services," no date, File 6, Box XVI, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[28] Environmental Review, File 7, Part 22, Box II, Master Plan Studies Collection, GRSM; Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *General Management Plan, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Tennessee-North Carolina*, (Denver: Denver Service Center, 1982), 32.

[29] Stanley G. Canter, interview by Theodore Catton, August 16, 2007.

[30] Environmental Review, File 7, Part 22, Box II, Master Plan Studies Collection, GRSM.

[31] Special Assistant to the Secretary, Southeast Region, to Secretary of the Interior, August 3, 1979, File 2, Box I, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[32] Doris B. Hammett to H. F. Robinson, August 15, 1976, File 4, Box I, Master Plan Studies Collection, GRSM.

[33] Jackie Skaggs, "Passing of Boyd Evison," (2002), http://www.warnercnr.colostate.edu/news/evison.html <October 11, 2007>; Brown, *The Wild East*, 270-274.

[34] Spaulding interview.

[35] Nat Kuykendall interview by Theodore Catton, October 12, 2007.

[36] Roy K. Wood to Secretary of the Interior, August 3, 1979, in "Review of Draft Environmental Statement," File 2, Box I, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[37] "Great Smoky Mtns. N. P. Draft GMP/DES, Summary of Written Response by Individuals," no date, File 2, Box I, Park Management Collection, GRSM; Kuykendall interview.

[38] Beal interview; Kuykendall interview.

Chapter Eight
Managing Growth, 1982 to 2009

Completion of the GMP in 1982 marked the beginning of the present era for Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Although the GMP was intended to identify a 10 to 15 year planning horizon for development, it had a much longer shelf life than expected. Superintendents generally felt they were well-served by it. Even with three major amendments to the GMP currently underway (for Cades Cove, Elkmont, and the proposed north shore road), there are no immediate plans to replace it.

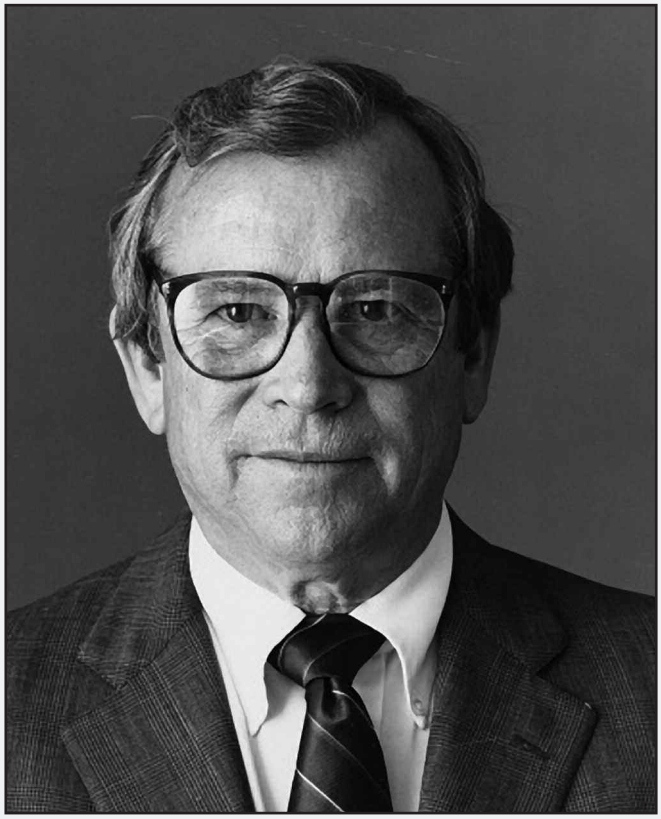
In general, the GMP described a park at the end of its development process. The overall objective expressed in the GMP was to balance use and preservation utilizing the park's existing physical plant. With the exception of the Foothills Parkway, new construction projects were to be relatively minor. The park's dual challenge after 1982 was to manage growing numbers of visitors in the park, and to assert a positive influence on growth and land-use patterns outside the park. Based on visitor use trends in the 1970s, estimates of what the park's visitation would be at the end of the twentieth century ran as high as 20 million. Instead it exceeded 10 million for the first time in 1999 and appeared to level off at approximately 9 to 10 million over the past decade. The Park Service's expectation of continued growth in the seven rural counties surrounding the park proved to be more accurate. The seven counties had a combined population of 303,967 people in 2000, and this was exclusive of the many seasonal residents who owned second homes in the area. As this regional population grew, the park faced a variety of new management challenges and external threats to park resources.

The Wilderness Standoff

After 1982, the General Management Plan set the park's direction on wilderness management. The GMP described a natural zone encompassing all of the park outside of relatively small areas classified as either historic or development zones. The natural zone was subdivided into four subzones, with virtually all of the area belonging to "Natural Environment Type 1 Subzone," which was essentially a wilderness classification without the added protection of an act of Congress to make it part of the National Wilderness Preservation System. "In this subzone," the GMP stated, "visitor uses and park management practices are to be of a transient nature and nonmotorized except in extreme emergencies involving either human safety or critical resource protection needs." The GMP prohibited the location of park operational facilities in this area except for small facilities essential for safety, research, and communications. All access was to be by horse or foot except for special cemetery access for the north shore of Fontana Lake.[1]

In 1983, Senator Jim Sasser (D-TN) and Senator Howard Baker (R-TN) co-sponsored a bill to designate 467,000 acres of the park as wilderness. Environmental groups applauded this measure and hoped that Baker, as an influential Republican, might carry the day with the Reagan administration. There were other auspicious signs that the bill might be passed: Representative James Clarke (D-NC), who represented Swain County, was not opposing it, while Governor Alexander Lamar of Tennessee, another Republican, enthusiastically supported it. The park wasted no time in commenting favorably on the bill, recommending Park Service support inasmuch as it was consistent with the recently completed General Management Plan (GMP). Before the bill had progressed very far, however, Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) introduced a countermeasure, which would designate a smaller area of the park as wilderness leaving the controversial north shore area out of it. Both the Tennessee and North Carolina park commissions passed resolutions supporting the Sasser-Baker bill.[2]

The following spring, Baker and Helms announced that they had achieved a compromise. The new measure would designate 407,717 acres of the park as wilderness and would provide up to $950,000 for a road study to provide access to north shore cemeteries. The new bill not only had Baker's support but also the backing of Senator John Porter East (R-NC), Governor Lamar Alexander of Tennessee, and the Reagan administration. It was strongly opposed by the environmental community. The Wilderness Society objected in particular to a provision that would make the North Shore Cemetery Association an official participant in the road



Senator Howard Baker R-TN co-sponsored a bill to designate 467,000 acres of the park as wilderness. Environmental groups applauded the measure.

study. Without an endorsement from the environmental community, the bill was defeated even in the face of administration support.[3]

In 1987, three more bills to designate a Great Smoky Mountains wilderness were introduced, one in the House and two in the Senate. The House bill, H.R. 1495, passed the House on September 29, 1987. This bill called for 467,000 acres in wilderness and included provision for a $9.5 million grant to Swain County to settle the government's obligation. A similar Senate bill, introduced by Jim Sasser and supported by Senators Al Gore, Jr. (D-TN) and Terry Sanford (D-NC), was recommended out of committee in 1988. As before, Helms introduced a different bill that would establish a smaller wilderness, omitting the 44,000-acre TVA tract as well as a 20,000-acre buffer area around the north end of the Cherokee Reservation. When the Sasser-Gore-Sanford bill came before the full Senate, Helms filibustered to prevent the measure from coming to a vote. Sasser could not get enough cloture votes to limit the filibuster. Wilderness advocates were bitterly disappointed. Superintendent Randall R. Pope, who had taken charge of the park administration in January 1987, wrote that the filibuster capped "a very frustrating year for wilderness legislation with countless hours of staff time spent in covering this multi-faceted and highly controversial issue." As a result of the close Senate battle and the intense interest generated by the legislation, the park staff had to host numerous show-me trips, prepare numerous briefing statements, and conduct a number of time-consuming searches of park files in response to requests for background information.[4]

Following this latest in a series of standoffs over wilderness legislation, the park held to the position that wilderness legislation was practically superfluous because the Wilderness Act and Park Service regulations required the park to manage the area described in its wilderness recommendation as wilderness regardless of whether Congress acted on the recommendation. The GMP incorporated the wilderness recommendation of 1974 as amended in 1979 into its land classification scheme. The boundaries had been determined through two rounds of public review and the area was de facto wilderness. Environmental groups generally agreed with that assessment, choosing to focus their efforts on other wild lands that appeared to be more vulnerable.[5]

However, the north shore road issue remained unresolved. As long as the federal government's obligation to Swain County remained unsettled, the de facto wilderness on the north shore of Fontana Lake still rankled the people of Swain County. In 2000, Representative Charles Taylor (R-NC) and Senator Helms secured an appropriation of $16 million for "construction and improvements to North Shore Road" in the FY 2001 Department of Transportation Appropriations Act. In May 2001, the park met with representatives from the Denver Service Center, the Southeast Regional Office, and the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) to discuss how to proceed with this authorization and what kind of compliance was needed. The group decided that the federal action called for an environmental impact statement and a possible amendment to the GMP depending on what alternative was selected. The Park Service requested that the FHWA pay for the study from the $16 million appropriation. FHWA contracted with an architectural and engineering firm in Raleigh to produce the study, which was completed in January 2004. Public meetings were held in North Carolina and Tennessee in February and March 2005 to present the alternatives and obtain public comment. More than 9,000 people were notified of the meetings. As in the past, the Park Service's main concern was with acid leeching that would result from any road cut through the Anakeesta rock formations in the area. Opponents pointed out that the proposed road would invade "the largest roadless area in the Eastern United States."[6]

The study analyzed five alternative actions. The no-action alternative would result in no road and no resolution. The second alternative was to substitute a monetary settle-

ment for the 1943 agreement. The remaining three alternatives proposed different levels of development, from construction of a picnic area and exhibits near the end of the existing road at Laurel Branch, to the addition of seven more miles of road terminating at a recreational and educational facility at Bushnell, to constructing 29 to 38 miles of new road along the north shore as contemplated in the 1943 agreement. Cost estimates for the last alternative now stood at over $150 million. Public response at the meetings was evenly divided with about half in favor of a cash settlement and half in favor of completing the road. As the planning process moved to the next stage, Park Service officials hoped that the environmental impact study might buttress efforts to resolve the issue once and for all with a cash settlement.[7]

Resumption of the Foothills Parkway Project

During the GMP planning process, the option of terminating the Foothills Parkway project was considered and rejected, mostly because environmental groups favored it as a strong countermeasure that would discourage further road development in the park. The final GMP called for completion of the 71-mile road as originally planned but it did not give the project high priority. "In light of the national economy and fuel availability, completion of the parkway will be contingent upon the future appropriateness of additional recreational roadways."[8]

Surprisingly, the Foothills Parkway project was revived immediately following approval of the GMP. This was due to the efforts of Tennessee Governor Lamar Alexander and Senator Howard Baker (R-TN) who developed an agreement in connection with a bill to increase the federal gasoline tax. The agreement called for a block grant from the Secretary of the Interior to the Tennessee Department of Transportation, using funds appropriated by Congress to the Park Service from the Highway Trust Fund. Under this agreement, the state took over responsibility for design and construction. The project was to include rehabilitation of the 6.3-mile section between Walland and Carr's Creek that had been closed by slides soon after it was opened in 1968, and completion of this section for the remaining distance from Carr's Creek through Wear Valley to the Gatlinburg Spur.[9]

In 1984 and 1985, the Tennessee Department of Transportation awarded two large construction contracts totaling $24 million for grading, clearing slides, and constructing bridges and retaining walls on about eight miles of this section. But in 1986, both construction companies had to halt work after some retaining walls failed. The Park Service and the Tennessee Department of Transportation jointly hired another engineering firm for consultation, and based on its recommendations the original contractors resumed work in 1987. In the meantime, Superintendent Pope reassessed the situation and decided that all subsequent work on the Foothills Parkway should be returned to the Federal Highway Administration. However, Pope encountered more delays in getting that work started because landowners in Wear Valley were concerned about increased erosion into streams resulting from the slides. With landowners suing the state and federal governments, the Tennessee Department of Health and Environment would not issue a Tennessee Water Quality Permit to the federal government until it obtained stronger assurances that the parkway could be engineered in such a way as to prevent stream degradation. Pope turned to the Denver Service Center, which contracted with Oak Ridge National Laboratory to produce an environmental impact statement. By the time this study was completed in December 1996, funds had long since been reallocated to

Tennessee **Governor Lamar Alexander** and Senator Howard Baker R-TN developed an agreement to restart work on the Foothills Parkway in connection with a bill to increase the federal gasoline tax. Under this agreement, the state took over responsibility for design and construction of the Parkway.

Great Smoky Mountains National Park has the most extensive and valuable collection of physical assets of any national park in the East. These assets include roads, trails, bridges, campgrounds, picnic areas, administrative buildings, electric utilities, water and sewer systems, and historic buildings such as the Becky Cable house in Cades Cove.

other projects. However, the Park Service went ahead in soliciting public comment, and the majority of comments favored completion of the so-called "missing link" in the Foothills Parkway between Walland and the Gatlinburg Spur. On January 7, 1998, Regional Director Jerry Belson approved a Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI). Construction was slated to begin whenever Congress appropriated more funds for the project.[10]

Park Roads and Vehicle Management

The GMP called for one new road to be built inside the park. The proposed road would have been a one-way road connecting Metcalf Bottoms in the Little Greenbrier section with the projected Foothills Parkway at Wear Cove. Had it been built, it would have given better automobile access to the historic Walker Sisters Place and Little Greenbrier School, and the one-way portion extending beyond that complex would have roughly paralleled the existing two-way gravel road over Wear Cove Gap. Park officials had misgivings about this development. Park historian Ed Trout thought the historic resources at Little Greenbrier were better left alone. "Preservation of quietness and solitude, and minimization of all intrusions are equally desirable in the management of wilderness and historic resources," he argued, pointing out that the Walker and Elijah Oliver homes were the only two pioneer homes left in the park that could not be seen from a car.[11]

In 1984, the Park Service approved a Development Concept Plan that revised the GMP by deleting this proposed road. Instead, the DCP called for gating the existing gravel road to Little Greenbrier where it took off from the Wears Cove Gap Road. Under the DCP, automobile access was allowed only when requested by handicapped visitors or for special events. The Wear Cove Gap Road was retained as a gravel road with a one lane bridge over the Little River.[12]

At the same time the Park Service revised its plan for Metcalf Bottoms, it also stood its ground on maintaining main park roads at existing standards. In 1982, Congress passed the Surface Transportation Assistance Act, which provided for rehabilitation and upgrading of deteriorating roads in the national park system. The act funded a system-wide transportation planning study by the Park Service in cooperation with the Federal Highway Administration. The Park Service approached the task from its customary perspective of balancing preservation and use. The FHWA, meanwhile, sought to apply road safety standards that pertained to road systems outside the parks. By those standards, the FHWA contended that the volume of traffic on the Newfound Gap Road called for upgrading the road by widening the road surface and straightening some of the curves. Superintendent Cook and Assistant Superintendent Dave Mihalic strongly resisted pressure by the FHWA to make these improvements. They argued that the safety standards were not relevant to the park roads because visitors were willing to drive at slower speeds through the park. Furthermore, the idea of upgrading the road to alleviate bumper-to-bumper traffic was inappropriate when bumper-to-bumper traffic only occurred during a few periods of peak visitation each summer and fall. Visitors who came to the park at these peak times, they argued, showed a high tolerance for congested driving conditions. Cook and Mihalic finally prevailed and the recommendations by the FHWA were put aside.[13]

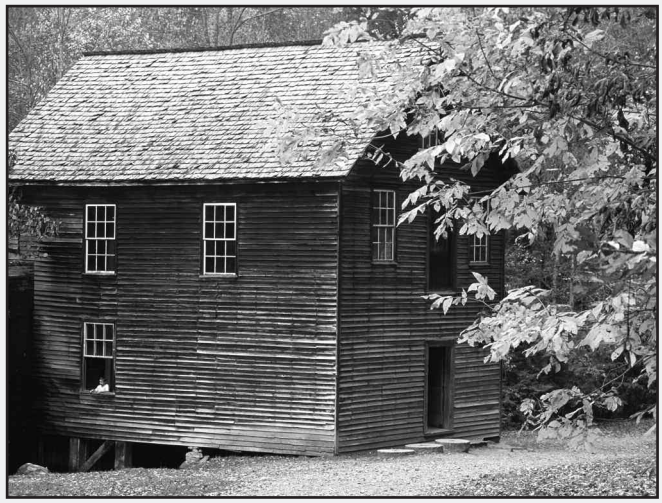
As a result of these negotiations with FHWA, the Park Service produced a report in 1985 titled *Road System Evaluation, Great Smoky Mountains National Park/North Carolina-Tennessee,* which it called an addendum to the GMP. The report reiterated and strengthened various principles contained in the GMP concerning the park's transportation system. One principle was that "changes in visitor use will be accomplished more through applying regulations than through physical development." The GMP also stated that information services would be used to disperse visitors and spread use more evenly throughout the year. Restricting the number of vehicles entering the park would be a tool of last resort. The Park Service would take that measure only if traffic congestion threatened to significantly degrade the visitor experience. Acting on those principles in the GMP, Cook had his rangers crack down on unauthorized visitor parking on road shoulders." The park has a natural carrying capacity limit built into it, and it's called parking," Cook would later

explain.[14] The GMP and the 1985 addendum also provided direction on the issue of introducing mass transit alternatives to automobile use. The park would experiment with public transportation "to the extent found feasible," the GMP stated, while numbers of private cars would be allowed to continue at existing levels, or approximately 2.8 million vehicle entries per year. The park would monitor public opinion on this issue, and it would rely on private enterprise to provide public transportation as much as possible. The park would possibly apply certain incentives to encourage use of public transportation, such as providing interpretive services on public vehicles and allowing public vehicles priority access to points of interest.[15]

The park duly monitored public opinion through periodic visitor surveys. These surveys showed that visitors had a strong predilection toward an automobile-oriented park experience. Visitors generally did not mind traffic congestion, or at least they accepted it as a trade-off for the freedom to stop and get out of their car wherever they chose. They generally did not mind driving at a slow speed in a convoy, as was often the case in Cades Cove. Stan Canter, the chief of interpretation in the 1980s, summed up his reflections on the traffic congestion issue this way: "Visitors aren't as concerned about it as the park is."[16]

Visitor surveys showed that most visitors did not get very far from the road or even leave their cars very much. While some idealists among the interpretive staff tried to change this pattern by exhorting visitors to get out of their cars and away from traffic noise (much like Superintendent Evison had done by developing quiet walkways) the prevailing view in the 1980s was that the interpretive program should aim to connect with people in their comfort zones. "If they wanted to go around the park by themselves and not get out of their car," explained Canter, "at least we would provide something that would provide an experience out of that." So the interpretive program put more effort into producing self-guiding driving tours and wayside exhibits.[17]

In the face of these visitor survey results, the park made gingerly efforts to develop public transportation options. Over the years, these efforts focused mostly on Cades Cove. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the park embarked on a development concept plan for Cades Cove in which transportation formed a major component. Visitor surveys continued to play an important role in the planning process, and survey results continued to show that people had a high level of satisfaction and high tolerance for traffic congestion. Put another way, visitor crowding did not appear to be significantly degrading the visitor experience. For example, while 31 percent of visitors said that congestion impacted their visit, only 3 percent said that it would influence their decision to return for another visit. Less than one percent of visitors said they felt crowded and uncomfortable.[18] As long as such public attitudes prevailed, it was unlikely that the Park Service would move to implement any type of transportation plan that would limit or prohibit automobile access in areas of the park where it was customary.



Maintenance efforts in 1981 included completely dismantling and rebuilding the penstock for Mingus Mill near the Oconaluftee Visitor Center.

The Maintenance Challenge

Development of the park was nearly complete by 1982. The GMP included an extensive list of facilities yet to be built, which totaled $170,951,000. However, 76 percent of this cost was for building the remaining sections of the Foothills Parkway, and another 10 percent was for facilities planned along the parkway. Just 14 percent of the total was for facilities in the park proper. The GMP listed a total of 15 facilities to be constructed in the development zone within the park. Of these, the two largest items were a new visitor center and parking area at Oconaluftee and an interpretive center and parking area at Deep Creek. Other items were a new research facility at Twin Creeks, an expansion of the existing visitor center at Sugarlands, and various parking areas, picnic shelters, and comfort stations.[19]

While the park's Maintenance Division oversaw construction contracts for these various development projects, the bulk of its efforts turned to maintenance of existing facilities. Great Smoky Mountains National Park has the most extensive and valuable collection of assets of any national park in the East. These assets include roads, trails, bridges, campgrounds, picnic areas, administrative buildings, electric utilities, water and sewer systems, and historic buildings. In addition to maintaining facilities, the Maintenance Division also had responsibility for vista clearance, removal of hazard

trees, and extensive mowing within the historic and development zones.[20]

Maintaining the park's large number of historic structures was a noteworthy challenge. The aging wooden buildings were vulnerable to decay and storm damage in the wet, mountain climate, and all repairs had to be done in a way that would not impair each structure's historical integrity. The superintendent's annual report for 1981 provides a glimpse of the extensive maintenance cycle involved in preserving historic structures. The report listed ten projects completed that year:

Tyson McCarter Barn, corncrib and smokehouse,
Building #141 – installed new roof and replaced rotted rafters and wall logs on all structures.

Caldwell Springhouse,
Building #272A – old structure was completely fallen down, almost total rehab was completed.

Caldwell House,
Building #272 – installed new porch rails and painted same.

Woody Place,
Springhouse #688 – this structure was 75% down; restored to original condition and painted.

Drive Thru Barn,
Cades Cove, #460 – leveling of structure and replacing several rotted logs was completed.

Becky Cable House,
Building #172 – reset foundation stones, scraped and repainted outside walls of entire structure and replaced some clapboard siding.

Alfred Reagan Tubmill, Flume,
#406 – approximately 25′ of flume was rebuilt.

Mingus Mill Penstock,
#150 – entire penstock was dismantled, rebuilt and lined with aluminum flashing inside.

Junglebrook Tubmill Flume,
#132 – rebuilt flume; rebuilt tubmill wheel.

Cades Cove Visitor Center
– installed complete new roof using hand split shingle boards.[21]

As the Park Service faced tightening budgets during the 1980s, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, along with other parks, began to defer maintenance items from year to year in order to stretch park operating funds. The problem with deferred maintenance was that as an economizing measure it was short-sighted since facilities would quickly become so rundown as to require extensive repairs costing more dollars than had been saved in the first place. But deferred maintenance did have the advantage of calling public attention to the park's crumbling infrastructure and need for more money. Due in part to these conflicting considerations, reporting of deferred maintenance in the national parks was inconsistent. All that could be said with certainty was that the problem was cyclic, with periodic efforts being made to address a "deferred maintenance backlog."[22]

In 1998, Superintendent Wade reported on the growing budget challenges facing the Maintenance Division. Foremost was the park's growing reliance on grant money to pay for basic maintenance operations. When soft money could not be found to pay for trails and historic structures maintenance, Wade wrote, project money had to be used to cover those costs. Furthermore, the park had seen a substantial increase in regulatory requirements, such as testing of buildings for lead, radon, and other environmental and safety hazards, that steadily bit into maintenance budgets. Still another challenge came from the staff's growing involvement in a set of complex planning initiatives, such as that for Cades Cove. The permanent workforce in the Maintenance Division had not increased in half a decade, but had actually shrunk, while the workload had grown. Heavy equipment was in need of replacement, and the amount of deferred maintenance on park roads ran "easily in the millions."[23]

The following year, the superintendent painted an even more serious picture. The level of staffing in the division had not changed appreciably in ten years while the number of supervisory positions had decreased. With employee costs and fixed costs (such as fuel) rising year by year, fully 90 percent of the Maintenance Division's operational funding now went to these two items, leaving a paltry 10 percent for program costs. This left the park scrambling year after year for donated or project funds to cover such basic functions as historic preservation, trail maintenance, and radio operations. "Preventive maintenance officially became a program of the past," the superintendent reported, signaling that the park's deferred maintenance backlog would only get bigger at the park's current level of funding.[24]

All of these problems continued to mount during the first decade of the twenty-first century. In 2000, substantial amounts of fee money were used to fund utilities, supplies, and employee wages, and commencing the next year, fee revenue was used for repair and rehabilitation projects. In

2001, the Maintenance Division received a modest bump in funding of nearly a half million dollars for maintenance operations on Newfound Gap Road, and an increase in full-time equivalent (FTE) positions from 134.33 to 138.92. But these gains were submerged in an overall park operating budget that grew from $12.4 million in 1999 to $13.1 million in 2000 to $14.6 million in 2001, on its way to $16 million in 2005. Throughout this period, the Maintenance Division's base funding remained at about 42 percent of the park's base funding.[25]

Adding to the Maintenance Division's challenges, in January 2004 the park was notified that the Maintenance Division would participate in an initiative under the President's Management Agenda to experiment with competition between the public and private sector for work that was commercial in nature but currently performed by the government. The chief of maintenance headed a team that developed a Performance Work Statement, which it completed in September 2004. A contracted consultant, Delta Solutions, then performed market research to assess the cost of performing this work in the private sector. Finally, the park's administrative officer headed a team that prepared a recommendation on how to proceed, called a Most Efficient Organization (MEO), which was completed in January 2005 and submitted to Director Fran Mainella for review. The MEO concluded that the Maintenance Division could perform the work more economically than the private sector. The director concurred in the recommendation and ordered the MEO to be implemented. The MEO offered minor changes in the business functions of the former organization and streamlined the division by the elimination of 8.2 personnel positions. Under the new plan, the Maintenance Division became the Facility Management Division.[26]

Regional Development Issues and Visitor Use Trends

While development of the park was essentially complete by 1982, development in the surrounding region continued at a prodigious rate for the next quarter century and showed no sign of abating. The park monitored this development and worked with state, local, and private entities in an effort to protect park values. The park was subject to a variety of external threats, from nearby mountainside condominiums that intruded on park vistas to scenic helicopter rides that ripped the peace and quiet overhead. Changing land ownership patterns in the surrounding counties also posed long-term threats to the park. Notably, the landscape was filling up with recreational second homes and non-locally-owned businesses, introducing a population that was not particularly supportive of land-use planning and environmental regulation.[27]

These land-use trends had been evident for a long time. Land developers began producing whole communities of recreational second home owners in Western North Carolina after 1950. From 1950 to 1980, the number of seasonal homes in Western North Carolina roughly quadrupled, from 6,986 to 26,721. On the Tennessee side, recreational home development proceeded in tandem with a burgeoning tourism industry. Gatlinburg's dramatic growth after World War II was soon paralleled by the transformation of Pigeon Forge from a crossroads hamlet into an elongated strip of tourism enterprises. There was little the Park Service could do as the booming tourism economy produced such eyesores as the 500-foot-tall "Space Needle" in the center of Gatlinburg and the aerial tramway that crosses over the Gatlinburg Bypass.[28] Superintendent Fry tried to prevent the latter development, arguing that it would require a right-of-way as it passed over the parkway, but Director Hartzog overruled him.[29] Similarly, Park Service objections had little affect on the outcome of two separate proposals for major theme parks in East Tennessee in the late 1970s. The first one, "Seven Peaks," would have established a 700-acre development near Cosby featuring a giant outdoor amphitheater with capacity for 80,000 people and a wildlife zoo built in the form of a massive Noah's Ark, 200 yards long and 3 stories high. The second proposed development, to be located near Townsend, would have established a $100-million theme park, "Smokyworld," coupled with a 1,800-acre luxury resort called "The Smokies." The latter was to include a convention center and twin residential towers, each 21 stories high. A review of this enterprise by the Park Service noted, "Visitors in the park on trails adjacent to this development [would]…be exposed to views of an urban life contrasting markedly with the National Park environment." Fortunately for the park, both schemes went bankrupt while still in the planning stage.[30]

The Park Service's major regional planning initiative in the mid-1970s brought some measure of control for development outside the park. The Park Service partnered with state and local entities in producing *Coordinated Guidelines for Recreation Resource Use* in 1975. At the same time, a land planning initiative led by Governor Holshouser of North Carolina, which took the form of a bill called the Mountain Area Management Act, failed to pass in the state legislature. The law would have required land use plans for 18 counties in Western North Carolina, and it would have established a regional planning commission and resources advisory council to assist local governments in carrying out the state's mandate. The legislation failed, it seemed, because it lacked support by the local populace. As one commentator said,

"The general hostility of western North Carolina public officials…in large part, was attributable to fears that land use regulation would hamper development of private lands and result in loss of needed, potential revenues."[31]

In the 1980s, Pigeon Forge emerged from Gatlinburg's shadow to become another sprawling tourist mecca on the park's doorstep. Critical in the town's evolution was the role of country singer Dolly Parton, who wanted to help the local economy and preserve the culture of her native Sevier County. In 1985, Parton took over a 400-acre theme park called Silver Dollar City and remade it into Dollywood. After its makeover, the theme park featured folk musicians and local craftspeople as well as a model of Parton's Tennessee mountain home, amusement rides, and other attractions. The number of employees quickly doubled from 600 to 1,200, while a portion of Dollywood's revenues began going to the Dollywood Foundation, which provides generous support to Sevier County public schools.[32] As laudable as this development was from one perspective, though, it added to the increasing pressure of numbers on Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Observing this growth with some trepidation, Superintendent Pope noted in his 1991 Statement for Management that Pigeon Forge was "expanding rapidly" and now had accommodations for 35,000 visitors – in addition to Gatlinburg's accommodations for 30,000 visitors.[33]

Population growth in the surrounding counties put a strain on the natural environment, sometimes with consequences for the park. In the early 1990s, the park unsuccessfully challenged a move by Haywood County to open a new sanitary landfill just two miles from the eastern park boundary across I-40. Park officials, joined by the NPCA and bear biologist Michael Pelton of the University of Tennessee, warned county officials that the proposed 104-acre White Oak dump would attract black bears out of the park and create a hazard for both park wildlife and passing motorists where the bears tried to cross the interstate highway to reach the dump. NPCA appealed the permit before the Office of Administrative Hearings of the state of North Carolina. Despite the park's concerns and the environmental group's effort to block it, the dump opened in October 1993. The bear problem did not develop as anticipated, perhaps because the landfill operator took pains to cover the waste daily and clean up roadside litter as it appeared.[34]

The park achieved one notable success in neutralizing external threats to the park. In 1990, a helicopter tour business in Pigeon Forge transferred its operation to Wear Valley so that it could provide customers with low-level sightseeing trips over the park. The company based in Wear Valley had three helicopters, and overflights suddenly became low, loud, and frequent.[35] As park visitors complained of the noise, Superintendent Pope received support from his superiors to include the park with other units of the national park system in a three-year study of low-level overflights.[36] The problem was that the Park Service did not control the airspace, the Federal Aviation Administration did. While the Park Service worked through the problem with the FAA on the national level, Pope encouraged state legislators to do something toward solving the problem on the local level. With tourist complaints mounting, the state legislature finally enacted a law in 1993 that prohibited sightseeing helicopter landings inside a nine-mile zone along the park's Tennessee boundary. Since the law made sightseeing helicopter rides longer and more expensive, it effectively put the Wear Valley company out of business. The company challenged the law in court, but the state attorney general upheld it.[37]

Less intrusive than helicopter overflights but perhaps more characteristic of the challenge of managing growth was the problem of weddings held in the park. In small numbers weddings were innocuous; when they became numerous they had to be stopped. Sometime in the 1990s, a couple of ordained ministers began offering to do wedding ceremonies in the park. Neither pastor was doing it as a money-making business, but as these weddings became more common some for-profit companies began to advertise that they would perform wedding services in the park. As park weddings turned into a commercial operation, the park decided it needed to regulate it by special use permit. On one occasion, a wedding service was being held at Cataract Falls near Sugarlands Visitor Center when a ranger-led walk happened along. The wedding party tried to insist that its special use permit gave it exclusive use of the area for the duration of the ceremony. This incident led the park to establish tighter regulations, such as a prohibition on use of the Cataract Falls site when guided walks were scheduled there, and eventually it added a fee schedule. The wedding companies objected to the regulations, but members of the public supported the park. By the time this activity was curbed, some locations were experiencing back-to-back wedding ceremonies that monopolized all available parking space and prevented use of the area by regular park visitors.[38]

[1] National Park Service, *General Management Plan, Great Smoky Mountains National Park/North Carolina-Tennessee* (Denver: Denver Service Center 1982), 19-20.

[2] Leroy G. Fox to Ronald Reagan, April 6, 1983, File 2, Box 4, and Ron Tipton to Howard Baker, June 1, 1984, File 1, Box 8, Series 5, Leroy G. Fox Collection, MS 2051, Special Collections, Hoskins Library, University of Tennessee; Superintendent's Annual Report for 1983, GRSM; Marjorie Corbett, "Great Smokies: New Hope for an Old Dream," *National Parks* 58 (January/February 1984): 17-18.

[3] Ron Tipton to Randy Snodgrass, May 2, 1984, File 1, Box 8, Series 5, Leroy G. Fox Collection, MS 2051, Hoskins Library, University of Tennessee.

[4] Randall R. Pope to Senator Sanford, April 6, 1987 (draft), Pope to G. Robert Wallace, May 16, 1988, Jim Sasser and Terry Sanford to Robert C. Byrd, July 11, 1988, Sanford to Jesse Helms, July 27, 1988, and Helms to Sanford, July 28, 1988, File N1623, Bob Wightman's Files, GRSM; Superintendent's Annual Report for 1988, GRSM; "Bill Advocates Wilderness for Majority of Smokies," *National Parks* 61 (September/October 1987): 38; "A Bill for the Smokies – At Last?" *Wilderness Watch* 51 (Spring 1988): 3.

[5] Dave Mihalic, interview by Theodore Catton, October 15, 2007.

[6] Superintendent's Annual Reports for 2001, 2005, GRSM. See also "Helms Proposes to Build Road in Great Smokies," *National Parks* 75, no. 3-4 (March/April 2001): 16-17.

[7] Superintendent's Annual Report for 2005, GRSM; Bob Miller, interview by Theodore Catton, April 17, 2007.

[8] National Park Service, *General Management Plan, Great Smoky Mountains National Park/North Carolina-Tennessee*, 34.

[9] Lamar Alexander to James Watt, June 25, 1982, Watt to Alexander, August 19, 1982, "Foothills Parkway Development," February 26, 1982, Tennessee Department of Transportation, "Proposed Program for Development of Foothills Parkway," May 1, 1982, Box IV, Park Management Collection, GRSM; Dean Stone, "History of the Foothills Parkway," September 1990, File D30, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[10] Dean Stone, "History of the Foothills Parkway," September 1990, File D30, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM; Randall R. Pope, interview by Theodore Catton, April 18, 2007; Superintendent's Annual Report for 1993, GRSM; Superintendent's Annual Report for 1996 and 1997, GRSM.

[11] Historian to Superintendent, August 19, 1977, File 9 Part 23, Box II, Master Plan Studies Collection, GRSM.

[12] National Park Service, *Road System Evaluation, Great Smoky Mountains National Park/North Carolina-Tennessee* (Denver: Denver Service Center, 1985), 3.

[13] National Park Service, *Road System Evaluation, Great Smoky Mountains National Park/North Carolina-Tennessee,* 3-5; Mihalic interview.

[14] GMP quoted in National Park Service, *Road System Evaluation, Great Smoky Mountains National Park/North Carolina-Tennessee,* 2; John E. Cook interview.

[15] GMP quoted in National Park Service, *Road System Evaluation, Great Smoky Mountains National Park/North Carolina-Tennessee*, 2.

[16] Stan Canter, interview by Theodore Catton, August 16, 2007.

[17] Canter interview.

[18] "Cades Cove Survey Results," (February 14, 2006), http://www.cadescoveplanning.com/verpsur1.htm <February 21, 2008>.

[19] National Park Service, *General Management Plan, Great Smoky Mountains National Park/North Carolina-Tennessee*, 64-68.

[20] The Superintendent's Annual Report for 2004 states that the park's maintenance program is one of the largest in the Park Service. The physical plant of the park represents over 1,600 assets, including 800 miles of trails, over 300 miles of roads, and 463 buildings.

[21] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1981, GRSM.

[22] General Accounting Office, *National Park Service: Status of Efforts to Develop Better Deferred Maintenance Data*, GAO-02-568R National Park Service (2002), http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d02568r.pdf, <February 21, 2008>.

[23] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1998, GRSM.

[24] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1999, GRSM.

[25] Superintendent's Annual Reports for 1999-2005, GRSM.

[26] Superintendent's Annual Reports for 2004 and 2005, GRSM.

[27] David E. Carpenter, *Impacts and Influences on the Great Smoky Mountains National Park: An Annotated Bibliography with a Discussion and Review of Selected Findings, Recommendations, and Conclusions*, Report prepared for Great Smoky Mountains Natural History Association (Atlanta: National Park Service, Southeast Region, 1982), 14-29.

[28] Martin, *Tourism in the Mountain South*, 186-89.

[29] George W. Fry to C. P. Edwards III, October 1, 1964, Superintendent to Regional Director, October 9, 1964, Fry to Edwards, October 26, 1964, Fry to W. L. Mills, April 30, 1965, George B. Hartzog, Jr. to Regional Director, June 24, 1965, and Fry to Edwards, September 8, 1965, File 19, Box XVI, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[30] The NPS review is quoted and the theme parks are described in Carpenter, "Impacts and Influences on the Great Smoky Mountains National Park," 48-49.

[31] Quoted in Carpenter, "Impacts and Influences on the Great Smoky Mountains National Park," 27.

[32] Pat Arnow, "Dollywood: Changing the Profile of Pigeon Forge," *Now and Then* 8 (Spring 1991): 8-10.

[33] Statement for Management, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1991, Box XVIII, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[34] "Smokies Landfill Threatens Black Bears," *National Parks Magazine* 66 (July/August 1991): 10; "Landfill Threatens Smokies Black Bears," *National Parks Magazine* 66 (September/October 1992): 16; "Recycling and Solid Waste Management," (2008), http://www.haywoodnc.n <February 22, 2008>; Stephen King, Director, Haywood County Sanitation Management Department, personal communication with author, February 27, 2008.

[35] In a little over one year, the park estimated the company conducted more than 2,000 flights over the park, nearly all below the 2,000-foot minimum recommended by FAA. Briefing Statement, January 30, 1992, File 1, Box 4, Seris 5, Leroy G. Fox Collection, MS 2051, Special Collections, Hoskins Library, University of Tennessee.

[36] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1990, GRSM.

[37] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1993, GRSM; Pope interview.

[38] Bob Wightman, interview by Theodore Catton, April 20, 2007.

Chapter Nine

Visitor Protection

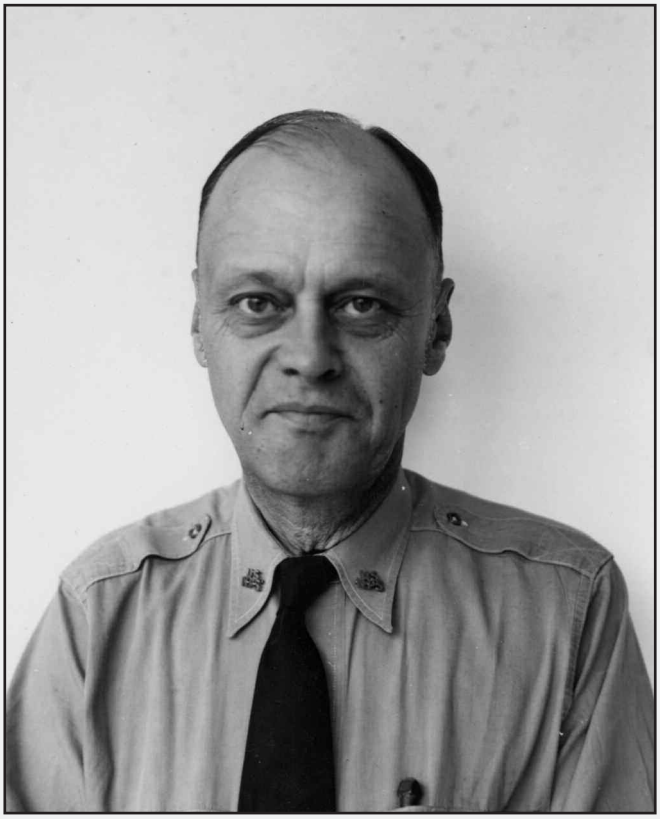
Unlike most western national parks, Great Smoky Mountains lacked a protective buffer zone of sparsely populated wild land on its borders. Instead, it was surrounded by a dense rural population, which included many people who had been displaced from their homes within the park area. Indeed, in the early years, hundreds of people still resided within the exterior boundaries of the park, either on leased land or on property not yet sold to the government. This rural population was accustomed to hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering roots and herbs in the area before it became a park, and they were reluctant to give up those customary and traditional practices. Remote from law enforcement, a good many residents supplemented their income by bootlegging. For some, these circumstances bred a suspicious and disrespectful attitude toward outsiders, especially government officials. While perhaps a majority of the neighboring population was friendly toward the Park Service and appreciative of the park, especially as the years passed, a considerable number were uncooperative or hostile. As a 1956 rangers manual stated, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park has a protective problem that requires special emphasis on local public relations operations and law enforcement."[1]

Rangers also contended with an onslaught of visitors – tourists from afar, holiday picnickers from nearby, outdoor clubs from regional cities like Knoxville and Atlanta, vacationers from the lowland South who came to the mountains to escape summer heat – a diverse user population that quickly swelled into the millions each year. As the park's founders had predicted, Great Smoky Mountains National Park attracted exceptionally large numbers of visitors thanks to its central location in the eastern United States, which put it within a day's drive of half the nation's population. The sheer numbers of people, which made for crowded conditions in campgrounds and on park roads, resulted in more accidents, emergencies, and crimes than was characteristic of most other national parks.

Establishing a Ranger Force

The Park Service established a ranger force in the Smokies before the area officially became a national park, an unusual sequence due to the complicated process by which the park was created from private lands. On February 20, 1930, two weeks after the federal government acquired ownership of an initial 150,000 acres for the future park, David Chapman cabled Horace Albright with an urgent message. "Our problems here are increasing in number and in difficulty," the telegram stated. "Most of the landowners are moving out leaving less responsible and in many cases lawless people. Bootlegging is increasing. Many houses should be torn down….We are dealing with people who have occupied more than three thousand separate pieces of land and in this twilight zone that now exists it is imperative that general policies be more clearly outlined."[2] Chapman's "twilight zone" referred to an apparent hole in law enforcement jurisdiction as the newly transferred federal lands were without any administration or protection by either the federal or state governments.

Albright handpicked one of his Yellowstone rangers, John T. Needham, together with an assistant, Philip R. Hough, to assume the federal administration and protection of the area until the arrival of Superintendent Eakin the following winter. Rangers Needham and Hough arrived in Knoxville on August 7, 1930, and proceeded on an extensive reconnaissance of the park area by horseback and Ford truck. They had an eventful four weeks of travels. From the top of Mount Le Conte they spotted a forest fire near Cove Mountain and hastened back the way they had come to put it out. Arriving at the scene the next morning, they found that the fire had been mostly contained the night before by the former landowner, Smith Jennings, and six neighbors. Next, the two rangers drove around to Cosby Creek. Here they found conditions similar to those described by Chapman. Many people had sold their property and moved away only to return to their former homes when they learned that the government was doing nothing with the land or buildings. "In order to clean out this section," Needham reported, "many of these buildings should be destroyed as they have no value and are only eye sores." Yet some of the buildings



Rangers **John T. Needham (shown)** and **Philip R. Hough** arrived in Knoxville on August 7, 1930, and proceeded on an extensive reconnaissance of the park area by horseback and Ford truck. They discovered that many families had moved back into the farms that the states had purchased for the national park.

held charms. The two rangers encountered an old grist mill with overshot wheel, still in excellent condition, that Needham wanted to preserve "at any cost." Later that day in the vicinity of Greenbrier they learned of a murder that had occurred two days earlier, allegedly the result of "bad whisky and an argument." The perpetrator, O. D. McElwee, was taken into custody. This was the first murder, as far as the rangers were aware, to occur on park lands. Their reconnaissance continued with an inspection of Elkmont, Cades Cove, Gregory Bald, and Deals Gap; then, a trip via Knoxville and Asheville to the North Carolina side, with visits to Cataloochee, Oconaluftee, and the coves west of Bryson City.[3]

After this four-week inspection trip, Needham established his headquarters on the North Carolina side at Bryson City, while Hough made his headquarters on the Tennessee side in Gatlinburg, as instructed by Assistant Director Arno Cammerer. It was a puny force to protect more than 150,000 acres of federal land, but the two men did what they could. In Hough's first official report to the director, the ranger commented on the difficulty of extinguishing a small fire near Elkmont, which continued to smolder for days in the deep duff. Hough went to the Knoxville Fire Department for advice, but in view of the fire's remote location, he declined the fire chief's offer to send one of the city's old horse-drawn steam fire engines with its 1,700 feet of hose.[4]

Superintendent J. Ross Eakin arrived to head the protection force in January 1931. By the following summer, Eakin had four rangers plus a handful of seasonal laborers who were employed on trail construction and general patrol. With so few rangers and so many people still living in the park area, Eakin recommended a soft touch for law enforcement, and Cammerer concurred. Eakin instructed his "per diem" employees to make no arrests, but when they caught anyone violating the park regulations they were to inform that person to appear before the U.S. commissioner on a given date and if the person failed to do so an arrest warrant would be placed in the hands of the U.S. marshall. Eakin also told his rangers to wait until the forest greened up in the spring before making any evictions. He wanted to carry out evictions when the fire hazard was low. Eakin took this precaution because he was advised that "in this country…when a native becomes angry with any official he immediately sets the woods afire."[5]

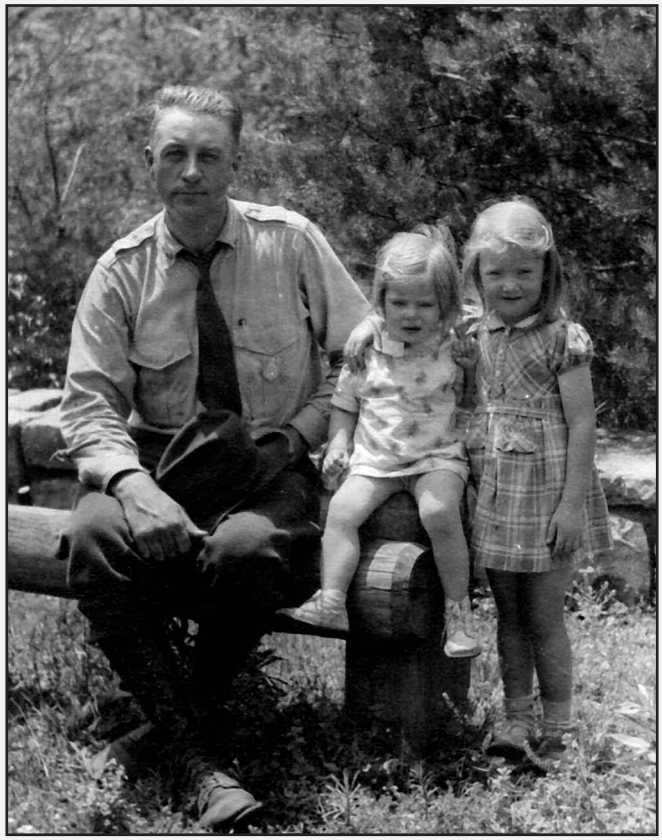
The park regulations placed a number of restrictions on the resident population in the park as well as on visitors. The park regulations prohibited all grazing of livestock and all woodcutting, severe limitations for people who were still living on subsistence farms. The regulations prohibited all hunting and all fishing with nets, seines, traps, explosives, or poisons. Fishing could only be done by hook and line, and the superintendent could close any waters in the park in order to allow restocking. Camping was not permitted except by special permit from the park administration. When camping under permit, all firewood had to be taken from dead or fallen trees. Since fires constituted "one of the greatest perils to the park," campfires were allowed only when necessary, had to be made in the open, and had to be completely extinguished when no longer needed. The superintendent could prohibit all smoking in the park during periods of extreme fire danger. No advertising signs could be posted except as the superintendent deemed appropriate. Gambling and liquor were both prohibited in the park in any form.[6]

The few rangers faced long odds trying to catch poachers in such a large expanse of mountains. Their job was made more difficult by the complicated land status within the authorized park area, with some lands still in private ownership and other lands leased by the government back to the former owners. Park policy allowed people who resided in the park to carry guns to and from their homes, which meant these

people were immune from the rule that possession of a gun in the park was *prima facie* evidence of poaching. Furthermore, there was a great deal of open defiance of the law by a local populace accustomed to hunting and fishing, digging ginseng, and cutting green timber without restriction. Many poachers were arrested, charged, and tried, only to be acquitted or given meaningless fines by sympathetic judges and juries. The laxity of the courts could be as debilitating for the law enforcement effort as it was demoralizing for park rangers. In one case, a man was acquitted after shooting a bear on park land because the incident took place on his leasehold. Chief Ranger Needham complained that this ruling set a devastating precedent for wildlife protection. Still, the rangers no doubt deterred some amount of poaching, as reflected by a marked increase in the deer population by the 1940s.[7]

Rangers encountered similar problems in enforcing the park's restrictions on fishing. In one case, the culprit was caught with a rod and line and a creel of nine fish in closed waters. Taken to court, he told the U.S. commissioner that he had caught the fish in open waters and had walked upstream to that place — a quarter mile above the point of closure on the access road — only to catch grasshoppers for bait. Despite his unlikely story, the U.S. commissioner discharged the case for want of evidence.[8]

In the early years of park protection the ranger force contended with a large element of so-called "undesirables" — shady characters whom the park administration wanted to evict or otherwise shoo out of the park. The "undesirables" included bootleggers, prostitutes, rowdies, and vagrants. Some of these people had legitimate leases because it was park policy to allow former residents to lease back their property for an interim period until they could make arrangements to go somewhere else. Others were simply "squatting" on vacant farms for which they had no legal title or lease. When pushed to leave, they might claim a possessory interest in the property based on long occupancy, or a relationship to one of the former property owners. Each person's story was unique and compelling in its own way. The park administration took many different forms of action in rooting these people out of their homes. When moonshine was involved, as it often was, the park authorities might call on prohibition officers to make a raid, leading to an eviction. But rangers could also take matters into their own hands. When Charles S. Dunn entered on duty as a ranger in August 1931, he quickly made a name for himself in Cades Cove. One day while on patrol he came across three men setting up a still in a deserted cabin. He ordered the men outside and then he burned the cabin and all its contents. He told the men he was not going to arrest them, but he was handling the situation in such a way as to show that the Park Service meant business.[9]



In 1940 the park introduced the warden system, an innovation unique to the Smokies. Wardens were mostly local men who enjoyed a better rapport with the community than most rangers did. **Mark Hannah** was one such warden who served the park for decades in Cataloochee, eventually becoming a ranger.

By the end of the 1930s, the rangers began to give more attention to protecting the kind of pleasure-seeking visitors that the park was intended to serve. Although the park was still not fully fledged — still technically ineligible for development because its land base was incomplete — heavy public use necessitated the construction of two temporary campgrounds at Chimneys and Smokemont, and rangers patrolled those campgrounds and took the opportunity to greet visitors and inform them about park rules. Starting in 1937, when North Carolina transferred its roads in the park to Park Service control, rangers assisted with car breakdowns and other traffic issues.[10]

As the number of campers increased, it became necessary to prohibit camping within an eighth of a mile of any roadway except at designated campgrounds and picnic areas. In 1938, the park administration got into a flap when a ranger arrested a Boy Scout leader for camping with his troop at Newfound Gap. The ranger stomped out the boys' campfire, drove the leader to headquarters for a stern lecture

from Superintendent Eakin, and then released the man to make his own way back to his troop. Fortunately for the chagrined Boy Scout leader, he was able to hitchhike back to Newfound Gap in time to lead his troop on its anticipated outing. This story got into the *Atlanta Journal*, prompting Carlos C. Campbell of the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association to scold the park administration for not doing a better job to educate the public about its rules and regulations.[11]

By 1940, the year the park was dedicated, the ranger force had grown from two men to about a dozen. The park was divided into eleven ranger districts: Elkmont, Cosby, Greenbrier, Sugarlands, and Cades Cove on the Tennessee side, and Big Creek, Cataloochee, Round Bottom, Smokemont, Deep Creek, and Twenty-mile on the North Carolina side. That year, the park also introduced the warden system, an innovation unique to this national park. Wardens were mostly local men (residency in Tennessee or North Carolina was an eligibility requirement) who enjoyed a better rapport with the community than most rangers did. Generally one warden was employed in each district. While the rangers dealt with visitors, it was the wardens' job to prevent poaching of wildlife and fish and run down trap lines and moonshine stills. The wardens worked long hours, sometimes patrolling for poachers at night. Many wardens, such as Mark Hannah of Cataloochee, served in the park for decades, eventually joining the ranger ranks.[12]

Jurisdiction

The protection of Great Smoky Mountains National Park was complicated in the 1930s and 1940s by lingering questions about jurisdiction. The problem of jurisdiction was unusually complex because the park's land base developed in a piecemeal fashion and because the park area was divided between two states, and both of those states — true to their Southern heritage — took extremely measured steps in ceding jurisdiction to the federal government.

In 1929, the Tennessee and North Carolina state legislatures each passed a law ceding exclusive jurisdiction over lands deeded from the state to the United States for the national park. These twin measures sufficed for the federal government to assume police jurisdiction over the initial 150,000-acre park area in 1930. But by the late 1930s, the same laws were found wanting. The problem was that the Tennessee and North Carolina state laws addressed the federal act of 1926, which provided that lands for Great Smoky Mountains National Park would be acquired only by donation, not by purchase. Later, the federal act was amended to allow park lands to be acquired by federal purchase. According to a strict construction of the state statutes, the states had not yet ceded exclusive jurisdiction over lands conveyed to the United States by federal purchase.[13]

This gap in the federal government's exclusive jurisdiction did not stop park rangers from making arrests for violations of the park rules and regulations wherever they occurred, whether on donated or purchased land. The difficulty arose whenever rangers took a case to court. If the offense occurred on donated park land, the case belonged in U.S. federal court; if it occurred on purchased park land, then a magistrate might argue that the arresting officer had only proprietary jurisdiction and the case belonged in state court. In practice, it was seldom clear which type of jurisdiction pertained since the park's land base was a crazy quilt of donated and purchased tracts.[14]

With jurisdiction in a muddle, the park administration could not rely on federal prosecutors and judges in the area for proper support. Assistant U.S. Attorney W. R. Francis, who worked in the district attorney's office in Asheville, disappointed park rangers on several occasions with his seemingly "hostile attitude" toward park protection. In the view of Chief Ranger Needham, this attorney, instead of prosecuting defendants, appeared in court in the role of defense attorney, belittling the violations at issue and questioning the Park Service's police powers. In one case, he advised the court that in his opinion "the mountaineers should be permitted to dig roots and herbs in the park and take small game for meat." Judge Edwin Y. Webb, a federal judge for the western district of North Carolina, was similarly ill-disposed toward park protection. On one notorious occasion, he acquitted a number of suspected poachers, saying in open court that the park rangers had acted on improper authority in making the arrests. At the time, Needham reported, the courtroom was filled with potential poachers who were watching the park cases with great interest. Needham called the judge's action "devastating" and said it had "shattered the morale of enforcement officers on this side of the park." None other than the sheriff of Swain County came forward after the proceeding and declared that the Park Service could not enforce park regulations in federal district court. Eakin relayed these problems to the director, informing him that the park administration would try to take these cases into state court and prosecute the defendants under the state game law. "I submit, however," he wrote, "that when the U.S. Courts will not enforce U.S. laws, this is a disgraceful condition."[15]

Congress passed a law on April 29, 1942, aimed at putting the federal government's shaky exclusive jurisdiction on a sounder footing. The law began by declaring that the provisions of the twin state laws of 1929 "are hereby accepted and

sole and exclusive jurisdiction is hereby assumed by the United States over such lands." (The declaration was not strictly necessary, since those state laws called for acceptance of exclusive jurisdiction by "proper federal officers," not the U.S. Congress, but the declaration was included anyway for good measure.) It went on to explain that the portion of the park in North Carolina would constitute part of the U.S. judicial district for the western district of North Carolina, and that the portion of the park in Tennessee would constitute a part of the U.S. judicial district for the eastern district of Tennessee. (This, too, merely described existing conditions.) The important feature of the law was explained in Sections 5 through 9, which provided for a U.S. commissioner, to be appointed jointly by those two judicial districts, who would have power to issue arrest warrants, prosecute cases, and impose punishments for all cases involving violation of the park rules and regulations. In all cases of conviction an appeal would be made to the U.S. judicial district in which the offense occurred. Finally, Section 10 of the act provided that the Secretary of the Interior would notify in writing the governors of Tennessee and North Carolina of the fact that the United States assumed police power over the park according to the laws passed by the respective states in 1929.[16]

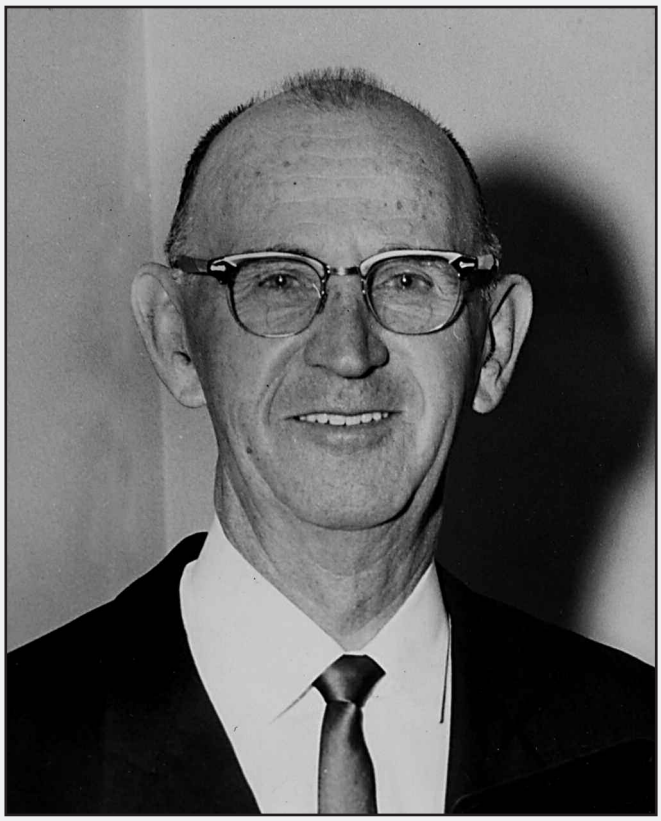
The Department of the Interior duly notified the state governors and received their acknowledgements in accordance with Section 10 of the act.[17] However, the problem remained that the original cessions of exclusive jurisdiction by the states applied only to donated lands. Over the next decade, Park Service officials doggedly pursued getting each state to amend the 1929 acts so that this gap would be eliminated. Their efforts extended to drafting legislation for each state's consideration, and making repeated trips to Nashville and Raleigh to discuss the need for it with each governor.[18] In North Carolina, resistance to the measure centered in Swain County, where citizens still smarted over the condemnation of lands for the Fontana Project. Those lands acquired by TVA had not yet transferred to the national park, and Swain County's representative in the state legislature wanted to exempt those lands from the provisions of the bill. A compromise was reached whereby this exemption was narrowed to "lands hereafter acquired by the Federal Government through purchase from citizens of Swain County," (the state would still cede jurisdiction on lands already acquired by TVA after they were conveyed to the park) and the law was passed in 1947.[19] The Tennessee legislature delayed passing its version of a new cession act until 1951, but finally it passed the desired measure as well.[20]

Entrance Fees

Tennessee's concerns focused on public access to the park. Specifically, the state did not want to give the federal government authority to make Tennesseans pay an entrance fee or toll for use of the road. This was a concern to both states, and indeed the issue of entrance fees acquired a life of its own and remained in the public eye long after other matters of jurisdiction faded from view. Both states took the position that their citizens had already given so much for the park that it should be a free public space for them for all time. While Cammerer was sympathetic to the states' view, having befriended many of those idealistic and forward-looking Tennesseans and North Carolinians who gave up their homes or gave generously of their wealth, other Park Service officials did not have Cammerer's personal experience with the Smokies and naturally resisted the idea that there should be such an exception for Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The Department of the Interior, meanwhile, blew hot and cold on the whole matter of charging entrance fees for national parks as the idea went in and out of favor in Congress.[21] With each passing decade, however, one thing became more certain: if entrance fees were charged to the millions of people who visited Great Smoky Mountains each year, they would bring in a whopping amount of revenue.

The matter of entrance fees first arose in the mid-1930s when the Park Service wanted to take over maintenance of the Newfound Gap Road from the state highway departments. The solicitor for the Department of the Interior held that the states' 1929 cession acts did not apply to the roadways; title and jurisdiction along the roadways still belonged to the states and it was necessary for the states to "vacate" these state highways before the Park Service could assume control over them. State officials in North Carolina were happy to comply, provided that the Park Service would assure the state that the road would "remain open without toll or license charges of any kind to passenger travel and trucks with reasonable tonnage for use as through travel between the State of North Carolina and the State of Tennessee." The Park Service, on Cammerer's advice, gave them that assurance. Afterwards, North Carolina's State Highway Commission duly abandoned all roads within the park in North Carolina.[22]

On the Tennessee side, Cammerer had already given similar assurance to Senator McKellar (D-TN). Choosing his words carefully so as not to overstep his authority, Cammerer wrote to the senator, "Under present policy it is not our intention to recommend to the Department any license fee."[23] A few months later, on December 7, 1937, Tennessee's highway commissioner, M. O. Allen, signed a declaration of abandonment of all roads within the park in Tennessee. However, it was soon discovered that Tennessee law (unlike



Carlos C. Campbell was a tireless supporter of the park, a founding member of the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association, and author of *Birth of a National Park in the Great Smoky Mountains.* In 1954 he broke ranks with the Association and came out in favor of an entrance fee for the Smokies.

North Carolina law) did not vest authority in the highway commissioner to abandon state highways, only secondary roads. It would require an act of the Tennessee legislature to abandon state highways 71 and 73 (Newfound Gap Road and Little River Road).[24] The Department of the Interior requested the governor of Tennessee to sponsor the necessary bill, but it received no cooperation.[25]

The issue of entrance fees lay dormant through the war years and flared up again in 1948. At that time there was strong interest in Congress to levy more user fees throughout the national park system, and the Department of the Interior requested the Park Service to make a thorough review of its policy on entrance fees, campground fees, and concession fees. While that study was underway, Director Drury announced, under orders from the department, a plan to implement a fee system on the Blue Ridge Parkway. This aroused a storm of protest in North Carolina; indeed, it caused opponents of the plan to revive the North Carolina National Park, Parkway, and Forests Development Commission, which had languished during World War II. Members of the commission made the same argument against charging fees on the Blue Ridge Parkway that they made about Great Smoky Mountains: it was not fair to the people of North Carolina who had already paid dearly to bring the parkway into existence. Opposition to the fee was so vociferous that Secretary of the Interior Julius Krug felt compelled to back pedal and announce that the plan was being dropped for the coming year.[26]

Six months later, in July 1948, Assistant Director Arthur E. Demaray told a gathering in Gatlinburg that the Park Service was considering establishing a fee for use of the Clingmans Dome Road. (He allowed that the cash-strapped Park Service was also under pressure to permit a refreshment stand at Newfound Gap.) The response was predictable: the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association came back with a statement opposing either a fee or a refreshment stand. Frank Maloney, president of the association, raised an interesting fact. "I have been informed that the original rights-of-way secured by the Tennessee State Highway Department for the construction of the road from Gatlinburg to Newfound Gap, carried a provision that the road should be forever toll free," he wrote Drury.[27] This was beside the point as far as the Clingmans Dome Road was concerned, but it was highly pertinent to the Park Service's longstanding desire to secure exclusive jurisdiction over the main park road.

The Park Service dropped the idea of making Clingmans Dome Road into a fee area, and instead returned to its earlier goal of obtaining a state law concerning the main park road.

Superintendent Blair Ross took the initiative, meeting with numerous state officials in Nashville in January 1949. Based on those discussions, he asked Regional Director Thomas J. Allen whether the Park Service would accept an amendment to the draft bill that would make both Highway 71 and Highway 73 (Little River Road) forever toll free. Allen relayed the question to the director, noting that the Park Service had already agreed to that provision for Highway 71 (Newfound Gap Road). Allen recommended that the Park Service consent to it. "It would be best to accept what now may be possible and leave improvements to future legislation," he remarked. Drury concurred. The state law, when finally enacted in February 1951, included the following proviso: "that any conveyance made pursuant to this Act shall provide that no toll or license fee shall ever be imposed by the United States or any agency thereof for the use by the public of State Highways Nos. 71 and 73, but the United States may regulate and restrict the use of said highways by commercial vehicles of more than one and one-half (1½) tons rated capacity between the hours of 8:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m."[28]

The issue of entrance fees was revived from time to time. In 1954, as congressional funding of the national parks re-

mained woefully short of needs, Carlos C. Campbell of the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association broke ranks with fellow members and announced his support for an entrance fee. His announcement came at an Exchange Club meeting in Knoxville where Superintendent Ed Hummel, the featured speaker, explained the park's dire need for better funding. Campbell noted that an entrance fee would require legislation by both Tennessee and North Carolina. Campbell's idea met with immediate opposition from Kelly E. Bennett, chairman of the North Carolina National Park, Parkway, and Forests Development Commission.[29] The Park Service did not pursue an entrance fee for Great Smoky Mountains at this time, but it made another attempt to introduce a fee system on the Blue Ridge Parkway. After a year of controversy, it again backed off that proposal.[30]

Many years later, in 1995, Superintendent Karen Wade announced that the Park Service would ask the two state legislatures to lift the ban on entrance fees. The hook, in Wade's view, was a possible change in federal law that would allow each national park to keep a large percentage of the fees it collected rather than sending them to the U.S. Treasury for deposit in the national Land and Water Conservation Fund. With the millions of people entering Great Smoky Mountains, entrance fees could become a boon for the park's flagging annual budget. Skeptics noted that an unknown percentage of visitors were repeat visitors who would buy annual passes rather than the proposed $5 permit, so the revenue might be less than expected. Representative James Quillen (R-TN) tried to trounce the proposal, saying that an entrance fee would bar the door for many poor people and that it was "ridiculous for them to even be talking about it." An editorial in the *Knoxville News-Sentinel* was only a little less adamant. "The tradition of free entry is a vital part of the Smokies heritage and must not be abandoned without sober, unhurried debate."[31] With national park entrance fees rising appreciably after 2000 – to as high as $25 per vehicle in the case of Yellowstone – the issue remained a contentious one.[32]

Police Work

As visitation climbed in the late 1940s and early 1950s, so too did the number of cases brought before the park commissioner. While incidents of poaching remained the most common type of violation, the ranger's law enforcement activity increasingly resembled ordinary police work in non-park settings. In 1950, a total of 75 cases originating in the park were prosecuted in the park commissioner's court, the Gatlinburg Police Court, the County Court at Sevierville, and the U.S. District Court at Asheville. Hunting and fishing violations accounted for 33 of the 75 cases; the remainder were based on charges of reckless driving (17), drunk driving (7), drunk and disorderly conduct (11), speeding (3), possession of firearms (3), and theft of government property (1). In addition to these mundane cases, rangers recovered three stolen cars, seized three stills, apprehended three juvenile boys for thefts, and chased down a pair of escaped convicts who had stolen a car at gunpoint, wrecked the car in the park, and fled on foot into the mountains where the convicts were finally apprehended with the help of state officers from North Carolina.[33]

In 1952, Congress enacted a law that increased the number of U.S. commissioners in the park to two, one for each state. This was unique in the national park system; only 15 other national parks had a resident U.S. commissioner at all. The main reason given for adding another commissioner was this park's exceptional caseload owing to its status as "one of the principal recreational areas in the eastern part of the country." Moreover, Congress was advised that because of the park's wide expanse, which made it necessary to carry witnesses long distances, the stationing of one commissioner on each side of the park, one in Tennessee and the other in North Carolina, would alleviate the problem.[34] (This was a decorous way of acknowledging that each state wanted to have its own park commissioner. In 1950, when U.S. Commissioner W. E. Elmore's appointment expired, there was a political fight over who would replace him, and the position stood vacant for four months until Elmore was reappointed.) After the law was passed, Commissioner Elmore's jurisdiction was limited to the North Carolina side of the park, and cases in Tennessee were heard by a consent commissioner until the new position was filled.[35]

The volume of ordinary police work continued to mount from year to year. By 1980, the number of violations in one year stood at 280. Although this increase was roughly proportional to the park's growth in visitation, it began to include a steady yearly increment of violent crimes, termed "Part 1 Offenses," such as burglaries, assaults, rapes, and an occasional homicide. In June 1981, rangers were notified by the Federal Bureau of Investigations that a murder might have occurred in the park. A missing person report had been filed in Florida five weeks earlier, and the missing person's last known destination was the park. The person's car had been found in Georgia, burned. The police investigation in Georgia had led to two suspects. In June, FBI agents brought one of the suspects to the park, where he led rangers and the FBI agents to the victim's remains on Walker Prong. Rangers subsequently assisted the FBI in the prosecution and conviction of the two men for murder.[36] National parks had long been thought to be places where violent crimes rarely if ever

occurred, but in the 1960s and '70s that assumption faded. Rangers had to cultivate their image as law enforcement officers in order to assure visitors that they would be safe and secure while hiking or camping.

There were other changes in the type of criminal activity which occurred in the park. In the early 1970s, narcotics violations showed a huge increase, due in part to the sudden prevalence of marijuana use by visitors in campgrounds.[37] Marijuana growers introduced the plant in various remote locations throughout the park, and by the 1980s, rangers were pulling up several hundred pounds of it each year. Professional thieves, meanwhile, discovered that trailhead parking lots could be good places for breaking into cars without much risk of being caught, and Great Smoky Mountains, like other national parks, began to experience "car clouts."[38] In 1980, rangers busted three auto larceny rings, which combined accounted for 60 percent of all car clouts reported in the park that year.[39] In 1984, almost two thirds of all felony cases involved stealing from parked cars.[40]

The park inevitably attracted a few kooks. In March 1981, a teenage girl with a slashed wrist and blood-soaked dress knocked on the door of the Abrams Creek Ranger Station. She told the ranger that she and her husband had signed a suicide pact; just married, they had driven from Tallahassee, Florida to honeymoon in the backcountry and kill themselves where no one would ever know what happened to them. She was either unable or unwilling to give the location of her husband. A massive three-day search finally turned up the man's body. He had slashed his wrists and bled to death.[41]

Rangers, like policemen, spent much of their time on road patrol: stopping speeders, directing traffic, assisting with breakdowns, and responding to accidents. On the park's busy, curvy roads, traffic accidents were common. From 1972 through 1981, the park averaged 293 visitor-related car accidents each year — almost one a day — and a little over half of these were single-vehicle accidents in which people simply drove off the road. While the park roads were not particularly deadly compared to roads outside the park, more accidental deaths and injuries occurred on the park roads than anywhere else in the park. Slightly less than half of vehicle accidents involved injuries that required medical attention, and over the ten-year span ending in 1981 a total of nearly 3,000 vehicle accidents caused 40 fatalities.[42]

Search and Rescue

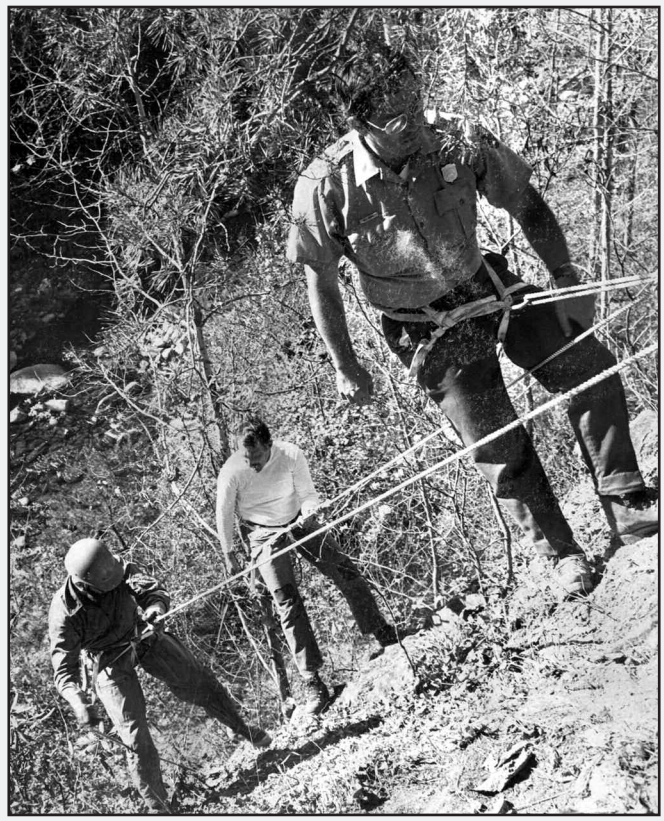
With tens of thousands of people hiking, swimming, floating, camping, and horseback riding in the park each year, rangers received numerous distress calls. By the 1970s, the protection force tallied more than two dozen search and rescue operations per year — a very high number compared to most national parks. In 1976, the park recorded 49 search and rescue incidents, including three that involved fatalities.[43] In 1987, another "banner" year, there were 43 incidents including 19 separate searches for individuals who were reported lost. Of those 19 persons, 12 walked out of the woods on their own and 7 were found by rangers.[44] Search and rescue operations were carried out for lost hikers, injured hikers, people who experienced medical problems in the backcountry, and victims of snake bites, lightning strikes, and plane crashes.

Search and rescue operations sometimes involved heroic efforts, and it was always important to protect the search and rescue teams from incurring undue risk to themselves. The dangers were revealed in a search effort in January 1978 that went tragically awry. On January 3, 1978, a twin-engine Cessna 421 crashed in the vicinity of Parsons Bald. The park was notified at 8:35 p.m. and immediately began to organize a search and rescue operation. An hour past midnight, four U.S. Army Huey helicopters arrived in Cades Cove and an air search with a powerful spotlight was initiated. After an hour and a half the search was called off until daylight. At dawn, the search was resumed. Three helicopters took off, with two rangers in one helicopter, two rangers in another, and Army personnel only in the third. Within five minutes of taking off, the first helicopter sighted the airplane wreckage about three quarters of a mile from Parsons Bald and attempted to land on the bald, but it crashed in the woods nearby. The second helicopter then landed on the bald, and one ranger accompanied by Army personnel headed for the helicopter crash site while the other ranger hiked to the plane crash site. In the meantime, the third helicopter lowered an Army paramedic into the helicopter wreckage. Of the eight men in the crashed helicopter, four (including the two rangers) had received serious injuries and four were dead. Meanwhile, it was discovered that all five people on board the Cessna had been killed, so all efforts turned to rescuing the people at the helicopter crash site. By 2:40 p.m., all four injured survivors were airlifted to the University of Tennessee Hospital in Knoxville. The nine bodies from the two crash sites were recovered the following day.[45]

No fewer than 54 known plane crashes occurred in Great Smoky Mountains National Park between 1920 and 2000. Not quite half of these crashes required a search, and exactly half of those searches resulted in rescue of survivors. (Some lucky people not only survived their crash but were able to walk out without being rescued.) A study of all known plane crashes in the park found that a total of 127 persons had been on board these aircraft, and 56 had survived. Interestingly, once rescuers arrived at crash sites, there was a 100 percent rate of survival among injured crash victims.[46]

Search and rescue often involved intense effort and high

stakes. Successful operations could boost employee morale, just as an effort that went awry or a string of failures could bring the staff down. In 1982, a teenage boy got lost on Clingmans Dome when he tried to race his friends from the observation tower back to the parking lot. The search began at night, with a half dozen rangers conducting a grid search of the area between the tower and the parking lot. The following day the search intensified, with perhaps 200 people helping. On the morning of the second day, search dogs from Virginia joined in the search, but still the boy was not found. After yet another day without success, the search team decided that the boy must have become disoriented coming down the spiral ramp of the observation tower, causing him to go down the opposite slope into Tennessee. Until this point the team had not searched that area because it did not want to get people out ahead of the dogs, confusing the scent. As they regrouped and then fanned out, putting the dog teams and rangers with tracking skills in front, one of the tracking rangers started to see evidence of a person scrambling down rocks, knocking moss loose, leaving scuff marks. They found the boy lying beside a stream, unconscious. A diabetic, he had been without his insulin medication for three days. He was carried out and taken to a hospital, where he recovered. After the helicopter crash in 1978 and a string of unsuccessful searches and rescues, finding this boy alive gave the park staff a huge lift.[47]



The highly trained rangers of the park are called upon to rescue lost and injured hikers on a weekly, if not daily basis. In the 1970s, as violent crime increased, they were called upon for more challenging law enforcement tasks.

The Modern Ranger Force

The growth of violent crime in the national parks in the 1960s and '70s had far-reaching consequences for the Park Service ranger force. Rangers began to wear side arms and other "defensive equipment" both for their own personal safety and to deter crime. Ranger patrol vehicles came to resemble police cars, equipped with sirens, search lights, and radar. The new ranger image provoked two opposing responses in the public. Some appreciated the sense of security the "police" presence gave visitors. Others regretted this new emphasis on law and order in the national parks, finding it distracting at best. The new ranger image created a tension within the Park Service as well, with some wanting to strengthen the agency's law enforcement capabilities and others believing that too much emphasis on law enforcement would tarnish the agency's high standing in the public's mind. Inevitably, this impassioned debate got into the fine points of how the ranger should do his job, such as whether the ranger should don his sidearm or leave it in the glove box of his patrol car when he stopped to assist a vehicle. To sort this out, the Park Service promulgated NPS-9 law enforcement guidelines in 1975, and the following year Congress revamped the Park Service's law enforcement authority in the General Authorities Act of October 7, 1976. The act directed the Secretary of the Interior to designate specific Park Service personnel to maintain law and order in the national parks. It repealed a law of 1905 that authorized all park personnel, regardless of their position in the organization, to make arrests. Historically, the Park Service had entrusted only the ranger protection force with law enforcement responsibility, and the law strengthened that longstanding policy. Rangers in the protection force henceforth enjoyed a special status as "law enforcement officers" or "commissioned officers" within the Park Service organization. Pursuant to this act, the Park Service developed new professional standards for its law enforcement rangers, including twice-per-year weapons training.[48]

The new professional standards for law enforcement rangers soon had significant repercussions for ranger staffing at Great Smoky Mountains. In keeping with a service-wide trend, the park administration put more emphasis on visitor protection. In addition to weapons and law enforcement training, rangers received training in first aid, search and rescue, traffic radar, and traffic accident investigation. They recorded incidents using a new, service-wide, computerized incident recording system.[49] As rangers devoted more time to visitor protection, they had less time in the backcountry.

The classical era of the "generalist ranger" was drawing to a close. The ranger's job still required a great deal of versatility but it did not allow as much time for protecting the resources.

In 1981, Superintendent John E. Cook reorganized the park staff, taking resources management from the ranger staff and placing it under the science staff. The former Division of Resources Management and Visitor Protection was renamed the Division of Ranger Activities, and the resources management function was moved into a new division called the Division of Resources Management and Science. As part of this reorganization, Roland Wauer, head of the natural resources management office in Washington, transferred to Great Smoky Mountains to lead the new division. The reorganization came as part of an initiative by Director Russ Dickenson to move high-level people out to the field and cut overhead in Washington and the regional offices. By putting resources management under the science staff, the reorganization elevated the role of research in the park. But it diminished the role of the ranger. "Maybe it was a mistake in retrospect in some regards," Cook would later comment, "because it took a lot of the prideful work away from the rangers and more highlighted their enforcement work."[50] Partly by way of compensation, Cook also transferred responsibility for backcountry trails from the maintenance staff to the rangers.

The Division of Ranger Activities soon had another problem: employee retention. As the Park Service put more emphasis on law enforcement qualifications, it became more difficult to get seasonal rangers commissioned. Without a commission, a seasonal ranger could not advance in the organization and was apt not to return. When a seasonal ranger did receive a commission, he was sorely tempted to jump to another federal agency where law enforcement work paid at a higher grade. By the late 1980s, the park was able to get the journeyman-level ranger position upgraded from a GS 5 to a GS 7 (now they are mostly GS 9 or even GS 11). Peter Hart, chief ranger from 1986 to 1990, recalled that Great Smoky Mountains was in the forefront of this system-wide, institutional change. The upgrades were not accompanied by personnel budget increases, however, so the park had to get by with fewer seasonal rangers. By the end of the decade the Division of Ranger Activities had more permanent than seasonal rangers, and the force was highly professional, but the number of seasonal patrol rangers was considerably reduced.[51]

As the ranger force became more professional, it was also exposed to more danger. "I was scared to death that someone was going to get shot," former Chief Ranger Peter Hart remembered. "We had a lot of close calls. There was an incident on the Foothills Parkway in which a ranger got drawn down on with about two or three folks and it really became a standoff, and why somebody didn't get shot in that situation I don't know." Hart saw the necessity of rigorous law enforcement training even though he felt conflicted about it. "This was the beginning of the specialization of the ranger force," he said. "I resisted that because I thought – still think – that rangers need to be generalists and good at everything they do."[52]

On June 21, 1998, Park Ranger Joseph Kolodski responded to a park dispatch that a drunken man with a gun was threatening visitors on the Blue Ridge Parkway. Kolodski drove to the scene, evidently expecting to talk to the man and defuse the situation without resorting to a shootout. As he stepped out of his patrol car, the man shot him with a high-powered rifle. The bullet struck him in the armpit, in an area unprotected by his bullet proof vest, and he was killed. The shooter, a mentally unstable, 47-year-old Cherokee man, fled the scene and was captured and taken into custody later that day. Kolodski was 36 years old, married, and the father of three girls.[53]

Kolodski's death shook the park staff and indeed created a stir throughout the national park system. Superintendent Wade took decisive action to give Kolodski's co-workers time to grieve and heal. Three weeks of counseling for the entire staff, followed by extended leave for those who had worked closest with Kolodski, was reckoned to be "the largest critical incident stress management response in NPS history." Rangers from around the Southeast Region were assigned to temporary duty at Oconaluftee in July and August to fill in for rangers on leave for emotional stress. A great deal of effort was expended in facilitating transfers to other parks for a few rangers and their families who felt they needed it, as well as in providing assistance and death benefits for Kolodski's family.[54]

In 2001, the Ranger Activities Division was renamed the Resources and Visitor Protection Division in recognition of the rangers' ongoing responsibilities in protecting park resources. In particular, rangers still played a key role in handling problem bears, capturing wild hogs, and conducting creel censuses. Other ranger activities that will be discussed in subsequent chapters included backcountry management, concessions management, and campground management.

[1] Ranger Manual, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1956, typescript in University of Tennessee Special Collections Library, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

[2] D. C. Chapman to Horace M. Albright, February 20, 1930, File 2, Box XI, Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association Collection, GRSM.

[3] John T. Needham to The Director, September 8, 1930, File 204-010 Part 1, Box 302, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[4] Philip R. Hough to The Director, September 17, 1930, File 204-010 Part 1, Box 302, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[5] J. R. Eakin to The Director, May 4, 1931, and Eakin to The Director, July 15, 1931, File 208, Box 1088, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[6] Rules and Regulations, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, August 6, 1930, File 208, Box 1088, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[7] J. R. Eakin to The Director, July 15, 1931, File 208, Box 1088, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Eakin to the Director, August 6, 1931, Superintendent's Monthly Report, GRSM; Brown, *The Wild East*, 116; John T. Needham to Eakin, December 2, 1937, File 208-06, Box 1089, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Superintendent's Annual Report for 1949, RG 79, NASER.

[8] J. R. Eakin to The Director, September 5, 1931, Superintendent's Monthly Report, GRSM.

[9] J. R. Eakin to The Director, May 4, 1931, File 208, Box 1088, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Eakin to the Director, September 5, 1931, Superintendent's Monthly Report, GRSM; Brown, *The Wild East*, 118-120.

[10] J. R. Eakin to The Director, August 10, 1937, File 630 Part 4, Box 1133, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[11] J. R. Eakin to The Director, March 2, 1939, and Carlos C. Campbell to Eakin, August 15, 1938, enclosing "Excerpt from Atlanta Journal August 7th," File 208, Box 1088, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[12] Great Smoky Mountains National Park, "The Ranger Manual," 1956, unpublished typescript, University of Tennessee Special Collections Library, University of Tennessee, Knoxville; Glenn Cardwell, interview by Theodore Catton, April 24, 2007.

[13] Oscar L. Chapman to Prentice Cooper, March 2, 1939, and Chapman to James Mc Cord, February 28, 1945, File 607, Box 1103, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[14] Oscar L. Chapman to James McCord, February 28, 1945, File 607, Box 1103, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[15] John T. Needham to J. R. Eakin, December 2, 1937, and J. R. Eakin to The Director, January 5, 1938, File 208-06, Box 1089, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[16] Act of April 29, 1942 (56 Stat. 258).

[17] Newton B. Drury to Superintendent, June 8, 1942, J. R. Eakin to The Director, June 12, 1942, A. J. Knox to G. A. Moskey, September 1, 1942, Eakin to Regional Director, September 21, 1942, A. B. Fortas to Governor Broughton, September 5, 1942, Harold L. Ickes to Governor Broughton, October 14, 1942, John O. Morrell to Superintendent, January 12, 1943, A. E. Demaray to The Director, January 19, 1943, Hillory A. Tolson to Under Secretary, February 19, 1943, File: H.R. 2320 Jurisdiction, Box 1080, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[18] Hillory A. Tolson to Superintendent, December 28, 1942, and June 5, 1946, Elbert Cox to The Director, February 19, 1947, Tolson to Regional Director, February 25, 1947, and Superintendent to Regional Director, November 28, 1948, File 607, Box 1103, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[19] Thomas J. Allen to The Director, March 5, 1947, and March 7, 1947, File 607, Box 1103, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[20] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1950, RG 79, NASER. In 1984, the State of North Carolina enacted legislation changing jurisdiction on the North Carolina side of the park from exclusive to concurrent jurisdiction.

[21] Barry Mackintosh, "Visitor Fees in the National Park System: A Legislative and Administrative History," 1983, typescript report in Natural Resources Library, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington.

[22] J. R. Eakin to The Director, August 10, 1937, and Arno B. Cammerer to Frank L. Dunlap, January 11, 1938, File 630 Part 4, and Cammerer to J. R. Eakin, June 30, 1938, File 630 Part 5, Box 1134, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[23] Cammerer quoted in J. R. Eakin to The Director, August 10, 1937, File 630 Part 4, Box 1133, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[24] M. O. Allen, Declaration, December 7, 1937, File 630 Part 4, and J. R. Eakin to Amy Brown Miles, March 8, 1939, File 630 Part 5, Box 1134, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[25] Oscar L. Chapman to Prentice Cooper, March 2, 1939, File 607, Box 1103, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[26] Newton B. Drury to Gentlemen, January 15, 1948, Charles E. Ray to Drury, January 28, 1948, and Secretary of the Interior to William B. Umstead, January 29, 1948, Box 26, Governor W. Kerr Scott Collection, NCSA.

[27] Frank Maloney to Newton B. Drury, July 30, 1948, and Hillory A. Tolson to Maloney, August 11, 1948, File 208-01.3, Box 1089, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; "Smokies Group Will Oppose Placing Tolls Within Park," *Knoxville Journal*, July 9, 1948.

[28] An ACT to extend the cession of exclusive jurisdiction made by Chapter 99, Public Acts of 1929, in and to certain lands in Great Smoky Mountains National Park to all lands in this State heretofore acquired by the United States for such Park; and to authorize a transfer to the United States of any and all State highways located within such park, February 23, 1951, copy in File W30 FR 7/1/1949 GRSM, Box 2250, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[29] "Admission Charge in Smokies Urged," *Chattanooga Times*, March 26, 1954, and "Bennett Opposes Charging Fee in Smokies Park," unidentified newspaper clipping in Miscellaneous Records 1947-1964, National Park, Parkway, and Forests Development Commission Collection, NCSA.

[30] Conrad L. Wirth to Luther Hodges, December 23, 1954, Box 24, and Hugh Morton to Sam J. Ervin, Jr., March 12, 1958, Box 300, Governor Luther H. Hodges Collection, NCSA.

[31] "Smokies park seeks OK to charge entrance fees," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, June 18, 1995, "Quillen criticizes entrance fee proposed for Smokies," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, June 23, 1995, and "Paying for our parks," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, June 21, 1995.

[32] Superintendent Pope's Statement for Management in 1991 mentions another constraint on entrance fees: "In Title 16, Public Law 92-347, an amendment to the Land and Water Conservation Fund in July 1972 states that, 'In Smoky Mountains National Park unless fees are charged for entrance into said park on main highways and thoroughfares, fees shall not be charged for entrance on other routes into said park or any part thereof.'" (Statement for Management, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1991, Box XVIII, Park Management Collection, GRSM.)

[33] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1950, RG 79, NASER.

[34] U.S. Senate, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., *Amending Title 28 of the United States Code so as to provide for two United States Commissioners for Great Smoky Mountains National Park*,

S. Rep. 1738, June 11, 1952, pp. 1-2.

[35] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1950, RG 79, NASER.

[36] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1981, GRSM.

[37] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1974, GRSM.

[38] Peter Hart, interview by Theodore Catton, July 19, 2007.

[39] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1980, GRSM.

[40] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1984, GRSM.

[41] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1981, GRSM.

[42] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1981, GRSM.

[43] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1976, GRSM.

[44] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1987, GRSM.

[45] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1978, GRSM.

[46] Jeff Wadley and Dwight McCarter, *Mayday! Mayday! Aircraft Crashes in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1920-2000* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002), 190-191.

[47] Kevin Fitzgerald, interview by Theodore Catton, April 25, 2007.

[48] Hart interview; Boyd Evison to All Law Enforcement Rangers and Technicians, August 5, 1977, and "Law Enforcement Policy Great Smoky Mountains National Park," no date, File: Law Enforcement Policies, Box XVIII, Park Management Collection, GRSM; Park Public Law 94-458, October 7, 1976, 90 Stat. 1939; Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 208-09.

[49] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1976, GRSM.

[50] John E. Cook, interview by Theodore Catton, July 19, 2007.

[51] Hart interview; John E. Cook interview; David Nevin, "Tranquility, tourism – and trouble: The Great Smokies have it all," *Smithsonian* 24, no. 3 (August 1993): 20-31.

[52] Hart interview.

[53] "Man Found Guilty of Killing Park Ranger," *New York Times*, January 31, 1999; Sarah Kucharski, "Waiting for the smoke to clear: officers deal with the professional and emotional aftermath of using their gun in the line of duty," *Smoky Mountain News*, February 16, 2006, http://www.smokymountainnews.com, <November 10, 2007>.

[54] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1998, GRSM.

Chapter Ten
Visitor Accommodations

One of the distinctive things about Great Smoky Mountains National Park is that it does not have a large concession operation as most western national parks do. The park has no beautiful Ahwahnee Hotel as in Yosemite, no grand lodge resembling the log palaces found in Yellowstone and Glacier, nor even a small lodge and cabin complex of the type found in most national parks that came of age, like Great Smoky Mountains, in the Mission 66 era. Great Smoky Mountains National Park is different because the Department of the Interior adopted a policy in 1940 that it would not develop hotels or tourist cabins within the park, leaving it entirely up to local communities to provide those services. The idea was to maximize the park's wilderness character, which was perhaps its most valuable attribute.

The policy went a long way toward shaping this national park's visitor-use pattern. Great Smoky Mountains National Park became a kind of commuter park surrounded by bedroom communities, a "drive-in wilderness."[1] But there were important exceptions to this pattern. First, a few thousand people each year stayed at Le Conte Lodge, a mountain-chalet-type facility on the summit of Mount Le Conte, accessible only by trail, which predated the park and was permitted to stay in operation. Second, tens of thousands of people each year thronged to the park's campgrounds. And third, growing numbers of people entered and camped in the backcountry. All of these uses required the development of infrastructure — developed campgrounds with sanitation facilities, engineered horse and foot trails, designated backcountry campsites — and all required management both for the protection of visitors and the environment. While the decision in 1940 to exclude overnight lodging development had far-reaching consequences, park administration of overnight use is better understood in a more comprehensive way as a program that evolved in response to ever-changing public needs.

Accommodations in the Depression Era

At the beginning of the 1930s, the premier tourist hotel in the area was the Mountain View Hotel in Gatlinburg. It had more than 50 rooms, each equipped with private bath, steam heat, and electricity, all nicely appointed with locally-made handicrafted furniture and curtains. The proprietor, Andrew Jackson Huff, was a great friend of the park, and in the early 1930s the government made its temporary park headquarters on the property. Later, Eleanor Roosevelt stayed there. The hotel ran an open-top bus service into the park.[2]

As the park began to attract a sizable number of tourists, a panoply of more modest inns and hotels sprang up. By 1933, a Department of the Interior circular on general information for the park visitor listed a second hotel in Gatlinburg, two each in Kinzel Springs, Maryville, Sevierville, and Townsend, and one each in Newport, Line Springs, Tallassee, and Walland, Tennessee. On the North Carolina side, there were four hotels in Bryson City, one in Tapoco, and three in Waynesville. In addition, there were seven private homes in Waynesville that accommodated park visitors for a minimum stay of one week.[3]

Visitors to the park in 1933 also had a choice of ten different lodges or hotels located within the park's exterior boundaries. Most of these places occupied ground that was still in private ownership or that was under lease from the government. As explained in the information circular, none of these enterprises had been issued a franchise by the Secretary of the Interior, so the government did not exercise supervision over their rates and operations. These places included John Oliver's Lodge and Willie Myers's Ekaneetlee Lodge in Cades Cove, the Wonderland Club Hotel and Tavern in Elkmont, the Indian Gap Hotel south of Gatlinburg, the Le Conte Hotel in Greenbrier, the Tremont Hotel in Tremont, the Jarvis Palmer Lodge in the Cataloochee Valley, and the Cataloochee Ranch.[4] And finally, there was Le Conte Lodge on the summit of Mount Le Conte.

Le Conte Lodge was built in 1925 by Jack Huff, the son of Andy Huff, proprietor of the Mountain View Hotel. The original cabin measured 24 feet wide by 34 feet long, divided into two rooms. The front room consisted of 16 double bunk beds, built side by side and end to end, four deep and two long, on either side of a center aisle. The back room had

Andrew Jackson "Jack" Huff was the proprietor of the Mountain View Hotel in Gatlinburg. The hotel was furnished with locally-made handicrafts and was famous for its excellent food and gracious service.

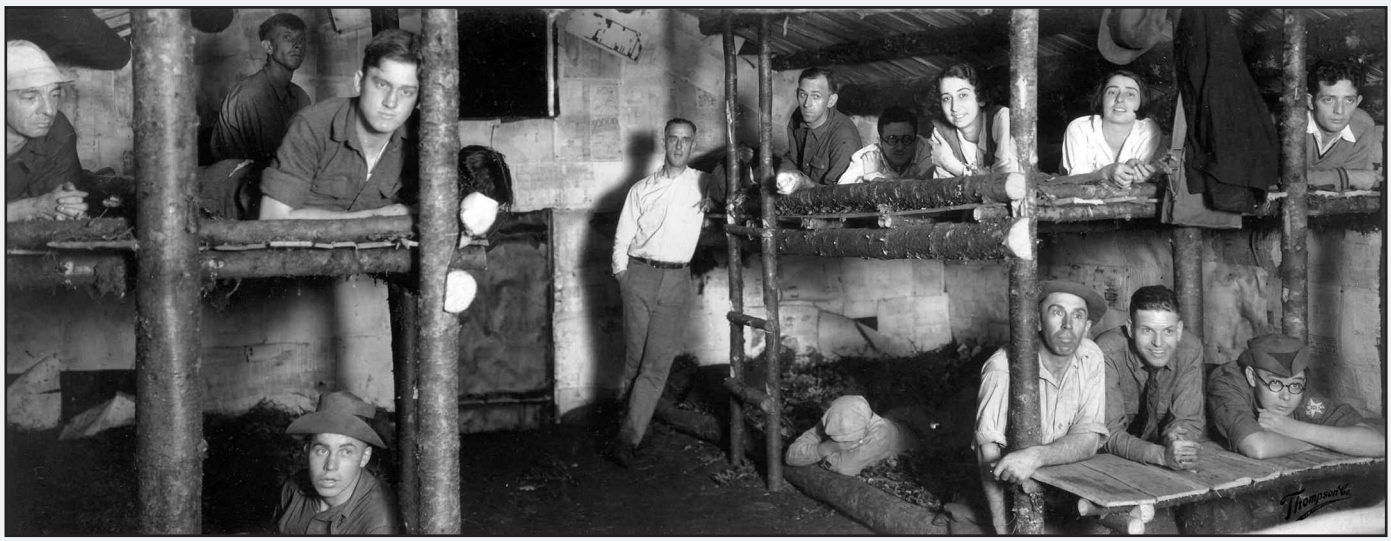
bench seats along three walls and a large fireplace and hearthstone on the fourth or end wall of the building. Although the cabin was built to accommodate up to 32 people, as many as 61 people slept in it at one time. Stacked like cordwood, with just two windows and a single door for ventilation, guests slept in their clothes with minimal bedding provided by the lodge. "It is something unusual in hotel accommodations," one patron observed, "men and women sleeping in the same room, as democratic as if there was no such thing as caste in this mountain world." Guests had to pack in their own food and do their own cooking. Kitchen facilities were located outside and consisted of a stone and sheet-metal stove and a long table made of balsam fir. Jack Huff sold a limited quantity of groceries at his summit lodge, charging double the cost for the same items in Gatlinburg as he had to carry all of his inventory up the mountain by backpack.[5]

Jack Huff operated his rustic lodge each summer, year after year, and when Eakin arrived in 1931 he decided that the young man could be an asset as he was a voice for conservation at this remote and popular destination in the park. Eakin wanted to make Huff a warden as soon as the government acquired the land from Champion Fibre Company.[6] In 1933, the Park Service authorized Huff to build additional cabins.[7] In 1934, it issued a permit for Huff to operate the Le Conte Lodge, making it the park's first concession.[8] In 1936, Huff built the main lodge buildings that exist today.[9]

On the North Carolina side, the Park Service formed a relationship with an outfitter named Tom Alexander. A former ranger on the Nantahala National Forest and game warden on the Pisgah National Forest, Alexander ran a wilderness camp on Raven Fork on land belonging to the Ravensford Lumber Company. In 1932, Alexander applied for a permit from the Park Service to use a deserted farm, the Reagan homestead, as a place to stable his saddle horses. Eakin thought this was a good idea, since the Reagan house was a good house for administrative purposes, well-located on the Bradley Fork, and if the property remained vacant the house would likely be burned. Eakin issued Alexander a one-year permit, stipulating that it was not a "franchise" to run saddle trips in the park, since it was against policy to establish any park concession before "the entire area has been acquired and the needs of the park as a whole have been studied."[10] Nonetheless, issuing the permit was like allowing the proverbial camel's nose under the tent. The following year, Alexander leased the former "Preacher" Will Hall farm in the Cataloochee Valley, which he renamed Cataloochee Ranch, and by the summer of 1933 he was advertising for business as Great Smoky Mountains Camps & Tours.[11] For the next eight years, Alexander operated as a de facto concession, offering guided horse trips through the eastern part of the park that began and ended at Cataloochee Ranch.

Alexander frequently butted heads with park administrators. There were issues involving the ranch, such as replacing wire fence with Virginia rail fence, extending the area of his cornfield, and enlarging the buildings to increase guest capacity. The Park Service eventually permitted him to dismantle three or four single-pen log cabins in the valley and reassemble them at Cataloochee Ranch for guest accommodations. Other issues arose concerning the way he conducted pack trips. An avid bear hunter, Alexander liked to serve bear steaks to his trail riders. Even though the bears were shot outside the park, Eakin complained that this practice undermined the Park Service's no-hunting policy. Alexander, for his part, complained about the condition of the trails and backcountry camps, especially the springs that were used for watering horses. Once, the outfitter brazenly broke a Park Service padlock on a cistern on Mount Sterling because he and his party were in need of water. Although he admitted to doing it, this act outraged park officials who had to deal with his presumptuous attitude and behavior for years.[12]

Alexander and Eakin developed a strong, mutual antipa-



Le Conte Lodge is accessible only by trail and employs llamas to haul supplies up and down the 6,593' mountain. The lodge was built in 1925 and continues to do a thriving business today.

thy. As the crusty, outspoken outfitter did not mind telling his guests what he thought about the park administration, Eakin came to regard him as a "liability" to the park. But Eakin was unable to get rid of him; he simply had to wait until Alexander decided to surrender his year-to-year lease. In 1937, when Alexander finally announced that he was not renewing the lease because he was moving to Florida, Eakin obtained permission from the director to raze the buildings of the former Cataloochee Ranch.[13]

Alexander returned to the Smokies three years later and bought property just outside the park on the other side of Cataloochee Divide, which he also named Cataloochee Ranch. Using this property as his new base of operations, Alexander continued leading horse trips into the park for another twenty years. Although later superintendents did not have as fractious a relationship with him as Eakin did, Alexander was always a troublesome partner. Over the years he became almost a legend, profiled in *National Geographic Magazine*, admired by his many customers, yet ever disdainful of the Park Service and its rules. Rangers complained that his horse parties were too large, that he cut trees for tent poles, that he sprayed DDT on yellow jacket nests, and that he denigrated park officials even when he called on their services. Near the end of his long association with the Smokies, Alexander led educational "Trail Riders of the Wilderness" trips sponsored by the American Forestry Association. Under its cooperative agreement with the AFA, the Park Service was obliged to provide interpretation on these trips. Often the superintendent, chief ranger, and park naturalist would join the group for a portion of the ride, enduring Alexander's company for the sake of public relations.[14]

In the Depression era, car campers also made their debut in the park. When the eastern national parks were in the proposal stage in the 1920s, apparently some skeptics predicted that Southerners would not be much interested in car camping, not having had much previous experience with it. Eakin was happy to point out that those fears had been misplaced. By his second summer, Eakin found the numerous campers were in fact "becoming a problem." As the park had no developed campgrounds with toilets or running water, sanitation was a concern. Eakin's answer to the problem was to encourage car campers to spread out along park roads rather than concentrate in certain areas. He did require campers to obtain a camping permit (largely so that a park official could explain campfire procedures). People applied for camping permits at all hours of the day and night, and it was not uncommon for rangers to accompany these people to their campsites. Eakin, pleased though he was that campers were coming, wrote that the park administration found itself "somewhat in the position of the man that has the bull by the tail."[15]

This system quickly proved impractical to serve the growing numbers of campers involved. In the summer of 1934, CCC crews began leveling ground and laying out roads for two principal campgrounds, Chimneys and Smokemont, one in each state. E. P. Meinecke, the Park Service's leading consultant on campground design, inspected the two sites in June 1934. Construction work continued in 1935 and 1936, and sewer systems were put in the ground under a PWA project (Public Works Administration). Although the campgrounds were not officially opened until July 30, 1938, they served as "temporary campgrounds" until then. Meanwhile, more than a dozen other temporary campgrounds were developed, each served by pit toilets.[16]

Laura Thornborough wrote about the people and places of the Great Smokies in articles and books. She marveled at the transformation of Gatlinburg from quiet farm town to tourist mecca.

As work went forward on the campground at Chimneys in 1934, Eakin enthused about developing a small lodge or cluster of cabins near that site. Writing to Director Cammerer, he suggested that this lodge or cabin type of development should be the "highest type of accommodations" in the park; he recommended that the park should have no hotels and no jitneys as were found in the western parks.[17] Cammerer reminded Eakin that any decision about the development of hotels and other public accommodations must be deferred until the park's land base was complete. Confidentially, however, Cammerer informed Senator Robert H. Reynolds (D-NC) that he wanted a consortium of business leaders in North Carolina and Tennessee to step forward with a plan for concession development, preferring that it be kept in the hands of North Carolina and Tennessee people rather than opening it up to bidders outside the two states.[18] Later that year, Cammerer became interested in the possibility of granting a concession to the Tennessee Valley Associated Cooperatives, a government agency under the aegis of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Arthur E. Morgan, chairman of TVA, was enthusiastic about this proposal and met with Cammerer in October to discuss its merits. The cooperatives would not only serve the visiting public, they would employ mountain people, contributing to the general welfare of the region. Morgan noted that "these people are courteous, hospitable, and considerate," and that their operation of the concession "would add to the distinctive atmosphere of the Park." Ickes was also receptive to the idea.[19]

However, a counterproposal gradually formed that no hotels or tourist cabins should be developed in Great Smoky Mountains National Park beyond the minimal accommodations that were already established. As acting superintendent Robert P. White explained to a Chattanooga woman in April 1940, in response to her inquiry about opening a lodge at Newfound Gap, "the present trend of Departmental policy is against the establishment of facilities in the national parks which are particularly noted for their wilderness characteristics and where adequate accommodations can readily be secured outside the park boundaries."[20] Since the towns of Gatlinburg and Cherokee were on the park's doorstep, these communities could be expected to develop the necessary tourist services.

Secretary Ickes firmly established this policy for Great Smoky Mountains in a press statement on July 17, 1940. "Tourist facilities within the boundaries of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in North Carolina and Tennessee will be limited to automobile campgrounds and picnic areas," he stated. "The only concession that may be considered inside the Great Smoky Mountains National Park is the provision of small stores in the campgrounds and picnic areas, should experience later prove these to be essential to the enjoyment and use of the park visitor."[21]

In time, the policy of excluding overnight accommodations other than campgrounds became firmly entrenched in master plans and other documents concerning park development schemes. In 1949, Director Newton B. Drury explained that "the policy was adopted for the purpose of returning, so far as possible, the park lands to their natural condition." He went on to say, "as a matter of fact, ever since the park was established in 1931 the thoughts of all who were concerned with the park have been to exclude overnight accommodations within the park." That stretched the point, but his words indicate how strongly the Park Service had become committed to this idea.[22]

The Wilderness Park

The Park Service's conception of a wilderness park was not as exclusive as wilderness advocates would later call for under the Wilderness Act of 1964. Besides the crucial feature of automobile access, park visitors enjoyed certain amenities as Ickes had outlined, starting with campgrounds and later including camp stores. In time the Park Service would pro-

vide additional amenities such as chopped firewood, bike rentals, horse rides, and even gift shops. Still, for people staying overnight in the park, the experience would require some degree of roughing it.

In 1948, Great Smoky Mountains National Park had just two "permanent campgrounds" (Chimneys and Smokemont) and an additional 17 "temporary campgrounds." Most of the latter were simply clearings once occupied by CCC camps, supplied with pit toilets but no running water.[23] In 1952, two more permanent campgrounds were developed at Cades Cove and Deep Creek, and the following year another was built at Balsam Mountain.[24] By the mid-1960s, other permanent campgrounds were completed at Abrams Creek, Elkmont, Cosby, Big Creek, and Cataloochee, and the temporary campgrounds (redesignated "primitive overflow campgrounds") were slowly phased out. The park became a campers' mecca, with many families pitching their tents for a week or two and returning to the same campground year after year.

As predicted, other public accommodations sprang up around the park at a prodigious rate in the postwar era. Gatlinburg incorporated as a town in 1945 and soon its main street was lined with motels and tourist shops. Local writer Laura Thornborough, updating her book on the Smokies in 1956, marveled at Gatlinburg's transformation:

> There are new churches of stone. They are literally "host to the nation" and represent four denominations. There is a large new civic auditorium, suitable for big conventions, completed in 1956. There is the Skylift, something new for the South. There are riding stables and the Bear Wallow Dude Ranch and the new golf course and Homespun Valley and square dancing and mountain music. There are many gift shops, fifty on Parkway in Gatlinburg when last I counted them. "Burg Browsing" in the cool of the evening has become a popular tourist sport.[25]

Gatlinburg transformed itself into the nation's most renowned national park gateway town. More than a service area for the neighboring national park, it began to attract and hold tourists in its own right. A story on Gatlinburg in *Saturday Review* suggested that the town's appeal had less to do with the wilderness of the Smokies, which did make a handsome backdrop at least, than with the town's brilliant merchandising, which revolved around the sale of handmade products of a regional flavor. "Gatlinburg is lined with all sorts of bazaars selling the goods of the mountains," this author stated. Shoppers could find everything from handcrafted pottery and "mountain" jewelry, to quilts (in patterns called sunflower, Dutch doll, tulip, and double wedding ring), and locally loomed tablecloths, aprons, and napkins. They could visit The Wood Whittlers, a store on Roaring Fork Road, and purchase furniture by special order, or they could stop at Stalcup's Laurelwood Shop and watch bees make honey, taking home a jar with a rustic label such as sourwood, buckwheat, or wild flower.[26] For increasing numbers of tourists, shopping in Gatlinburg was the essence of a trip to the Smokies. Some never set foot in the park.

One repercussion of the changing scene was a decided decline in interest in Park Service talks held in Gatlinburg. Since 1939, the park naturalist had been giving public lectures at the several hotels in Gatlinburg, and when the Gatlinburg Civic Auditorium was built in 1956 the talks moved to that larger venue. In the latter part of the decade, attendance at these talks suddenly dropped off. Superintendent Overly attributed the change to the increase in nighttime entertainment in town. "With miniature golf, and 'rides' of various sorts, a definite carnival atmosphere sets in at night." In 1961, the naturalist talks were discontinued.[27]

During the 1950s and '60s, Gatlinburg became the poster child of what was right or wrong with "gateway communities," head of the class with such other gateway communities as Estes Park, Colorado; Jackson, Wyoming; and Bar Harbor, Maine. With its shop-lined street and crowds of shoppers, it was a bottleneck for traffic entering the park. Indeed, visitors who had no interest in Gatlinburg's tourist attractions had to run a gauntlet of advertising signs and businesses on their way into the park (until the Gatlinburg Bypass provided an alternative entrance road). Some people found such rampant commercialism on the threshold of a national park regrettable, but park officials tended to be more philosophical, accepting it as a necessary feature of the wilderness park design. "A lot of conservationists complain about Gatlinburg and the terrible entrance in the gateway city," former Superintendent Cook noted, "and I like to remind them that once they cross over into the park they don't find grocery stores and liquor stores and so on. The park's development is all outside with the exception of Le Conte Lodge. As a result I was not anti-Gatlinburg and I think 'thank God they're there or they would be in the park.'"[28] Most of the park's superintendents agreed with that assessment and worked hard to forge good relations with the city government and Gatlinburg's business community.

As Gatlinburg grew, one visitor service needed to be moved from town into the park. In 1960, the Park Service developed a prospectus for the park's first riding stables concession to be located near Sugarlands. This was necessary due to the increasing difficulty of getting horses that were stabled in Gatlinburg through the congested city streets to

Superintendent Fred J. Overly's staff nicknamed him "General Patton." He issued an ultimatum to local business people who were accused of not serving black customers.

trailheads located only a mile or two away inside the park. Furthermore, park officials noted that visitors preferred short rides of one to four hours to all-day rides, making the added distance through town even more objectionable.[29] McCarter's Riding Stables was awarded this permit. With the introduction of one horse stables concession it was not long before the argument was made for another one on the North Carolina side of the park and before long there were a total of four (at Sugarlands, Smokemont, Cades Cove, and the fourth one located outside the park between Gatlinburg and Cosby).

At the same time that the horse stables were introduced, the Park Service also took steps to bring two other visitor services into the park: camp stores and firewood vendors. A camp store was installed at Cades Cove Campground for the convenience of campers, as it was an especially long drive from this campground to communities outside the park where supplies could be purchased. And firewood was sold at the larger campgrounds, including Cades Cove and Elkmont. This, too, was chiefly for the visitors' convenience – brisk sales confirmed that the chopped wood was "a distinct service to campers." Bringing firewood vendors into the park also protected trees from being chopped, as all wood was acquired outside and brought in.[30]

Segregation

In the 1930s, the Park Service accepted racial segregation as part of the American cultural landscape. The agency worked hand in glove with the CCC, an organization which practiced strict segregation by putting whites and blacks in separate companies and camps. It collaborated with Southern states in the development of separate state parks for blacks. At Shenandoah National Park, it developed a separate public use area for blacks at Lewis Mountain. A memorandum on the development plan for Shenandoah in 1936 stated, "To render the most satisfactory service to white and colored visitors it is generally recognized that separate rest rooms, cabin colonies and picnic ground facilities should be provided." [31]

At Great Smoky Mountains, checking stations at the two campgrounds recorded about two hundred African American visitors each year in the late 1930s and early 1940s – roughly one for every 500 whites, a miniscule number. Yet in the fall of 1941, Superintendent Eakin proposed to designate a campground and picnic area for their exclusive use.[32] Eakin claimed that his purpose was to encourage more blacks to come to the park. Using the coded language that pervaded the segregated South of Jim Crow, Eakin did not need to explain his real purpose in establishing a separate campground for blacks, which was to make the Chimneys and Smokemont campgrounds exclusively for whites. Providing a separate space for blacks had formed the legal basis for segregation ever since the Supreme Court's "separate but equal" ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896.

Regional Director Thomas J. Allen turned down Eakin's request a week later, saying the number visiting the park was so small as to not be a "problem." Drury finally wrote to Eakin on the matter six months later in May 1942, reaffirming that decision but putting it in more positive terms. "Please report to me on the number of Negro visitors and what has been done or is proposed for their accommodation and convenience," he wrote. "I should like to have at an early date your reactions to the extension of the non-segregation practices to the national parks throughout the South and Southeast."[33]

This communication was the last letter in the office file and it evidently closed the matter. The campgrounds at Great Smoky Mountains were never segregated as they were at Shenandoah. The credit for this decision belongs not to Allen or Drury, however, but to Secretary of the Interior Ickes, a great friend of African American civil rights. What had happened at Shenandoah prior to this decision is instructive. In 1938, the Department of the Interior solicitor reviewed the master plan for Shenandoah, with its proposed Lewis Mountain area for blacks, and suggested to Ickes that

the segregation contemplated by the plan was an "infringement of constitutional principles."[34] The Park Service defended the plan under pressure from Senator Harry Byrd (D-VA). Ickes examined the plan himself, and called for a compromise: the Lewis Mountain facilities would be "for blacks only," but the Park Service would select one large picnic area in the park for an experiment in racial integration. Both the "Lewis Mountain Picnic Grounds for Negroes" and the integrated Pinnacles Picnic Area opened for the first time in 1939. In the spring of 1942, Ickes pronounced this experiment in integration a success and informed Drury that he wanted "this non-discriminatory policy" extended to other national parks and monuments in the South as rapidly as possible.[35] Hence Drury's communication to Eakin in May 1942.

Although the Lewis Mountain facilities at Shenandoah were operated for blacks only in 1940 and 1941, this effort at segregation in a national park was now on its way to defeat. As the facilities were only used to about one-third capacity, the concession operator complained that it was a losing proposition and should be opened to whites. It was shut down during the war. In December 1945, the Park Service issued a general bulletin to all concessions, requiring full integration of all public use facilities in national parks. Integration of the Lewis Mountain facilities was finally completed in 1950.[36]

While the Park Service averted segregation of campgrounds within Great Smoky Mountains National Park, that did not entirely resolve the situation since the park relied on outside communities to provide other public accommodations. In the early 1960s, it was brought to the attention of Superintendent Overly that blacks were refused service by nearly every motel and restaurant in Gatlinburg. Possibly the only exceptions were the Mountain View Hotel and the bus station's lunch counter, where a single stool was allotted for black customers. When Overly learned of this situation, he invited a number of the motel and restaurant owners, the mayor, and the town's chamber of commerce to a breakfast at the Mountain View Hotel where he made an unexpected announcement. These business owners needed to open their doors to blacks, he told the gathering, or the government would build a hotel at Sugarlands. They could forget the government's longstanding commitment to forego development of a hotel inside the park. That policy was predicated on the willingness of outside communities to meet visitor needs, and clearly Gatlinburg was not meeting the needs of black visitors. "I'm going to start plans on a Sugarlands Hotel next year," he warned them. The speech had the desired effect. On that day, Overly lived up to the nickname that his staff had given him, "General Patton."[37]

The Appalachian Trail

The Appalachian Trail, once the longest recreational footpath in the world, runs through Great Smoky Mountains National Park mostly along the state line, entering the east end of the park near Big Creek and exiting near the west end of the park at Fontana Dam. The trail was conceived by Benton Mackaye in his 1921 article, "The Appalachian Trail, A Project in Regional Planning." He proposed to link several existing trail networks in New York and New England and extend the linear system all the way to the southern Appalachians. Hiking clubs in the East responded to Mackaye's idea, and in 1925 the Appalachian Trail Conference was formed to coordinate volunteer trail-building efforts. The trail was completed in 1937 and in the following year the Park Service and the Forest Service entered an agreement to establish a mile-wide buffer zone on either side of the trail in which there would be no new roads or developments.[38]

Since the Appalachian Trail was born of this grassroots movement, local hiking clubs recognized a tradition of citizen involvement in trail management. The Smoky Mountains Hiking Club, founded in Knoxville in 1924, joined the Appalachian Trail Conference soon after it was formed and accepted responsibility for establishing that portion of the Appalachian Trail leading through the Smokies. Club members made numerous expeditions during the 1920s and 1930s selecting the route and marking the trail. Originally the trail ran along the state line from east to west all the way to Deals Gap. Later the route was changed so that it left the state line at Doe Knob and descended Twentymile Ridge to Fontana Dam. This change was made to utilize the new dam crossing of the Little Tennessee River and shorten the distance to the Cheoah Mountains on the Nantahala National Forest.[39]

For years, the Smoky Mountain Hiking Club had an arrangement with the park that it maintained by oral agreement with each superintendent. Club members periodically performed maintenance on the Appalachian Trail, including the posting of trail markers. In appreciation of these volunteer efforts, the park allowed the club free use of a two-room cabin in the Greenbrier Ranger District known as the "Cabin in the Brier." The club had made repairs to this cabin in 1933 and had since maintained it as an example of a pioneer homestead and as a sort of clubhouse for members. In 1961, the Park Service required that this longstanding arrangement be clarified and put in writing. Chiefly, the signed agreement stated that all trail maintenance performed by the club would be subject to the approval of the superintendent, that the Park Service was not liable for any personal injuries incidental to the club's volunteer efforts, that the club would con-

tinue to maintain and have first priority for use of the Greenbrier cabin, and that the club would make no charge for other groups or individuals who used the cabin.[40]

It was also in 1961 that the Park Service developed a system of backcountry trail shelters in the park. The Appalachian Trail Conference and Smoky Mountains Hiking Club had advocated the construction of shelters along the trail since the 1930s.[41] Four shelters were built in the 1930s. As both the Park Service and the Forest Service stepped up new development in the late 1950s, the Appalachian Trail Conference called for additional shelters. The Park Service responded with a plan to build ten backcountry shelters at Great Smoky Mountains. Each shelter was a three-sided structure open on one side with bunk space for about a dozen people. Generally walls were made of rustic stone and the shed roof was made of wood sheathing covered by aluminum sheet metal. Each one had a pit toilet and developed spring or water pump nearby. The first four were completed in 1961 and the others followed, eventually bringing the total number of backcountry shelters to fourteen.[42]

The trail shelters were popular but their popularity soon created problems. When shelters were full, people pitched their tents nearby. Soon these sites were becoming trampled and denuded of vegetation. Inconsiderate campers littered the sites, dumped their trash in pit toilets, and fouled the sources of drinking water. Severe crowding at some sites spoiled the wilderness experience. In 1971, a ranger counted 132 campers at one trail shelter designed to hold just 14 people.[43]

Problems of overuse also appeared along the Appalachian Trail itself. Heavy trampling created huge mud holes. Littering got completely out of hand despite rangers' efforts to educate the public. "Just about any type of litter that can be found along a highway is present on the Appalachian Trail," one hiker wrote in *National Parks Magazine*. "Drink bottles, cans, candy wrappers, film containers, and cigarette packages grace the path. It appears, however, that plastic is the hikers' favorite contribution to the scenery. Along the trail, off in the woods, and especially around trail shelters, plastic is ever present. Plastic bags, plastic utensils, plastic rain garments, plastic ground covers, and improvised plastic tents dot the ground, hang from trees, and sit in garish piles around shelters."[44]

At the beginning of the 1970s, roughly a quarter million people hiked in the backcountry each year. In 1972, an estimated 58,000 of these backcountry users camped out. Dave Beal, then an assistant superintendent, was convinced that the backcountry could handle that many people plus 20,000 more if the use could simply be dispersed over the whole park rather than concentrated on the AT. The AT comprised about a tenth of all trail mileage in the park, yet it received the vast majority of overnight backcountry use. Despite the development of trail shelters in other parts of the backcountry, people still flocked to the AT. By 1972, the park administration recognized that it needed to take more forceful measures to disperse use. So that summer, the park implemented a reservation permit system for use of certain backcountry campsites. Great Smoky Mountains was one of the first national parks to put limits on the number of people allowed in selected areas.[45]

The reservation system met with little resistance from the public. People were generally cooperative about modifying their plans when their first choice of backcountry sites was filled to capacity. Most complaints came from large groups who were denied use of the popular AT campsites. Backpackers doing the whole AT were exempt from the reservation system, since they would have difficulty committing to a specific date for each campsite on their extended journey. There were so few long-distance AT hikers in the 1970s as to pose no special problem for management. Meanwhile, backcountry overnight use in the park continued rising. The park estimated there were 82,475 overnight stays in the backcountry in 1973, and 103,607 in 1974.[46] The number finally leveled off at around 100,000 per year through the rest of the decade.[47] As the effort to disperse this use finally began to work, the most abused backcountry sites gradually recovered.

LeConte Lodge Improvements

The abused conditions found around trail shelters focused attention on similar problems around Le Conte Lodge. Impacts from the lodge operation were quite marked. The logging of trees for heating and cooking fuel, even for construction material, gave some of the summit area the appearance of a clear cut. The use of horses for packing supplies to the lodge had created serious erosion problems. The lodge disposed of garbage in an open pit that attracted bears. A new wastewater treatment system installed in 1970 was not working well, and the lodge kitchen did not meet public health code requirements.

For all of these reasons, the Park Service thought the lodge should be phased out. Its current operator, Herrick B. Brown, agreed. Superintendent Ellis made this decision public in 1974 when the Park Service published its wilderness recommendation to Congress. Whereas the Park Service's preliminary wilderness proposal in 1966 had excluded 400 acres around Le Conte Lodge from wilderness designation, the recommendation in 1974 was that this area be considered for a "potential wilderness addition." Ellis announced that

the lodge would be closed at the end of 1977 and dismantled during the following year.[48]

Park officials were surprised by the strong public reaction this decision aroused. Le Conte Lodge had a small but passionate public constituency. The lodge's defenders eventually netted a resolution from the Tennessee Senate calling for the lodge to remain open. Leading the protest was Carlos C. Campbell of the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association. Acknowledging the heavy use, he insisted that it was something to celebrate. "For many years there were complaints about Park visitors who 'never get out of their cars,'" he wrote. "It would seem, therefore, that the tremendous increase in the numbers who climbed Mt. Le Conte and patronized Le Conte Lodge — which was more than doubled during the past ten years — was a trend in the right direction."[49] The main argument for keeping the lodge open was that it provided a much-needed intermediate wilderness experience between tenting out and simply day hiking. As a University of Georgia professor stated, "It is the only place in southern Appalachians that offers a genuine outlet into the wilderness for those who are too old or too loaded down with work or responsibilities to become backpackers!"[50]

The public outcry in support of the lodge did two things. It caused the Park Service to review and eventually reverse its decision to remove the lodge, and it gave the concession operators new resolve to carry on, especially when another member of the Huff family, James A. Huff, took over the concession contract in 1975. Over the next five years, the park and the concession worked closely to implement operational changes and contract modifications. The Park Service amended the wilderness recommendation to reinstate a non-wilderness enclave around the lodge and it worked with Senator Jim Sasser (D-TN) on this point as Sasser prepared a draft wilderness bill in 1977. Later the Park Service included the facility in the General Management Plan, which stated: "Le Conte Lodge will continue to operate subject to National Park Service guidelines to control environmental impacts and to provide for public health and safety." Operational changes included an end to wood cutting and collecting, conversion from wood to kerosene fuel, improvements in waste water treatment, use of helicopters for bringing supplies to the lodge, and a reduction in the occupancy limit to 40 persons.[51]

The change in management of this key location in the park began when Ellis was superintendent and concluded under Superintendent Beal in the early 1980s, but it primarily reflected the management philosophy of Boyd Evison, who guided the process from June 1975 to December 1978. Evison insisted that the lodge operation, if it were to continue, must stand on a new footing based on scientific understanding of the lodge's ecological effects. Two scientific studies were made, the first by Rosemary Nichols, a doctoral student in environmental studies at Duke University, and the second by Susan Power Bratton and Paul L. Whittaker of the Uplands Field Research Laboratory. These studies examined ecological disturbances from wood utilization, waste disposal, soil compaction and erosion, and exotic weeds, and considered recreational carrying capacity from the standpoint of day and overnight use. They offered management recommendations and a design for subsequent environmental monitoring.[52]

Wilderness Management

After Congress passed the Wilderness Act of 1964, the Park Service established a policy that all lands recommended to Congress for wilderness designation would henceforward be managed as de facto wilderness, regardless of whether Congress acted on the recommendation. Thus, the Park Service's wilderness recommendation for Great Smoky Mountains National Park, which it submitted to the president in 1974, carried considerable weight even though Congress failed to act on it.[53] The Park Service gave the de facto wilderness area further standing by designating it as a "Natural Environment Type I" management zone in the General Management Plan. Park Service regulations stipulated that land in a "Type I" management zone would be managed according to the same policies and guidelines that applied to land protected under the Wilderness Act.[54]

One important consequence of the wilderness designation was that it led to the elimination of virtually all vehicular use of the backcountry trail system. The park's extensive trail system included numerous segments that were passable by jeep or even automobile. Many "trails" were in fact primitive roads that had originated either as wagon roads or logging railroad grades before 1930 or as truck trails built by the CCC. In the following decades, the park administration allowed maintenance crews to drive trucks or jeeps into many remote locations so that they could accomplish trail work more efficiently. During the 1950s, conservation groups began to press the Park Service to discourage or prevent unauthorized vehicular use of these trails by the public, and the park administration responded by eliminating motorized access on some trails and by putting locked gates on others.[55] But ten years after the Wilderness Act of 1964, the park administration still allowed maintenance crews to drive vehicles on many of these trails.

Beginning in the 1970s, the Park Service subscribed to the concept of the "minimum tool" in wilderness management, according to which managers selected the least mechanized

equipment possible in order to accomplish their objectives safely, economically, and most importantly, in a manner that did not degrade wilderness values.[56] In accordance with the minimum tool concept, Superintendent Evison practically eliminated all motorized use of the trail system in 1976 even though many of the trails remained passable to vehicles. Henceforth, trail crews were required to pack in tools and supplies by horse or foot.[57] The policy did allow for exceptions. Trail crews could employ a small front end loader if there was a need to move boulders, for example. ATVs were allowed on trails to assist with brook trout restoration, since brook trout needed to be transported quickly in aerated tanks to the point of release. Exceptions were also made for medical emergencies.[58]

The wilderness designation also called into question the presence of trail shelters (as well as administrative crew cabins and fire towers). The "minimum tool" policy prohibited new construction of such facilities, but it was lenient about getting rid of existing ones. A 1977 survey of campsite conditions by the Uplands Field Research Laboratory established what was long suspected, that campsites with trail shelters were more heavily impacted than campsites without trail shelters. The effects were measurable in terms of soil erosion, loss of ground vegetation, chopped trees, and damage to forest canopy. [59] Superintendent Evison proposed to eliminate all of the shelters over a 15-year period. But hiker groups generally wanted them maintained and more than a quarter century later only a few had actually been dismantled and removed.[60]

Under the new strictures against motorized access, the Park Service had to innovate new ways to accomplish trail maintenance. This was no easy task. Even before the "minimum tool" policy took effect, three circumstances combined to make the trail system vulnerable to excessive damage. First, the wet climate of the Smokies necessitated that all trails be well drained with the construction of frequent "water bars" or natural barriers that deflected flowing water off the trail. As the wet climate also caused vegetation to grow prolifically, trails needed to be cleared of plant growth and water bars needed to be cleaned of fallen leaves on a frequent basis. Second, the trail system received heavy use, so weak points unraveled quickly. Once a mud hole developed, for example, numerous hikers going around the mud hole quickly expanded it. Third, the trail system was a composite of trails built to different standards. CCC trails were well-engineered with a standard width of tread, good drainage, and switchbacks reinforced by rock facings. Older trails often took the shortest route up a mountain, making them more prone to erosion. On top of these existing conditions, the park administration had to contend with staff reductions, both in overall levels and as staff resources were diverted to the front country. In the 1980s and '90s, superintendents tried various new approaches to keep the backcountry from falling into a state of neglect.

The first significant change occurred in 1985, when Superintendent Cook transferred responsibility for trail work from the Maintenance Division to the Ranger Division.[61] Some doubted whether the rangers, who were by this time heavily committed to visitor protection in the front country, had enough staff to cover trail work in the backcountry. Accordingly, Cook also reorganized the ranger districts, splitting off the backcountry and dividing all of it between two backcountry ranger districts. Rangers in those two districts were dedicated almost exclusively to backcountry patrol and trail and campsite maintenance. At the same time, the park implemented a self-registration system in lieu of the reservation system for all but the most heavily used backcountry campsites, thereby reducing the workload for rangers but giving up some control over how backcountry use was distributed. These were economizing measures, and trail and campsite conditions gradually deteriorated as a result.[62]

Superintendent Wade initiated a second major reorganization of backcountry management in 1994. Faced with further staff cuts, particularly in the Ranger Division where the traditional mix of permanent and seasonal positions was giving way to a smaller, more highly trained force of career professionals, Superintendent Wade eliminated the two backcountry ranger districts and re-assigned trail maintenance back to the Maintenance Division. The park then hired two professional trail foremen, one for the Tennessee side and one for the North Carolina side of the park, each of whom was assigned a crew of about five permanent and five seasonal employees. The trail rehabilitation effort gradually gained momentum. In 1999, the park received a special appropriation of $746,000 with which to rehabilitate 20 named trails.[63]

Wade's reorganization also leaned heavily on volunteer programs. The first, known as Adopt-a-Trail, was begun in the late 1980s; the second, Adopt-a-Campsite, was initiated in 1995. Under the Adopt-a-Trail program, volunteers took responsibility for minor maintenance and litter cleanup for an assigned trail, which they agreed to hike a minimum of eight times per year. The Adopt-a-Campsite aimed to build the same kind of volunteer effort for cleaning up campsites. About this same time, the Smoky Mountain Hiking Club stepped up maintenance and protection along the 77 miles of AT in the park. The hiking club contributed a "ridge runner" for patrol as well as caretakers who stayed at several of the most popular shelters. Five local horse clubs, under the overall direction of the North Carolina Horseman's Associ-

ation, came to the assistance of the Smoky Mountain Hiking Club, providing logistical support in packing materials in for trail work along the AT. As all of these volunteer efforts gained steam, Wade created a full-time backcountry management position to coordinate all resources on backcountry issues. This person reported to the Chief Ranger.[64]

Starting in the 1990s, the park administration also looked to the horse concessions for help with trail maintenance. The four riding stables that operated in the park were requested to take responsibility for maintaining the trails that they used most heavily, those covered by their two to three hour trips. Some hikers contended that horse use should be reduced or eliminated because it was hard on trails and could make conditions unpleasant for hikers. The Park Service responded to these complaints by reminding hikers that horse use was a traditional park use, and that the General Management Plan stated it would continue at existing levels. By the late 1990s, park officials could add that equestrians were well organized and enthusiastic partners, providing a level of volunteer effort toward trail maintenance that was at least in proportion to their collective impact.[65]

As the park administration relied more and more on volunteers, it also tried to change the behavior of backcountry users. Park officials had long recognized that user impacts were not just a function of users' numbers, but also users' collective behavior. By changing group behavior, net social impacts could be greatly reduced. Experienced wilderness users frequently complained about the amount of garbage in this park's backcountry. Howie Wolke, a professional wilderness guide who had traveled in the backcountry of many different national parks, asserted in 1994 that he had never seen "anything approaching the level of trash" that he saw in the Smokies. That year, the park initiated a cost-share project with the National Outdoor Leadership School to develop "Leave No Trace" educational materials specifically directed to backcountry users at Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Visitor education was a slow, methodical process, and park officials hoped that it would ultimately make a significant difference.[66]

[1] Brown, *The Wild East*, 174-76.

[2] John Willy, "Ten Days in the Proposed Great Smoky Mountains National Park," reprinted from *The Hotel Monthly* (September 1926), 44-45; Elizabeth Skaggs Bowman, *Land of High Horizons* (Kingsport, Tennessee: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1938): 68-69.

[3] U.S. Department of the Interior, *General Information Regarding Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina-Tennessee* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), 12-13.

[4] U.S. Department of the Interior, *General Information Regarding Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina-Tennessee* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), 12-13.

[5] Willy, "Ten Days in the Proposed Great Smoky Mountains National Park," 47-48.

[6] J. R. Eakin to Arno B. Cammerer, May 5, 1931, File 609 Part 2, Box 308, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[7] "Synopsis of Correspondence Pertaining to Concessioner's Equity in Buildings, LeConte Lodge, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," no date, File C3823, Box 860, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[8] Le Conte Lodge Occupancy Limit Administrative History, undated data file provided to author by Joel Ossoff.

[9] Brown, *The Wild East*, 284.

[10] J. R. Eakin to The Director, April 16, 1932, and Eakin to Thomas W. Alexander, May 17, 1932, File 1, Box XIV, Park Management Collection, GRSM; Tom Alexander, *Mountain Fever*, edited by Tom Alexander, Jr., and Jane Alexander (Asheville: Bright Mountain Books, Inc., 1995): 15-33.

[11] Tom Alexander to J. R. Eakin, January 21, 1933, and Alexander to John T. Needham, June 27, 1933, File 1, Box XIV, Park Management Collection, GRSM; Alexander, *Mountain Fever*, 73-76.

[12] Thomas W. Alexander to John T. Needham, February 18, 1937, J. R. Eakin to Alexander, March 17, 1937, Alexander to Eakin, July 2, 1937, Eakin to Alexander, July 6, 1937, Needham to Alexander, August 29, 1941, File 1, Box XIV, Park Management Collection, GRSM; Alexander to Newton B. Drury, August 29, 1941, R. O. Jennings to Alexander, September 8, 1941, Needham to Alexander, September 8, 1941, and Alexander to Needham, September 22, 1941, File 0-10 Part 1, Box 1077, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Alexander, *Mountain Fever*, 77.

[13] Arno B. Cammerer to J. Ross Eakin, December 10, 1937, File 1, Box XIV, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[14] Val Hart, "Pack Trip Through the Smokies," *National Geographic Magazine* 102 (October 1952): 473-502; Brown, *The Wild East*, 181; Thomas W. Alexander to Fred Overly, May 17, 1961, enclosing "Trail Riders of the Wilderness 1961 Expeditions" (pamphlet) and Overly to Alexander, May 22, 1961, File A22, Box 2, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[15] J. R. Eakin to The Director, August 9, 1932, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM.

[16] National Park Service, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Park Development Historic District," no date, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form in File Park Development Period, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[17] J. R. Eakin to The Director, September 28, 1934, File 600-01, Box 1098, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[18] Arno B. Cammerer to Robert H. Reynolds, April 28, 1934, File 901, Box 1158, CCF 1933-1949, RG 79, NA II.

[19] Quotation in Arthur E. Morgan to Arno B. Cammerer, October 23, 1934, File 601, Box 1099, CCF 1933-1949, RG 79, NA II. Also see L. L. Campbell to Arno B. Cammerer, September 25, 1934, Harold L. Ickes to Campbell, October 13, 1934, and Campbell to Ickes, October 23, 1934, File 901, Box 1158, CCF 1933-1949, RG 79, NA II.

[20] Robert P. White to Gladys Caldwell, April 10, 1940, File 900, Box 15, GRSM General Correspondence 1933-1953, RG 79, NASER.

[21] Quoted in "Management Objectives, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," revised 1973, File 1, Box II, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[22] Newton B. Drury to Hazel B. Ewing, April 1,

1949, File 900, Box 15, GRSM – General Correspondence 1933-53, RG 79, NASER.

[23] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1948, RG 79, NASER.

[24] John C. Preston to Kelly Bennett, February 4, 1952, and *Biennial Report of North Carolina National Park, Parkway and Forests Development Commission*, 1952, Miscellaneous Records 1947-64, National Park, Parkway, and Forests Development Commission Collection, NCSA; Laura Thornborough, *The Great Smoky Mountains* rev. ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1956), 165.

[25] Thornborough, *The Great Smoky Mountains*, 170.

[26] Horace Sutton, "Down Where the Witch Hobble and Turtle Head Grows," *Saturday Review* 37 (June 19, 1954): 33-34.

[27] Annual Report on Information and Interpretive Services, 1960, File K1819, Box 40, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[28] John E. Cook interview.

[29] Superintendent to Chief, EODC, September 14, 1960, File 8, Box I, Master Plan Wilderness Collection, GRSM.

[30] Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1960, Box III, Park Management Collection, GRSM. During construction of campgrounds in the 1950s, felled trees were cut into cordwood, which was furnished to campers. (Annual Forestry Report, 1953, File Y2619, Box 45, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.)

[31] Quoted in Reed Engle, "Shenandoah National Park Segregation/Desegregation: Laboratory for Change," (2007), http://www.nps.gov/shen/historyculture/segregation.htm <November 21, 2007>.

[32] J. R. Eakin to Regional Director, November 18, 1941, File 601-12, Box 1101, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[33] Fred T. Johnston to Superintendent, November 26, 1941, and Newton B. Drury to Superintendent, May 26, 1942, File 601-12, Box 1101, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[34] Engle, "Shenandoah National Park Segregation/Desegregation: Laboratory for Change."

[35] Newton B. Drury to Superintendent, May 26, 1942, File 601-12, Box 1101, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[36] Engle, "Shenandoah National Park Segregation/Desegregation: Laboratory for Change."

[37] Cardwell interview.

[38] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Guidelines, Appalachian Trail National Scenic Trail/Maine to Georgia* (Washington: National Park Service, 1971), 1-2.

[39] Carlos C. Campbell, *Memories of Old Smoky: Early Experiences in the Great Smoky Mountains*, edited by Rebecca Campbell Arrants (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 47-51.

[40] Superintendent to Regional Director, April 10, 1961, and "Agreement between the Smoky Mountain Hiking Club, Inc., a Tennessee Corporation, and the National Park Service concerning the maintenance and use of the 'Cabin in the Brier' and the marking and maintenance of the Appalachian Trail," August 29, 1961, File D30, Box 21, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[41] Willis King, "Observations Made along the State Line, Newfound Gap to Davenport Gap, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," July 22-23, 1937, File 885-01, Box 1153, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[42] Jean Stephenson to Fred Overly, December 23, 1960, and Superintendent to Regional Director, February 24, 1961, File D34, Box 26, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER; "Four Trail Shelters Completed in Smokies," *Knoxville Journal*, September 21, 1961; Superintendent to Associate Regional Director, July 24, 1975, File L48, Bob Wightman Files, GRSM.

[43] John Schlatter, "Great Smokies Trails, the backpacking permit system," *National Parks Magazine*, 46 (September 1972): 14.

[44] Schlatter, "Great Smoky Trails," 15.

[45] Schlatter, "Great Smoky Trails," 13-14.

[46] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1973, Superintendent's Annual Report for 1974, GRSM; George Minnigh, interview by Theodore Catton, April 18, 2007.

[47] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1978, GRSM.

[48] LeConte Lodge Occupancy Limit Administrative History, undated data file provided to author by Joel Ossoff.

[49] Carlos C. Campbell, "Let's Save LeConte Lodge and the Trail Shelters," no date, en closed with letter to Ronald H. Walker, August 15, 1974, File L48, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[50] Leon S. Dure, III to Nathaniel Reed, October 21, 1974, Box 265, Governor James E. Holshouser, Jr. Collection, NCSA.

[51] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center, *General Management Plan, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina – Tennessee* (Denver: National Park Service, 1982), 33. Concession contract modifications and operational changes are summarized in LeConte Lodge Occupancy Limit Administrative History.

[52] Boyd Evison to Jim Rickards, December 30, 1975, Box XVI, Park Management Collection, GRSM; Rosemary Nichols, "The Ecological Effects of LeConte Lodge in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park," report prepared for National Park Service, October 1977, Susan Power Bratton and Paul L. Whittaker, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park: Disturbance and Visitation on Mount Le Conte," 1977, both in Vertical Files, GRSM.

[53] Dave Mihalic, interview by Theodore Catton, October 15, 2007; Great Smoky Mountains National Park, *A Strategic Plan for Managing Backcountry Recreation in Great Smoky Mountains National Park* (Gatlinburg, Tennessee: Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1995), 18-19.

[54] Minnigh interview.

[55] Regional Director to Director, December 13, 1955, File D30 Part 4, Box 1057, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[56] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Wilderness Recommendation, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina – Tennessee* (Denver: National Park Service, 1974), 6-7.

[57] The policy allowed for rare exceptions. Trail crews could employ a small bulldozer if there was a need to move boulders, for example. ATVs were allowed on trails to assist with brook trout restoration, since brook trout needed to be transported quickly in aerated tanks to the point of re lease. Exceptions were also allowed in the case of medical emergencies. (Minnigh interview.)

[58] Minnigh interview.

[59] Susan Power Bratton, Matthew G. Hickler, and James H. Graves, "Trail and Campsite Erosion Survey for Great Smoky Mountains National Park," Research/Resources Management Report No. 16, 1977, Vertical Files, GRSM.

[60] Superintendent to Regional Director, December 27, 1977, File L48, Bob Wightman Files, GRSM; Minnigh interview.

[61] John E. Cook interview.

[62] Minnigh interview.

[63] National Park Service, *Trails Rehabilitation Guide for 1999, Environmental Assessment, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Tennessee-North Carolina* (Denver: National Park Service, 1999), 2.

[64] Great Smoky Mountains National Park, *A Strategic Plan for Managing Backcountry Recreation in Great Smoky Mountains National Park*, 59-61; Randall R. Pope to Roman Kilgannon, August 4, 1993, File N1617, and Karen Wade to Howie Wolke, December 14, 1994, File N1623, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM; Minnigh interview.

[65] Minnigh interview; Joel Ossoff, interview by Theodore Catton, April 16, 2007.

[66] Howie Wolke to Superintendent, November 28, 1994, Karen Wade to Howie Wolke, December 14, 1994, and Carroll J. Schell to Susan Brame, October 20, 1994, File N1623, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files.

Chapter Eleven
Forest Protection

Forests are one of Great Smoky Mountains National Park's primary natural resources. The mountainous area's heavy precipitation, temperate southern latitude, and topographical relief combine to support a remarkable diversity of plant life. Some 1,500 species of flowering plants are found in the area, and more kinds of trees grow in the Smokies than in all of northern Europe. Owing to the steep temperature gradient that accompanies elevation change in the Smokies, springtime is a two-month-long parade of buds and blossoms that starts in the valleys in March, climbs steadily upward through April, and finally breaks out on the ridge tops in May. The spruce-fir community that occurs at high elevations in the Smokies is akin to the boreal forest community found throughout southern Quebec and Ontario.

Nineteenth and early twentieth century botanists recognized the area's extraordinary diversity. The Southern Appalachian National Park Commission recommended the area as the outstanding site for a national park "because of the height of the mountains, depth of valleys, ruggedness of the area, and the unexampled variety of trees, shrubs, and plants."[1] Campaigners for the national park in the late 1920s described the forests as beautiful, richly varied, and "primeval" — emphasizing that they were the last remnants of an eastern forest never touched by a lumberman's axe. In 1928, the Park Service's Arno B. Cammerer went to Knoxville to plead with the logging companies to cease cutting on lands within the park area. "Thousands of people who will come from over the United States to visit the park will want to see the trees," he said. "Rocks and stumps do not make a park. Trees are essential, and whether a park is to be a park in the truest sense of the word depends upon its trees."[2] As a result of the national park movement, most logging companies stopped cutting in the area by 1930. The Little River Lumber Company, the glaring exception, continued logging on what finally became park land until 1939. At that time it was estimated that the park still contained more than 200,000 acres of virgin hardwood forests, or roughly 40 percent of its area.[3] More recent estimates put the extent of old-growth forests at 25 percent of the park area.

When the Park Service assumed administration of a portion of the area in 1930, one of its primary concerns was forest protection. After logging, by far the biggest concern was fire, especially on cutover lands where the logging operations had left slash scattered all over the ground to dry in the sun and wind, creating vast quantities of tinder.

Infestations also posed a threat. In 1930, the great chestnut blight was in its fifth year in the Smokies and half the chestnut trees were dead, the other half dying.[4] It was said that the big trees' silvery skeletons could be seen over long distances. The CCC removed most of the dead and dying chestnut trees during the 1930s based on the Park Service's judgment that their decaying hulks would attract other forest pathogens. After fire and infestations, a third matter of forest protection involved the problem of the park's unique "balds." As it became evident that the forests were encroaching on these mountaintop meadows, the Park Service and the public engaged in long debate over whether some or all of the balds should be maintained. This question in turn raised the interesting problem of the balds' origins, whether these landscape features were natural or cultural, and if they were cultural were they pre-Columbian. The tricky problem of the balds served to highlight basic ideals of national park management and the conundrum embedded in the Park Service's mission to "conserve natural conditions."

Fire Management

In its early approach toward wildland fire, the Park Service did not linger too much over what it meant to conserve natural conditions. It assumed that a green forest was the ideal forest, and it sought to suppress all fire in order to keep the forest as green as possible, regardless of the role that fire played in forest ecology. In this endeavor the Park Service advanced in lock step with the U.S. Forest Service. Both agencies attacked fire like it was a public enemy. Taking conditions in the semi-arid West as their paradigm, both agencies developed strategies for forest protection based on early detection and rapid response, regardless of whether a fire was lightning-caused or human-caused. Moreover, all fires of human origin were considered equally anathema, whether

A national campaign taught campers and backcountry users to be more careful about putting out campfires and cigarette butts. The Forest Service's message "Only You can prevent forest fires," struck home with park visitors as well as brought a significant decline in human-ignited fires in the park.

accidental, intentional, or incendiary. In the 1920s and '30s, forest dwellers in some parts of the country still practiced "light burning" to control fuel buildups and to improve grazing conditions; the Forest Service viewed this practice as primitive and wasteful while the Park Service saw it as intrusive on the natural scene.[5]

Verne Rhodes, a former supervisor on the Pisgah National Forest and executive secretary of the North Carolina Park Commission, made detailed recommendations to Cammerer in 1929 for a system of fire management in the Smokies based on the organization he was familiar with in the Forest Service. Rhodes identified five leading sources of fire in the southern Appalachian region, all anthropogenic:

(a) Careless hunters and fishermen,
(b) Hot cinders from the coal tenders of logging engines,
(c) Careless travelers passing through the area,
(d) Incendiarists,
(e) Farmers burning brush or grass lands.

Because most fires were human-caused rather than lightning-caused, most fires started in the lower elevations. Rhodes urged a system of patrol, each patrolman being responsible for a certain watershed and focusing his patrols primarily in the valley bottoms, rather than a system of fire lookouts. The problem with lookouts was that the patrolman could not get from the ridge tops down to the valleys quickly either to reach the fire or secure firefighters in the settlements. Rhodes recommended a protective force of one permanent ranger stationed on each side of the park and a total of 17 patrolmen, distributed among 13 watersheds or logging company holdings. Each patrolman would be employed for four months of the year during the two critical periods of fire danger from mid-March to mid-May and from late October through December. Each patrolman would be equipped with a rake, an axe, a canteen, and one to three days of emergency rations. In addition to his personal equipment, the patrolmen would have access to tool caches, five on each side of the park, containing an assortment of rakes, axes, saws, hoes, bush hooks, files, lanterns, water bags, and pumps.[6]

When Superintendent Eakin entered on duty in January 1931, he put together a forest protection organization largely along the lines that Rhodes described. That October, he reported that a total of 18 patrolmen, 9 in each state, had been placed on duty. The force included 5 men supplied by the State of North Carolina; the rest were put on the Park Service payroll.[7]

The advent of the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1933 provided the park with exactly what it needed to develop a more aggressive fire management organization. Very quickly, the park administration went from a system of patrol to a system of early detection and rapid response using lookouts, radio communication, and mobile firefighting crews. The CCC was a boon to the Park Service, providing not only a wealth of manpower but lavish amounts of money for equipment and technical staff as well. Among the new staff positions funded by the CCC were two assistant forester positions, one in each state. Although these men worked under the chief ranger's supervision, they reported directly to the Park Service's chief forester in Washington, J. D. Coffman. Other technical positions funded by the CCC included a radio foreman and a radio operator. With the help of the CCC, Great Smoky Mountains National Park soon had a robust forest protection organization that practically revolved around the agency's new fire suppression capability.[8]

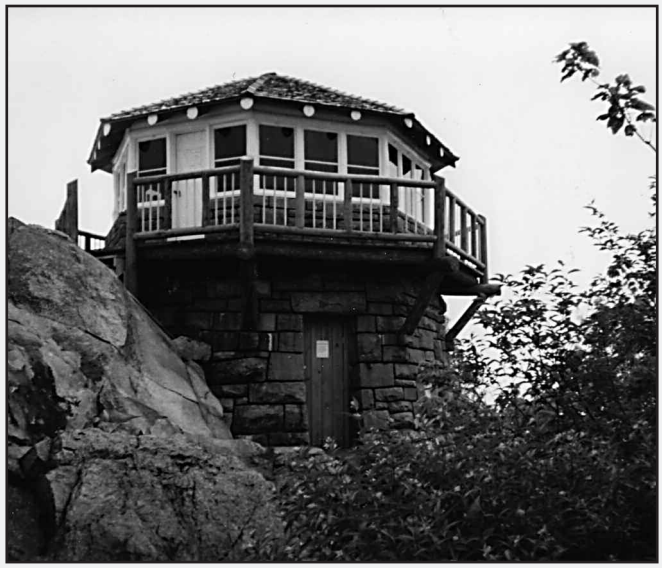
Two-way radio was a vital underpinning of the new fire control system. Radio was crucial because it made the lookout system feasible. With a radio communication system, the person in the lookout did not have to leave the lookout to initiate a response to the fire. Instead, the lookout radioed the dispatcher, who in turn radioed a firefighting crew. Use

of shortwave, two-way radio was still fairly novel in 1933. During the first two years of the CCC, the park experimented with the new technology, first establishing two-way communications between a radio office in Bryson City and an airplane belonging to TVA, then between the office and a lookout tower on Mount Sterling. With the new radio communication system in play, the Park Service embarked on setting up a system of lookout towers.[9] By 1936, the lookout system was fully operational. Eventually the park had 13 lookouts (including one managed cooperatively with the Indian Service), while the Forest Service had six and the states had three within sight of the park, all reporting by radio to the dispatcher's office in Bryson City.[10]

While lookouts and radio enabled the Park Service to detect fires quickly, it was the CCC workforce that provided rapid response. There were two parts to this: readily available manpower and mobility. Although CCC crews were assigned other jobs, they could always be diverted from those jobs to fight fires. And they were all over the park, spread between some 18 large camps that accommodated approximately 200 men each. In addition to these main camps, the park maintained a number of seasonal side camps of 25 to 40 men in areas of the park that were most subject to fire danger. In 1937, for example, there were side camps at Forney Creek, Deep Creek, Black Camp Gap, Cataloochee, and Greenbrier. Side camps as well as main camps were well-stocked with firefighting equipment. When CCC crews were not actually fighting fires they sometimes performed fire hazard reduction work. This included building or brushing truck trails, cleaning up slash in cutover areas, and making fire breaks.[11]

The CCC was the backbone of the forest protection organization. In one typical season (fall 1939) fire fighting crews, mostly CCC, suppressed a total of 32 fires, 14 of which burned inside the park boundary. Of the 32 fires, all but four were human-caused. The 14 fires in the park burned a total of 143 acres. The total fire suppression effort involved 1,040 man-days of CCC labor and an unreported amount of park staff time. The total cost was $139 charged to Park Service accounts and $1,758 charged to the CCC, plus $48 of labor contributed by other agencies.[12]

Eakin worried that when the CCC was terminated in 1942 the forest protection organization would be hollowed out. Some people predicted that the Park Service's full-scale fire suppression policy would be set back a decade. This did not happen. In the first place, the Park Service secured other sources of manpower, albeit in smaller numbers. In 1942, Great Smoky Mountains entered a cooperative agreement with TVA, the latter agreeing to assign Fontana Dam construction workers to fight fire in the park if called upon. The park also held a fire fighters' training school at the Gatlinburg High School, teaching teenage boys how to handle fire tools and build a fire line. Beginning in 1943, the Civilian Public Service provided the park's first line of fire fighters. The CPS was a national service organization for conscientious objectors (men whose pacifist convictions prevented them from serving in the military). The CPS assignees occupied a former CCC camp at Sugarlands from 1943 to 1945.[13] In 1945, the CPS pulled out and a number of rangers and wardens who had been in the military returned. Throughout the second half of the 1940s and the 1950s, the Park Service employed fire control aids (local persons who were put on standby and required to stay in the area during periods of bad fire weather) as so-called "second line" fire fighters behind the rangers and wardens. It also held fire fighters' training school for park maintenance staff and other federal employees to form a "third line" in the fire suppression organization.



In the wake of clear cutting by lumber companies, forest fires were more frequent and severe. The CCC built a network of towers for fire control, including this western style tower atop Mt. Cammerer.

Besides these measures, actions by the Forest Service in the 1950s and 1960s helped with fire protection. A national campaign of public education taught campers and backcountry users to be more careful about putting out campfires and cigarette butts. The Forest Service's message, "Only YOU can prevent forest fires," struck home with park visitors and brought a significant decline in human-ignited fires in the national parks.[14] Aerial fire detection augmented and eventually replaced fire detection from manned lookouts. Eventually, aircraft came to be used for fire suppression as well. By the early 1970s, the Forest Service and the Park Service jointly operated an Air Tanker Base in Knoxville. The air

tanker base was part of park operations, a feature unique to Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Serving all the national forests and national park system units in the South, the air tankers occasionally made drops of fire retardant on fires burning inside the park.[15]

The goal of total fire suppression became so deeply etched in the Park Service culture that it was difficult to accept fire as a part of nature. Beginning in the 1950s, a few individuals in the Park Service warned of fuel buildups and other unnatural consequences of total fire suppression, but it was not until the influential Leopold Report of 1963, with its clarion call for a more ecologically-minded approach to natural resource management, that the Park Service's policy on wildland fire began to change. The agency's first step away from total fire suppression was to recognize "natural fire" as a factor affecting forest communities and wildlife habitat. In the Park Service's administrative policies for natural areas adopted in 1968, lightning-caused fires were recognized as natural phenomena which "may be allowed to run their course when such burning can be contained within predetermined fire management units and when it will contribute to management objectives."[16] This rule opened the door to prescribed natural fires and prescribed burning, but little real change in fire management was affected for another ten years or more.

In the 1970s, the Park Service further altered its traditional view of wildland fire by recognizing the extent to which aboriginal Native Americans had set fire to forests in order to manipulate wildlife populations, improve hunting conditions, and stimulate fruit and nut production. This recognition of aboriginal use of fire altered people's understanding of what was "pristine" and what was influenced by human culture. It further complicated the Park Service's directive to "conserve natural conditions."[17]

These perspectives were reflected in a draft Fire Management Plan for Great Smoky Mountains prepared in 1979. Among the plan's objectives were "to integrate fire as a natural force in the park," and "to provide for the use of fire for management purposes."[18] The plan made allowance for both prescribed natural fire and prescribed fire. Prescribed natural fire was any lightning-caused fire occurring within the park's natural zone (that is, not within a development or historic zone). The plan provided that such fires would be closely monitored and allowed to burn, regardless of weather conditions, as long as they did not cross the boundary of the park or move out of the natural zone. Prescribed fire referred to a fire deliberately set by resource managers to obtain a specific management goal. One use of prescribed fire was to perpetuate certain fire-dependent species of rare plants that had been identified as requiring intensive management. Such fires would be undertaken only to the extent necessary to maintain those plant populations, since NPS policy in general called for management of ecosystems and ecological processes rather than single species. Other uses of prescribed fire were to control exotic plants and to manipulate vegetation. The latter was confined to development and historic zones, and included vista clearing and maintaining open fields where the management goal was to achieve a semblance of the historic scene.

An important part of the Park Service's evolving ideas about wildland fire was to understand fire's effects as something embedded temporally in the landscape — both in terms of a "fire cycle" shaped mostly by climate, and as a "fire history" shaped mostly by human influences. By studying old-growth forests, fire ecologists learned that lightning-caused fires ordinarily burned with low intensity in the humid conditions found in the Smokies, while stand-replacing crown fires were extremely rare. They conjectured that aboriginal peoples had used fire in the area, and that Indian burning was likely to have been more widespread in the western end of the park where aboriginal village sites were concentrated. They found that early Euro-American settlers in the area regularly set fires to clear land for crops and to improve grazing conditions. In the logging era, fires burned bigger and hotter, fueled by the slash and debris left by logging operations. Since the advent of a park administration, human-caused fires had accounted for 90 percent of all fires in the park. An examination of records on 915 reported fires in the park from 1931 to 1977 revealed that 36 percent were incendiary, 20 percent were ignited by careless tobacco use, 15 percent by debris burning, 10 percent by campers, and 9 percent by miscellaneous human causes. Historically incendiary fires had been the most destructive, since they were usually set during the dry seasons. The prevalence of human-caused fires was significant for another reason: most of them had occurred in the park's development zone.[19]

The draft Great Smoky Mountain's Fire Management Plan of 1979 was relatively advanced for its time — the park was the first federal reservation in the southern Appalachian region to embrace a let-burn policy toward lightning-caused fires, for example — but the change was mostly on paper. Indeed, this draft plan was never put in final form. Over the next decade, the concept of fire as a management tool was rarely put into practice.[20] This shortcoming was recognized in the park's Resources Management Plan, which baldly stated that contrary to its rhetoric the Park Service had never really abandoned its traditional practice of suppressing all fires. The Resources Management Plan called for more research— "there is less fire research in the southern deciduous hardwood forests than in any other part of the country"

— and it posed the idea that a let-burn approach to lightning-caused fire was not sufficient by itself to compensate for so many years of fire suppression in the park. "Today's lightning fire regime is believed to be too low to perpetuate certain plant communities in the park," the plan stated. "Given this, coupled with the fact that Native American fires no longer contribute to the fire incidence, it is believed that some biotic communities may well disappear from the park if the historic fire frequency persists."[21] It recommended that an active program of management-ignited fires was needed to preserve these resources.

The park's first fire management officer, Leon Konz, was hired in 1991. Konz produced a Fire Management Plan, which was approved in 1996 and updated in 2004 shortly before Konz retired. Under the leadership of Konz and his successor, Mark Taylor, use of prescribed fire gradually assumed greater importance. Prescribed burning was done to improve habitat for rare plants and endangered species, including the Indiana bat and the red-cockaded woodpecker. Prescribed burning replaced mowing or grazing as the preferred method for maintaining grassy meadows in historic zones. Increasingly, these managed fires were used more broadly to compensate for 70 years of fire suppression – reducing hazardous fuel buildups and resetting forest succession where whole ecotypes were found to be in trouble due to the long absence of fire. One example of the latter situation involved the table mountain pine, which has a cone that requires heat to release its seed. Once common on dry, south-facing slopes at middle altitudes, this species of pine was being replaced by shade-tolerant species like red maple and hemlock. "The jury is out," Fire Management Officer Taylor remarked. "With the southern pine beetle over the past ten years we are getting a big kill — it's just been epic."[22]

If the leading trend in fire management in the new century was, in Taylor's words, " to apply more fire to the landscape," another matter of growing concern was fire control in the wildland urban interface. A three-year drought at the end of the twentieth century highlighted the dangers that the park would face in the future as population pressure and climate change loomed. In the tinder-dry conditions that occurred in the fall of 2000, hundreds of ignitions were reported in the wildland urban interface surrounding the park. With state and county firefighting organizations stretched to their limits, firefighters from as far away as Alaska were called in and deployed along the park's boundary. As Superintendent Tollefson reported at the end of the year, "only the absence of strong winds kept catastrophic fire from occurring."[23]

To cope with this problem, the park administration sought more interagency coordination in fire management. For decades, the park had worked with its federal and state partners in the region. Beginning in 2001, it offered assistance to rural fire departments located around the park. In 2004, it initiated an interagency budgeting and staffing system called Fire Program Analysis, aimed at allocating resources jointly between the park, the Cherokee National Forest, the Eastern Band of Cherokee, and other nearby units in the national park system. An interagency team assembled data on fuel modeling, fire history, fire occurrence, and weather, and developed fire management units.[24]

Infestations

As with wildland fire, the Park Service basically followed the lead of the Forest Service in its approach to forest infestations during the middle third of the twentieth century. The two agencies had rather different perspectives on dead or diseased trees, the Forest Service taking an economic view that forest infestations were wasteful, and the Park Service taking an aesthetic view that they made a visual blight on the scenery. That important difference notwithstanding, both agencies shared the same ideal of a green forest. Both agencies used similar methods for fighting forest infestations, including broadcast spraying of chemicals from airplanes and "salvage logging" by private contractors. As late as the 1950s, salvage logging was conducted on a commercial scale in a number of western parks. Salvage logging encompassed not just infested trees, but also areas of healthy forest that had to be cleared for development. Only the latter type of salvage logging ever occurred at Great Smoky Mountains. Called "wood utilization" to distinguish it from forest cutting in the bygone logging era, it was done on a limited scale in connection with campground development. The downed trees do not seem to have been transported out of the park, but were cut up and disposed of in campgrounds as firewood. [25]

The Park Service's concept of a healthy forest in this era is best illustrated by its response to the southern pine beetle. This native insect can multiply rapidly when conditions are right, and infestations occur in various species of southern pine, including pitch pine, Virginia pine, table mountain pine, and short leaf pine, all found in Great Smoky Mountains National Park. In the mid-1950s, outbreaks of the southern pine beetle occurred throughout the southern Appalachian region, and park officials joined with the Forest Service, state foresters, and the lumber industry in presenting a united front against this scourge. The park attacked the beetle by chemically treating individual trees. Of several thousand trees that were infested, the park focused its efforts on several hundred trees found in three areas of the park where the blight was most visible to the public (Cades Cove,

The Park Service learned to use insecticidal soap sprays to limit the destruction caused by insect pests such as the balsam wooly adelgid and the hemlock woolly adelgid.

Smokemont, and Cataloochee). The treatments continued for several years until the outbreak subsided, probably as a result of cold temperatures.[26]

In the late 1960s, another outbreak of the southern pine beetle began. This time, resource managers advised that the infestation should be allowed to run its course. They noted that the insect was native and that outbreaks in the southern Appalachians regions had been reported periodically since the 1890s. Although the relationship of outbreaks to changes in rainfall, fire, temperature, and other factors were not well understood, the resource managers were confident that the current outbreak was cyclic and would last only about a half decade or until the next cold winter restored the beetle population to endemic conditions. They cited the Park Service's administrative policies for natural areas of the national park system (1968), which carried the broad directive not to control native insects unless an infestation threatened to eliminate an ecotype. If any control was done, the resource managers stated, it should be strictly limited to trees in campgrounds, picnic areas, and along roadsides in highly scenic areas.[27]

Over the next four decades, the southern pine beetle rose in the park's estimation from scourge to benign pest to critical component in the web of life. Eventually, research in the park pointed to an important ecological relationship between the southern pine beetle and its host trees. Resource managers had long appreciated the fact that pine forests need some sort of disturbance to regenerate. What became clear was that beetle-killed trees form spots of high resinous fuel concentration on south-facing slopes in the park. When fires reach these spots they burn more intensely, creating the necessary soil conditions for pine seeds to germinate. Armed with this knowledge and exhibiting a much changed viewpoint from the prevailing philosophy of the mid-twentieth century, a briefing statement posted on the park's webpage in 2006 characterized the southern pine beetle as part of an "ancient triangle of interaction" involving the trees, the parasite, and fire.[28]

The Leopold Report of 1963 marked a turning point in the management of forest infestations just as it did for official thinking about fire. It reinforced concerns about pesticides raised only a year earlier by Rachel Carson in her bestselling book *Silent Spring*. Dr. Stanley A. Cain, one of the authors of the Leopold Report and chairman of the Natural Resource Planning Committee of the Advisory Board on National Parks, made the Park Service's forest pest control program the first item on the agenda at the committee's annual meeting in November 1963. Cain said the Park Service's ignorance about the wider effects of pesticides was "appalling." The board agreed to take a position against aerial spray programs.[29]

Besides pushing the Park Service to take a more critical look at the use of pesticides, the Leopold Report focused attention on the need to distinguish between native and exotic forest pests. While native insect infestations had to be viewed as part of a natural cycle that sowed disturbance into a fluctuating landscape, exotic forest pests were of another order because they threatened to wipe out whole species. These infestations were usually more virulent because the insect (or fungus, as the case might be) lacked natural biological controls and the host species lacked genetic resistance. The Chinese chestnut blight killed every mature chestnut tree in the park. White pine blister rust disease, a European import, was kept under control from the 1930s through the 1960s by a massive program of removing *Ribes*, a gooseberry bush that was vital to the blister-rust-producing fungus's life cycle, from within about 1,000 feet of each stand of white pine. Since the 1960s, the occurrence of white pine blister rust at Great Smoky Mountains, as in other parts of the eastern United States, has been minimal as the tree has become more resistant to the disease. Another forest-tree disease, Dutch elm disease, arrived in the Smokies in the 1960s; thirty years later it had reduced the American elm to very low numbers. Due to the threat of exotic forest pests, the park gradually

increased its level of vigilance at the same time that it exercised more restraint in the use of chemical treatments.[30]

The first test of this new approach came with the attack on the park's high-elevation Fraser fir forest by the balsam woolly aphid. This infestation was of special concern because the spruce-fir ecotype at Great Smoky Mountains represents a small remnant of this ecotype's former extent in the southern Appalachians. The park contains about 35,000 acres of spruce-fir forest, or about three-quarters of all that is left in the region. The balsam woolly aphid was first detected in the park on Mount Sterling in 1963 by aerial survey, which counted 45 dead trees in an infested area of six to twelve hectares.[31]

The adult balsam woolly aphid is so small it can barely be seen with the naked eye, but when it infests a tree, the bark of the tree is covered by a white woolly mass. The insect feeds on the sap of the Fraser fir and as it feeds it produces a substance that damages the tree's ability to convey food and water between its leaves and roots. An infested tree usually dies within two to seven years.[32] Based on the extent of the infestation on Mount Sterling in 1963, experts thought the aphid probably reached the park in 1958. The insect is wingless, but it is so small it can be borne aloft by winds. It was probably carried on strong winds from Mount Mitchell about forty miles to the east. From the summit of Mount Sterling, the aphid disseminated rapidly to other summit areas in the northeast part of the park ranging from Mount Guyot to Clingmans Dome.[33]

The park first tried to control the outbreak by cutting and removing infested trees. More than 50,000 trees were cut in this project, but the effort was suspended in 1966 as the infestation spread. In 1967, it began chemical spraying along the Clingmans Dome Road and around Balsam Mountain Campground. Meanwhile, it began monitoring the situation by a combination of aerial and ground surveys and trapping of windborne motile nymphs.[34]

In 1980, the Park Service began experimenting with an insecticidal soap, which was hand-sprayed on individual trees. Besides killing aphids, the liquid caused some trees to grow a thicker bark, which made them more resistant to future outbreaks. However, such an intensive form of treatment could only be applied to limited areas and it was chiefly confined to the most conspicuous stands along Clingmans Dome Road and Balsam Mountain Road. A half century after the infestation began, over 90 percent of the park's mature Fraser fir trees had been lost and the outlook for this ecotype was doubtful.[35]

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, another serious exotic forest pest invaded the park. This was the hemlock woolly adelgid, an Asian relative of the balsam woolly aphid. This insect first appeared in the Pacific Northwest in the 1920s and quickly spread to the northeastern United States. It was slow to invade more southern latitudes, but when it did appear its effects on hemlock forests were severe. The adelgid feeds at the base of the hemlock tree's needles, and an infested tree will have tiny, cottony, white egg sacs lining the underside of its branches. Infested trees may be killed in as little as two years. After the appearance of this exotic pest in the park in 2002, the park responded aggressively with two treatments at once. The first was an insecticidal soap treatment that was sprayed on trees along roads. The second was a biological control that was applied more diffusely. The biological control agent in this case is the lady beetle, *Sasajicscymnus tsugae,* an insect from Japan that is a natural predator of the adelgid. Following an environmental assessment, full treatment began in 2005 with releases of the beetle at numerous locations throughout the park. The program included use of 100 monitoring plots to determine the two treatments' respective effectiveness.[36]

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, other types of exotic forest insects and diseases were also present in the park and more were expected to appear. Faced with potential loss of species, the Park Service was prepared to use conventional chemical treatments when necessary and to use biological control agents when practicable. But as two park scientists cautioned in an article in *The George Wright Forum* in 1992, biological controls were "not a panacea." The main obstacle to applying biological controls was that they took years of advance experimentation in order to provide confidence that the biological agent would be effective and not detrimental to non-targets. Increasingly, the Park Service looked to a third form of intervention: affecting genetic changes in the native trees in order to make them more resistant. The method was to find resistant host individuals in an infested stand in the park, take scions (pieces of living material) from them, and graft those scions to nursery stock in a horticultural setting outside the park for later reintroduction and propagation of resistant stock in the park. [37] In recent years, resource managers and researchers at the University of Tennessee began experimenting with just such an approach for saving the Fraser fir.

The Balds

The mountaintop meadows known as "balds" presented another quandary for management. The balds were a popular destination for hikers, not only for the wonderful vistas they afforded but also for their dazzling displays of wildflowers. In particular, the spring bloom of azaleas on Gregory Bald and Andrews Bald was a thing to behold. No one knew the

origins of the balds but everyone agreed that summer grazing of livestock in the nineteenth century had played a role in shaping their distinctive plant communities. With the end of grazing, these large openings in the forest gradually began to disappear much to the dismay of the balds' many admirers. In 1941, Superintendent Eakin responded to this situation by proposing a "maintenance" program for a few of the more popular balds. Eakin's idea was to allow rhododendron and azalea to spread while removing tall trees such as spruce when they encroached on the edge of the meadows. His argument was based mainly on aesthetics. "The balds are one of the most charming aspects of the park," he wrote. "I would rather be criticized for keeping them open than for letting them revert to forest."[38]

Park Naturalist Stupka advised against this plan. He argued that it would be contrary to general national park policy to interfere with natural plant succession, that maintaining the meadows would amount to a "glorified vista cutting project" quite out of place in the wilderness portion of the park, and that it would be an impossible job to fight back the encroaching forests over such large areas in any case.[39]

Eakin's proposal, accompanied by Stupka's memorandum, received a wide circulation in the Washington office. After collecting several opinions, Acting Director Arthur E. Demaray overruled the superintendent and found that the park should allow nature to take its course. As a general policy, vista cutting must be limited to roadsides where roads already formed an artificial intrusion in the national park. As for the idea that the openings in the forest might be of cultural origin and would merit historic preservation as such, the Park Service leadership did not buy it. "Their place in the picture of human culture in the area is certainly not sufficiently important to warrant preservation on historical grounds."[40]

Slowly the forests advanced. Some of the balds grew noticeably smaller while others disappeared entirely. In 1963, Carlos Campbell of the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association raised the issue again. He distributed a flyer, "Let's Preserve a Few of Our Grassy Balds," in which he proposed that the Park Service maintain three balds: Andrews Bald, Gregory Bald, and Spence Field. Other balds would be left untouched for the study of natural succession. Campbell's plea caught the attention of Dr. Stanley A. Cain, a member of the Advisory Board on National Parks. Cain knew the balds from personal experience. A professor of botany at the University of Tennessee from 1935 to 1946, he had made a study of both the grassy balds and the heath balds. Cain agreed with Campbell that it would be "a great loss, botanically and scenically," if the balds completely disappeared. Campbell submitted Cain's opinion to Secretary Udall. At the secretary's request, the Park Service contracted with the University of Tennessee to make a ten-year study of the three balds.[41]

Campbell continued his campaign through the next decade. When he learned from his own research that Spence Field was reported to have been beech forest as late as 1868, he dropped that bald from the proposal. In 1974, Superintendent Ellis informed him that the Park Service had proposed to identify Andrews Bald and Gregory Bald as special management units within the proposed wilderness area. They would be classified as historic zones and actively managed accordingly. When Campbell posted Cain on this development, Cain replied: "I am personally pleased with the idea of calling Gregory's and Andrew's balds historic sites. Even if they weren't completely human artifacts, man certainly helped maintain them. And in that category it is legitimate to take action to maintain them as well as return them to the condition the year the Park took over."[42]

When the Park Service's wilderness recommendation did not result in an act of Congress, the battle over the balds moved to a new arena, the GMP planning process. Superintendent Evison tried to reverse the position Ellis had announced by stating in the environmental review for the GMP that the Park Service would not interfere with the process of natural succession on any of the balds – reaffirming the policy that the Park Service had maintained since 1941.[43] This statement drew such a lopsided ratio of negative to positive responses from the public, however, that Evison's successor, Superintendent Beal, chose to accept preservation of two balds as a public mandate. In the final GMP, the Park Service classified Andrews and Gregory balds as "experimental research subzones" within the natural zone. In this way they were removed from the Type I classification of land proposed for wilderness designation without actually defining them as historic. Rather, the GMP described the balds as "ecological communities that have been disturbed by man or natural agents and that will require active management to preserve their distinctive biological composition."[44]

In the summer of 1983, the park began a program of vegetation management on the two balds aimed at restoring the plant community to what it had looked like in the 1930s when the area became a national park. The effort involved manual cutting and selected application of herbicides to eliminate woody plants, followed by reseeding of areas with oat grass. Use of grazing animals as a management tool was definitely ruled out, and use of prescribed fire was considered doubtful because it appeared that fire had not played much of a role historically in shaping these plant communities.[45]

Research in the 1970s on the origins of the balds leant more credence to certain theories but did not provide defin-

itive answers. At least some of the balds probably were made and maintained by Indians burning the forest to improve wildlife habitat. Euro-American settlers introduced cattle and sheep in the area, and livestock grazing probably enlarged these existing balds. Moreover, settlers cleared additional mountaintops for grazing use. Based on old timers' stories and recollections, it appears that settlers generally did not use fire to clear or maintain the balds, although light burning was used in adjacent forested areas to make "orchards" and improve grazing conditions. Grazing, rather than fire, was probably the primary historical agent in shaping those unique plant communities.[46] All of these findings remain problematic, however, and the balds continue to elude a clear scientific understanding.

[1] Quoted in Frome, *Strangers in High Places*, 184-85.

[2] "Cammerer Warns Park Endangered by Tree Cutting," *Knoxville Journal*, June 12, 1928.

[3] Arthur Stupka, *Trees, Shrubs, and Woody Vines of Great Smoky Mountains National Park* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1964), 16.[4] Brown, *The Wild East*, 99-100.

[5] Stephen J. Pyne, *Introduction to Wildland Fire: Fire Management in the United States* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1984), 242-243.

[6] Verne Rhodes to Arno B. Cammerer, December 16, 1929, File 302 Part 1, Box 303, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[7] J. R. Eakin to The Director, November 9, 1931, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM.

[8] Annual Forestry Report, 1937, Box XV, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[9] G. A. Schultze, Report to the Chief Forester on Emergency Conservation Work, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, November 10, 1934

[10] Annual Forestry Report, 1939, Box XV, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[11] Annual Forestry Report, 1937, Box XV, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[12] Annual Forestry Report, 1939, Box XV, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[13] Annual Forestry Report, 1945, File 10, Box XV, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[14] Hal K. Rothman, *A Test of Adversity and Strength: Wildland Fire in the National Park System* (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), 89.

[15] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1977, GRSM; Mark Taylor, interview by Theodore Catton, May 16, 2007.

[16] Dilsaver, ed., *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents*, 355.

[17] Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 256.

[18] "Draft Fire Management Plan, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," July 1979, Box II, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[19] "Draft Fire Management Plan, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," July 1979, Box II, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[20] Taylor interview.

[21] "Draft Fire Management Plan, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," 1995, University of Tennessee Special Collections Library, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

[22] Taylor interview.

[23] Superintendent to Regional Director, February 23, 2001, File A2621, Administrative Files, GRSM.

[24] Superintendent's Annual Report for 2004, GRSM.

[25] Annual Forestry Report for Calendar Year 1957, File Y2619, Box 45, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[26] Annual Forestry Report for Calendar Year 1953, File Y2619, Box 45, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER; Superintendent to Regional Director, April 20, 1954, Charles A. Connaughton to Edward A. Hummel, December 17, 1954, Elbert Cox to Connaughton, December 22, 1954, Hummel to Connaughton, December 23, 1954, Carl I. Peterson to Hummel, June 6, 1955, R. J. Kowal to Chief, Forest Service, March 12, 1956, Fred H. Arnold to Superintendent, October 24, 1957, Kowal to C. E. Johnson, November 15, 1957, File Y2215, Box 5, General Administrative Files, RG 79, NASER;

[27] Resource Management to Files, October 27, 1969, File Y2215, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[28] "Summary of Forest Insect and Disease Impacts," January 2006 (http://www.nps.gov/grsm/parkmgmt) <December 7, 2007>.

[29] Assistant Director to Regional Director, June 5, 1968, File Y2215, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM; Minutes of Natural Resource Planning Committee in U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *49th Meeting, Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments, Big Bend National Park, Texas, November 4-6, 1963*, excerpt in File A1619, Box 1, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[30] Keith R. Langdon and Kristine D. Johnson, "Alien Forest Insects and Diseases in Eastern USNPS Units: Impacts and Interventions," *The George Wright Forum* 9, no. 1 (1992): 2-14.

[31] Ronald L. Hay, C. Christopher Eagar, and Kristine D. Johnson, *Fraser Fir in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park: Its Demise by the Balsam Woolly Aphid (Adelges Piceae Ratz.)* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, Department of Forestry, Wildlife and Fisheries, 1978), 9.

[32] "The Balsam Woolly Aphid – A Possible Solution," *The "Bare" Facts, Resource Management Information Letter, Great Smoky Mountains National Park*, August 1, 1980.

[33] Hay et al., *Fraser Fir in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park*, 10-11.

[34] Park Ranger to Files, December 12, 1968, File Y2215, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[35] Langdon and Johnson, "Alien Forest Insects and Diseases in Eastern USNPS Units: Impacts and Interventions," 5-6; "The Balsam Woolly Aphid – A Possible Solution;" "Summary of Forest Insect and Disease Impacts."

[36] "Summary of Forest Insect and Disease Impacts."

[37] Langdon and Johnson, "Alien Forest Insects and Diseases in Eastern USNPS Units: Impacts and Interventions," 12-13.

[38] J. R. Eakin to the Director, June 21, 1941, File 881, Box 1148, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[39] Arthur Stupka to Superintendent, June 18, 1941, File 881, Box 1148, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[40] Arthur E. Demaray to Superintendent, July 18, 1941, File 881, Box 1148, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[41] "Let's Preserve A Few of Our Grassy Balds," no date, "Noted Authority Wants Grassy Balds Saved," no date, Stanley A. Cain to Carlos C. Campbell, April 5, 1963, Stewart L. Udall to Campbell, May 3, 1963, and "Report on Status of Grassy Balds of the Great Smokies," June 10, 1964, File L48 Part 1, Box 1951, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[42] Carlos C. Campbell to George B. Hartzog, Jr., September 30, 1969, File L48 Part 1, Box 1951, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II; Campbell to Vincent Ellis, December 10, 1974, Campbell to Stanley A. Cain, November 18, 1974, and Cain to Campbell, November 29, 1974, File L48, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[43] Boyd Evison to Regional Director, April 20, 1977, enclosing Environmental Review, File 7, Part 22, Box II, Master Plan Studies

Collection, GRSM.

[44] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *General Management Plan, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina – Tennessee* (Denver: Denver Service Center, 1982), 20.

[45] "Management of Grassy Balds," *The "Bare" Facts, Resource Management Information Letter, Great Smoky Mountains National Park*, June 27, 1983.

[46] Mary Lindsay, "History of the Grassy Balds in Great Smoky Mountains National Park," Management Report No. 4, April 1976, Vertical Files, GRSM; "Management of Grassy Balds," *The "Bare" Facts, Resource Management Information Letter, Great Smoky Mountains National Park*, June 27, 1983.

Chapter Twelve

Wildlife Management

Incident report: a woman was feeding a bear from her car when the bear suddenly climbed into the car and took a seat beside her. The woman tried to coax the bear out of her car; she received injuries. Another incident report: a man was feeding a bear a few dozen feet from the edge of the road. After the bear ate everything the man had to offer, it followed him back to his car. The man tried to discourage the animal by touching his lighted cigarette to its nose….[1] Incidents such as these were legion. Resource managers often quipped that to protect visitors from bears and vice versa would require one ranger for every bear in the park. As the black bear population was anywhere from 400 to 1,600 strong, this was obviously impossible. Indeed, at Great Smoky Mountains National Park the world's most concentrated population of black bears shared habitat with the world's most concentrated population of wilderness goers.

Park staff began to wrestle with the "bear problem" in the 1930s, and "bear management" (which is really a shorthand term for bear *and people* management) became a staple of park administration from then onwards. But there were other significant challenges for wildlife management as well. Next in importance to the black bear was the wild boar, a prolific and destructive exotic species that had to be contained even if it could not be eliminated. Then there was the deer, which threatened to become too numerous in the forest openings that the park maintained around Cades Cove. And in recent decades much effort was given to reintroducing species that had once inhabited the area before it became a park, including river otter, red wolf, the peregrine falcon, and elk.

Wildlife Management in the CCC Era

Before there was a bear problem there was a CCC problem. Soon after the CCC was deployed in 1933, wildlife biologists began urging host agencies, including the Park Service, to provide technical oversight of the many hundreds of youthful work crews to ensure that their efforts were beneficial, or at least not harmful, to wildlife habitat. The eminent wildlife biologist Aldo Leopold described the pressing need for technical oversight in an article in *Journal of Forestry* in May 1934:

> There was, for example, the road crew cutting a grade along a clay bank so as permanently to roil the trout stream which another crew was improving with dams and shelters; the silvicultural crew felling the "wolf trees" and border shrubbery needed for game food; the roadside-cleanup crew burning all the down oak fuel wood available to the fireplaces being built by the recreation-ground crew; the planting crew setting pines all over the only open clover-patch available to the deer and partridges; the fire-line crew burning up all the hollow snags on a wild-life refuge, or worse yet, felling the gnarled veterans which were about the only scenic thing along a "scenic road." In short, the ecological and aesthetic limitations of "scientific" technology were revealed in all their nakedness.[2]

The Park Service responded to these concerns by hiring "wildlife technicians" and putting them on the CCC payroll. The wildlife technicians had advanced degrees and sometimes college teaching experience, and they worked for $166 per month without benefits. Most stayed in the park through several consecutive CCC enrollment periods. Their first priority was to serve as watchdogs for CCC projects, recommending ways to enhance or mitigate the projects' effects on wildlife habitat. Additionally they were to make wildlife investigations of various kinds. Of foremost importance, they were to determine whether additional land was necessary to provide all-year habitat for the park's native wildlife, to assess the practicability of reintroducing native species that were gone from the park, and to learn which native species living in the park were abnormally low in numbers and what might be done to improve their status.

The first two biologists at Great Smoky Mountains, Willis King and R. J. Fleetwood, arrived in the park in 1934. The following year H. M. Jennison arrived, probably replacing Fleetwood. The biologists were housed in a wildlife office and laboratory at Elkmont, several miles from Eakin's tem-

H. M. Jennison was a professor of botany at the University of Tennessee and worked in the park every summer until 1938.

porary headquarters in Gatlinburg.[3] They reported to the superintendent but they also reported to the Park Service's Wildlife Division at the national level. Jennison, a professor of botany at the University of Tennessee, worked in the park each summer until 1938. King, a newly-minted Ph.D. whose expertise was fisheries, stayed with the park until 1940 when he took a job with the State of North Carolina.

Much of what these men did was textbook wildlife management: taking projects that were primarily aimed at forestry and tweaking them so that they would benefit, or at least not harm, wildlife habitat. Wildlife managers referred to this intentional aligning of forestry and wildlife values as "coordination" or "indirect habitat improvement." When a new truck trail was proposed, for example, a wildlife biologist went in advance of the work crew to mark individual trees that ought to be preserved because of their special value as wildlife habitat. Fleetwood made an investigation of how animals used dead chestnut trees. This study led to his recommendation that dead chestnuts still holding their limbs could be safely removed without harming wildlife, but old snags without limbs should be preserved because their decayed condition and softened heartwood made them important resources to cavity nesting birds and other animals that denned in trees.[4]

Some CCC projects involved direct habitat improvement. For example, CCC crews were assigned to trout stream restoration — cleaning up streambeds that were clogged by logging debris. In these instances a wildlife biologist instructed the CCC crew on what debris should be removed and what should be left in place to provide essential food and cover for aquatic life. In addition to his stream restoration work, King began a survey of all the streams in the park, and recommended which streams should receive priority for restocking.[5]

King described the general status of wildlife at Great Smoky Mountains in a 1937 report. Most of the native large mammals species had been wiped out prior to the area becoming a national park. This included bison and elk (both seasonal migrants in the western part of the Smokies and long ago hunted to extinction in the region), the eastern timber wolf and the eastern mountain lion (both thought to have been residents of the area until about the 1890s), and the eastern otter (thought to have been exterminated quite recently when King was writing). The white-tailed deer still hung on, but in such small numbers that King doubted if the population could be saved. On the bright side, King thought several species were coming back to natural population levels. These included eastern black bear, gray and red fox, bobcat, wild turkey, ruffed grouse, woodchuck, raccoon, opossum, and red squirrel.[6]

The park considered plans for restocking white-tailed deer. At one time officials expected to secure animals from nearby national forests and to release them at several locations on both the Tennessee and North Carolina sides of the park. President Roosevelt even suggested to Secretary Ickes that the European roe deer could be stocked in Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Fortunately, by this time the Park Service was far too committed to the preservation of native fauna to consider the president's proposal. Indeed, officials backed off the plan to transplant deer from nearby national forests based on their concerns that those deer would be of a different genetic stock than the so-called Virginia white-tailed deer found in the park. Furthermore, Eakin worried about the possibility that restocking deer could cause the deer population to rebound too quickly at a time when the amount of deer range in the park was artificially high. A sizable deer herd might flourish on the plentiful browse that grew in cutover and burned over areas, only to become too numerous and face starvation when these same areas reverted to forest. In any case, by the end of the decade deer began spreading into the park from the southeast without any help from restocking.[7]

There were some minor disagreements over predator control. Director Albright had banned predator control in

all national parks in 1931, ending the Park Service's practice of killing mountain lions and wolves and other predators with a view toward increasing numbers of deer and elk for visitors to see and enjoy.[8] Eakin, however, wanted to allow hunting of foxes, bobcats, and skunks, because they preyed on ground nesting birds such as quail, grouse, and wild turkeys. Without offering any evidence for it, he stated that foxes were abnormally numerous while ground nesting birds were scarce. He was overruled on this point and the fox hunting was stopped.[9] However, on another point of predator control, killing of water snakes which were thought to be preying heavily on trout fry, Eakin was allowed to continue the control in the vicinity of trout rearing pools, popular swimming holes, and development areas. It was recommended that wildlife biologists at the park analyze the stomach contents of approximately 500 water snakes to determine if the snakes indeed preyed heavily on the trout. It seems that no such study was completed. Based on much later science, it is more likely that the snakes provide some benefit to the trout by removing diseased or stunted fish from the population.[10]

As CCC funding dwindled at the end of the 1930s, the Park Service lost its wildlife technicians. The Wildlife Division was abolished in 1940 and most of its staff transferred to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. As only a handful of biologists remained in the Park Service through the next two decades, most wildlife matters were left to the rangers. This changing of the guard coincided with the rise of bear management as the looming wildlife issue in the park.

Bear Management

The rangers' approach to wildlife management might best be described as "hands-on." They gathered information while on patrol and they addressed problems by direct action. When the park began to experience "The Bear Problem" in the late 1930s, the ranger force responded by going after the problem bears using billy clubs, small shot, and chemical sprays in an effort to frighten the bears away from people. Arthur Stupka, the park naturalist, thought this approach was futile, since other bears would just take the place of those that were driven away. Moreover, he resented how the rangers had taken this matter in hand without consulting him. He only learned about their weapons arsenal indirectly through sources in Gatlinburg. He advised Eakin that the only way to change the bears' behavior was to remove what the bears were after, namely food in the form of garbage and handouts. The only way to do that was to install bear-proof garbage containers and change *human* behavior by teaching visitors not to feed bears.[11]

Willis King, a newly minted Ph.D. whose expertise was fisheries, was one of the first biologists to work in the new park. He stayed with the Smokies until 1940 when he took a job with the state of North Carolina.

The park tried both these measures. Eakin launched a publicity campaign to teach park visitors of the need to keep a safe distance from bears and resist feeding them. The park also replaced ordinary garbage cans in picnic areas with a heavier type of can as well as a sunken type in which the lid was level with the ground and was operated by a foot pedal. The first type was decidedly not "bear proof," and the second type did not work because visitors overfilled them and did not close the lids properly. Meanwhile, rangers continued their hands-on approach by live-trapping bears in campgrounds and taking them to remote sections of the park for release. This worked for some bears but the worst offenders — the bears that invaded the campgrounds most frequently — would not go in the traps.[12]

Over the years, the rangers' methods of handling problem bears became more resourceful and drastic. They tried electric fencing. They captured bears by live trapping or tranquilizing them. They transported problem bears to more and more remote locations, and they finally resorted to killing a few of the most incorrigible bears. Sometimes the rangers' innovations lacked official sanction. Two rangers in the 1950s

Park Naturalist Arthur Stupka convinced Superintendent **Eakin** that the only way to change the bears' behavior was to remove what the bears were after, namely food in the form of garbage and handouts.

employed a low-velocity, ten-gauge shotgun which they elaborately christened a "Bear Removal Device." The shotgun barrel was muffled and concealed from public view by a metal can housing, and the weapon was rigged so that it could be fired out the window of a ranger patrol car. The shotgun blast was aimed at the bear's rump and was supposed to hurt but not harm the animal. The car siren would be sounded at the same time, further scaring the bear as well as covering the sound of the shotgun. The rangers thought this technique gave good results, but when their superiors learned about it the weapon was quickly retired.[13]

The bear problem centered around campgrounds and picnic areas where human food and garbage was most readily available, but it gradually ramified into other areas of park operations. Bears appeared on the edges of the road, especially the most heavily traveled road over Newfound Gap, and when people stopped in their cars to view or feed these animals the result was often an enormous traffic tie-up, known in the park as a "bear jam." Such traffic slowdowns became so frequent as to be practically standard fare for driving through the park. The chief ranger reported no less than 493 bear jams in one month (July 1963) — and this was just on the Tennessee side of the Newfound Gap Road.[14]

Bears also began to stray back and forth across the park boundary. Pushed to the edge of the park by population pressure, some bears ventured forth to raid hog pens and kill cattle and sheep located outside the park. Of course, wildlife biologists had long stressed the fact that political boundaries meant nothing to wildlife; sanctuaries could protect populations of roaming animals but not individual animals in the population. There were reports of mounting property damage. This situation led to criticism that the Park Service's wildlife protection policy was creating a nuisance bear population, and the park faced the possibility of tort claims and a resurgence of poaching. In 1952, park neighbor Tom Alexander, owner of the Cataloochee Ranch, organized a hunt of a cattle-killing bear and shot the animal in the park in open defiance of the law. When the Park Service pressed charges, Alexander received considerable sympathy from media and friends and was finally acquitted by a trial jury.[15]

Besides panhandling bears and marauding bears, there was also the sad situation of bears held captive to attract tourists in Gatlinburg and Cherokee. Several merchants in both towns kept bears in cages or chained to posts in front of their businesses, evidently convinced that these captive bears drew tourists and put more money in their cash registers. However, if some tourists were attracted to the captive animals, others thought they were a pathetic and shameful sight and complained to the Park Service. The Park Service responded to these complaints by saying that it had no grounds to take action because the businesses were located outside the park, unless it received information that the bears had been captured in the park. But it did encourage these tourists to make their objections known to the town merchants. Tourists' complaints eventually ended this practice in both towns, although several cages with bears still graced the main streets of Cherokee as late as 1975. A state law against putting captive bears on display was passed that year, but it did not apply on the Indian reservation. It was finally up to the Tribal Council to eliminate the practice in Cherokee.[16]

Yet another extension of the bear problem was the spread of human-bear incidents into the backcountry. By the 1960s, bears scavenged for garbage around backcountry shelter sites and campsites and some were so bold as to raid camps where food was stored unattended. Rangers tried to counter this development by instructing backpackers to burn all combustible refuse and pack out the rest.[17]

The ranger force began keeping statistics on bear incidents in the park and by 1969 it had ten years of data. From 1960 to 1969, the total number of incidents fluctuated between 10 and 148 per year, with an average of 97 per year. The total number of bears captured ranged from 7 to 81 per year, with an average of 34 per year. Over this period the rangers recorded a total of 77 bears killed, 91 people injured, 107 citations given, and 1 tort claim paid.[18] No clear trends emerged, other than spikes in the level of activity whenever something happened to diminish the bears' natural food supply.

Significantly, there had never been a single, recorded, bear-related human fatality in the park. Nevertheless, when two young women were killed by grizzly bears in two separate incidents coincidentally on the same night in Glacier National Park in 1967, the sensational event suddenly fo-

cused public attention on human-bear conflicts in all the national parks. It caused parks with a so-called bear problem to re-examine how they dealt with bears, giving increased emphasis to public safety. At Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Chief Ranger G. Lee Sneddon and a task force of five other rangers developed a bear management program that was more systematic and aggressive than what the park had done in prior years. Although its stated objective was "to maintain bear populations in their natural environments," its underlying motive was to reduce the Park Service's exposure to tort claims resulting from bear-caused injuries, property damage, or the unlikely event of a fatal bear attack. As Superintendent Fry wrote in defense of the program, "Preservation of human life takes precedence over all other responsibilities in Park operations." The principal features of the program were installation of bear proof garbage cans, scheduling of garbage pickups as often as possible, implementation of a more intensive education and law enforcement program, and capture and removal of bears from developed areas on each bear's first appearance. Each time a bear was captured, it would be ear-tagged and released in a remote area far from the site of capture. If the bear returned to the site, it would be recaptured and turned over to the State of North Carolina or Tennessee. If a bear that had been turned over to one of the states was recaptured in the park, then the park would "determine the disposition of the animal," meaning that it might be killed.[19]

The program also called for research on the ecology, habitat, and behavior of the black bear, with emphasis on human-bear interactions. A biology professor at the University of Tennessee, Michael R. Pelton, was the first to respond to this call for research and in 1969 he began a long association with the park. Pelton worked in the park himself and also supervised a three-year project by graduate student Jane Tate Eagar.[20] Midway through Pelton's studies, the Park Service initiated its own research on human-bear interactions by two biologists stationed at the newly established Uplands Field Research Laboratory, Francis J. Singer and Susan Power Bratton. These studies led to increased knowledge of the black bear in the Great Smoky Mountains and in particular, better understanding of bear behavior when bears became habituated to human food sources. As a result of the studies, the park made significant adjustments to the bear management program in 1976.[21]

Pelton's and Eagar's work pointed to complex relationships between bear population and reproduction, fluctuations in the availability of mast, and fluctuations in the incidence of panhandling. Aversive conditioning of nuisance bears provided only a partial answer, the researchers urged. It had to be coupled with less feeding by visitors and less availability of garbage in order to make panhandling less attractive. Singer's and Bratton's work corroborated Pelton's and Eagar's by showing how ubiquitous human food sources had become in the bears' diet, even in the backcountry. Like Pelton and Eagar, the two Park Service biologists recommended a reorientation of the bear management program toward visitor education. In addition, Singer and Bratton called for putting greater emphasis on "the burgeoning backcountry bear-human relations problem."[22]

Wildlife biologist **Kim DeLozier** called Chimneys Picnic Area "the worst spot in the eastern U.S. for habituating wild bears to people." The park clamped down on bear feeding at the site and intensified garbage collection.

Starting in 1976, biologists began providing guidance for bear management in the park, but the ranger force was still in charge. The park soon made enormous headway in bear-proofing garbage receptacles in developed areas. It experimented with techniques for bear-proofing backcountry campsites by providing three-pole devices for hanging food out of bears' reach. It strove to educate visitors by offering more verbal instruction, disseminating more written materials, and issuing more citations for failure to keep food secured.[23]

Changing human behavior took time, but park officials believed that the combination of bear-proofing and visitor education made a marked difference in 1992, the first year in

a long time when the mast crop failed and bears were unusually intent on seeking human food sources. Compared to the pattern of bear-human interactions in the 1960s, the park came through this year with a remarkable record: 92 bear incidents and 54 bear captures but only 2 minor bear-related human injuries and a small amount of property damage.[24]

In the 1990s, the efforts toward bear-proofing and visitor education continued, with a focus on certain problem areas such as the heavily traveled corridor from Gatlinburg to Chimneys Picnic Area. At the beginning of the 1990s it was still a common thing for a family to buy a bucket of Kentucky Fried Chicken in Gatlinburg and drive up to Chimneys to feed the panhandler bears. Because of that picnic area's extraordinarily heavy use, park biologist Kim DeLozier called it "the worst spot in the eastern U.S. for habituating wild bears to people." The park clamped down on bear feeding at the picnic area and intensified garbage collection. In one year, the number of nuisance bears trapped at Chimneys Picnic Area fell dramatically.[25]

At the beginning of the new century the park had a large, healthy black bear population, with an estimated two bears per square mile, the greatest density over a wide area found anywhere in the world. But the population remained vulnerable. When bears became habituated to human food sources they lived only half as long as bears that did not, partly because they could be harmed by ingesting plastic wrap, broken glass, toxic substances, and other dangerous items, and partly because these food sources brought them into a more lethal environment where they could be hit by cars, accidentally killed in the process of being trapped and removed, intentionally destroyed because they were dangerous, or shot by poachers. Poaching, in fact, removed an estimated 45 to 80 bears from the population in and around the park each year.[26]

Modern bear poachers are mostly trafficking in an international black market. Various parts of the American black bear — claws, feet, teeth, heads, skins, and gallbladders — are highly prized in Asia for their supposed medicinal qualities. Dried bear gallbladder, which is used in potions as an aphrodisiac, sells in the black market for $35 to $75 an ounce. Because it is heavily poached, the American back bear was listed under the Convention of International Trade of Endangered Species (CITES), which prohibits the sale or export of listed species. In the 1980s, a large poachers' ring operated in the North Carolina side of the park, taking perhaps 500 bears over a span of several years. In a sting operation that finally came to a head in 1988, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service infiltrated the ring with an undercover agent and obtained photographs of the poachers posing with their dead quarry. The sting operation was so secret that the superintendent was the only member of the park staff informed about it. When the huge takedown finally occurred, officers of the law netted 66 suspects in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia, all of whom were later convicted.[27]

European Wild Boar

The nonnative wild boar entered the park around 1950 and soon established itself as a permanent resident and serious disturber of the native flora and fauna. Using its tusks like a plough, the animal digs its snout into the ground in search of tubers, uprooting plants and accelerating soil erosion. It devours the mast that is such an important part of the black bear's food supply. It preys on vulnerable populations of snails and salamanders, whose evolutionary defenses do not take account of this predator. Its prolific disturbance of leaf litter on the forest floor wreaks havoc on the habitat of these critters as well as many other small animals. Its fondness for wallowing further impacts the environment, as the wallows tend to muddy streams and clog springs. Able to reproduce at a prodigious rate, unfettered by natural predators, and instinctively wily toward humans, the wild boar has proven to be a very difficult nonnative species to control.[28]

A group of North Carolina sportsmen introduced European wild boar into the United States in 1912 when they imported some animals to stock a private hunting preserve on Hooper's Bald, only a dozen miles from what became Great Smoky Mountains National Park. In the early 1920s, the animals escaped and spread into the surrounding mountains. Although interbreeding with feral swine occurred as the population dispersed, a chromosomal analysis of European wild boars found on the Tellico Wildlife Management Area some 40 years later showed that the animal remained genetically close to the European stock. The State of North Carolina classified the wild boar as a big-game species, and in 1959 the Tennessee Game and Fish Commission began studying it to understand its ecology and how it might be controlled.[29]

Rangers began to monitor the effects of wild boars in the 1950s, when the animal was still confined to the western part of the park. In 1958, they recorded extensive rooting damage on Parsons Bald and Gregory Bald. In August 1959, rangers trapped two hogs along Parson Branch Road, and the following year they trapped twenty more, of which fourteen were turned over to the State of Tennessee Game and Fish Commission for stocking game management areas. In the fall of 1960, rangers began shooting and trapping hogs on the North Carolina side of the park primarily along the north shore of Fontana Lake. Starting in 1962, some of the animals captured on the North Carolina side were conveyed to the

North Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission for stocking elsewhere. The Park Service had cooperative agreements with both states in which the park's interest in eliminating hogs in the park and the states' interest in managing hogs as game were mutually acknowledged. Chief Ranger C. E. Johnson indicated in a memorandum in August 1959 that the goal of the trapping program was to eliminate this nonnative species from the park entirely.[30]

Despite the wild boar's high productive rate (females sometimes bear litters of five piglets twice in a year) the animal spread into new territory relatively slowly. Through the first half of the 1960s, control efforts in the park were mainly confined to the north shore of Fontana Lake and around Cades Cove. In November 1967, a hog was shot on the Middle Prong of Little River, marking the beginning of the animal's advance into the eastern part of the park. By 1969, a concerned ranger in the Little River subdistrict estimated there might be 100 hogs in the area with the potential to produce an "explosive increase of population." That year, a total of 155 wild boars were removed from the park, the most in any year since the program began in 1959, yet rangers sensed the hog problem was getting away from them. "The trouble is," one said, "we just manage to trap enough of them to increase the food supply for the rest. Then the free sows have larger litters, and we're right back where we started."[31] They called for research into boar ecology that might shed light on more effective control methods. Superintendent Fry requested a study "to develop an effective wild hog elimination program."[32]

In the early 1970s, researchers at the University of Tennessee took the lead in studying the wild boar in the park, with the Park Service and the Great Smoky Mountains Natural History Association providing logistical support and funding, respectively.[33] As research proceeded on the animal's food habits and reproduction, rangers noted its continued expansion eastward. By 1972, numerous hogs were inhabiting the area around Sugarlands; in 1973, a sow was trapped in Cherokee Orchard; in 1974, several hogs were trapped on Twin Creeks and Roaring Fork.[34]

At this time, Susan Powers Bratton was a Cornell University graduate student in plant ecology and a part-time resident in the park as she prepared her Ph.D. dissertation on high-elevation plant communities. Observing the changes caused by rooting in beech forest communities, Bratton addressed the wild boar problem in her dissertation and shared her work, which included an exhaustive review of scientific literature on the wild boar, with the Park Service. In response, the chief scientist in the Southeast Region offered Bratton a position in the park, asking her to establish the Uplands Field Research Laboratory. Initially the laboratory was part of the regional office although it was located in the park. Bratton's appointment coincided with that of Superintendent Evison, who gave the new science program his enthusiastic support. The following year, Francis J. Singer was hired as the first resident wildlife biologist in the park since the CCC era. Singer became the lead scientist in subsequent wild boar studies.[35]

Controlling non-native wild hogs has proven to be a daunting task for the Smokies and most other land management agencies in the South. Said one park staff member, "The trouble is, we just manage to trap enough of them to increase the food for the rest. Then the free sows have larger litters, and we're right back where we started."

Research on the wild boar was a top priority of the new science staff, and both Bratton and Singer placed new demands on the rangers' control efforts. In August 1975, Bratton initiated more detailed record keeping of each hog taken in the park. Starting in January 1976, all hogs killed were dissected, the parts of the animals most commonly brought to the lab being the animals' stomachs (for analyzing food habits), uteruses (for researching reproduction), and eyeballs or lower jaws (for aging the specimen). Beginning in 1977, a few rangers were devoted exclusively to the control program.

The science staff, for its part, embarked on studies of the wild boar's food habits, its effects on native vegetation, trapping methods, censusing, radiotelemetry, and mast survey. Evison pressed the science group for data and recommendations, and in March 1978 the park put out an interim wild boar management plan.[36]

In the midst of this flurry of research on wild boar management, the park conducted an ill-advised experiment in

the use of dogs to assist control efforts. The park contracted with a professionally qualified dog handler, C. R. Todd of Jesup, Georgia, and in August 1977, rangers began a 14-day trial use of Todd's dogs to capture 100 boars within the park. When only one boar was successfully captured after four days of effort, the project was aborted. This failed experiment raised a furor among sportsmen in North Carolina, who had been pressing the Park Service for years to allow public hunting as a control measure. The Park Service's attempted use of dogs rather than sport hunters infuriated them. Evison tried to calm the situation by placing a brief moratorium on all killing of wild boars in the park. The moratorium lasted approximately six months until the interim plan came out.[37]

The interim plan stated that while the Park Service lacked the ability to eradicate the wild boar from the park completely — using present methods of control — it did have the ability to reduce the number of wild boars throughout the park and it was essential to make that effort. Further, the Park Service had the ability to eliminate or nearly eliminate wild boars' impacts on certain species and ecosystems. Thus, the control effort was directed at two goals: reducing the overall population by the most efficient means possible, and eliminating or nearly eliminating the presence of wild boars in critical areas. The plan stated that existing control methods would continue, with the wild boar population being reduced by a combination of trapping and "direct reduction" or shooting of wild boars by qualified Park Service personnel. Research would continue on alternative methods.[38]

The final plan, approved in June 1982, essentially followed along the same lines as the interim plan but it offered details on numerous alternative control methods that the park had taken under advisement. One option was to reintroduce predators. Two species of large predator were once native and could be reintroduced: the eastern timber wolf and the eastern mountain lion. However, even if reintroductions were successful, which appeared doubtful, both the wolf and the mountain lion would likely prey more heavily on white-tailed deer than on European wild boar. Another option was to kill boars with toxicants. This option was potentially cost-effective and efficient, but no known toxicants were target specific for the European wild boar. Clay pigeons, Rotenone, and zinc phosphide were each potentially effective, but each carried risks for non-target species. A third option, public hunting, was rejected because the law governing the administration of national parks specifically prohibited it. A fourth option was to introduce a disease pathogen, such as hog cholera, that was host-specific for the wild boar. The problem with this option was that it carried the risk of transfer to domestic pigs outside the park. Finally, there was the potential use of reproductive inhibitors or sterilizing agents. Known compounds were either too potent and dangerous for humans to handle, or they required an extended period of treatment of each individual animal to sterilize it, an impractical solution for such an elusive wild animal. A recitation of these options led back to the idea that conventional control methods – trapping and direct reduction – had to be continued. Given the exorbitant manpower demands of conventional control methods, however, the Park Service made a plea for volunteer and state aid.[39]

State aid in trapping hogs was not forthcoming, although state officials continued to cooperate with park rangers in receiving trapped hogs for relocation to wildlife management areas in North Carolina and Tennessee. An updating of the wild boar management plan in 1993 resulted in no fundamental change to the program. It did continue to undergo refinements. In 1999, a record 356 hogs were removed from the park. The superintendent's annual report for that year noted that a group was petitioning to stop the Park Service from killing wild hogs; "however, local opposition to wild hog control is much less than in the 1970s and 1980s and may die out due to insufficient interest."[40]

White-Tailed Deer of Cades Cove

By maintaining open fields in Cades Cove, park managers recognized that they were creating attractive deer habitat and a potential problem of deer overabundance. Through the 1950s and 1960s, park managers kept an eye on the deer population as it slowly recovered. A wildlife and habitat management plan in 1967 noted that the deer population in Cades Cove, though concentrated, appeared to be fairly static, a condition that was probably attributable to movement of deer outside the park into areas where they were hunted. If the deer herd should get too large and start to impact the vegetation, this plan stated, the park would initiate control methods, including live-trapping and transplanting deer to other areas and, if necessary, direct reduction by rangers.[41]

New management guidelines in 1968 emphasized "natural regulation" as a preferred alternative to direct reduction. "Regulation of native animal populations in natural zones shall be permitted to occur by natural means to the greatest extent possible," the guidelines stated. This policy presented the park with a dilemma. Cades Cove was the largest of five areas in the park designated as historical zones. As most of the park was managed as a natural zone, Cades Cove formed an enclave within this larger natural area. The open fields in Cades Cove supported an unnaturally dense population of deer that moved back and forth between the historical and natural zones. Was this protected and highly visible deer

herd to be managed by natural regulation? Since the open fields supported an unnatural density of deer, and there were no natural predators to keep numbers in check, what would natural regulation look like here?

Beginning in 1970, researchers began loosely monitoring the Cades Cove deer population. In 1971, the herd experienced a major die-off due to hemorrhagic disease, but the population rebounded after just one year. The deer density in Cades Cove continued to increase through the rest of the decade. In 1980, it was considered one of the most concentrated deer populations found anywhere in the South. In 1981, the park received a request from the Tennessee Wildlife Resources Agency for 50 deer to be used for restocking in Hawkins County. The park agreed to the translocation, and state biologists captured and removed a total of 51 deer. Shortly before the removal operation, a series of deer counts by transect estimated the size of the herd between 293 and 531 head. A post removal count placed the herd at 537 head. After these translocations, no more efforts were made to control herd size. Spotlight counts in 1983-84 indicated that the herd had finally stabilized at a relatively high density.[42]

By 1989, Park Service biologists felt cautiously optimistic that natural regulation was working. "The deer herd of Cades Cove…represents a unique opportunity to observe and monitor an unhunted population in a relatively natural environment," a resources management report stated. [43] It seemed that in this southern setting, where winters were too mild to cull the herd, disease was the natural control that held the population in check. Accordingly, research in the 1980s and early 1990s focused on monitoring the presence of infectious diseases in the herd. In 1997, the park stepped up habitat monitoring as well. Researchers established 30 vegetation plots, each 10 meters square, half set up as deer exclosures and half left unfenced as control plots. Eight years into the study, researchers found no difference in the number of species present in the exclosures and the control plots (although, not surprisingly, they did find that tree seedlings were quick to get established in the exclosures).[44] At the start of the twenty-first century, some managers still had qualms about how natural regulation of the deer herd interfaced with artificial manipulation of habitat in this historical zone. But for the time being, at least, natural and historical values were joined in Cades Cove in a kind of peaceful coexistence.

Reintroductions

In 1967, Superintendent Fry asserted, "All wildlife species that were present when the Park was established still exist within the present Park boundary."[45] Well and good, no species had been lost on the Park Service's watch. But the Leopold Report of 1963 challenged park managers to think and act more boldly: why not reintroduce extirpated species? Over the next 30 years, the park attempted four reintroductions: peregrine falcon, river otter, red wolf, and North American elk. The red wolf was unable to reproduce successfully in the park, but the other reintroductions took hold, restoring three species to the park's biota.

Contrary to Fry's claim, the last known nesting pair of peregrine falcons at Great Smoky Mountains National Park was reported near Alum Cave Bluff in 1942, so this species did in fact disappear after the park was established. The decline of the peregrine falcon was attributed to the buildup of DDT in the environment. As a top predator in the food chain, the falcon accumulated DDT in its body, which caused a thinning of its eggshell and consequently a high rate of reproductive failure. By the mid-1960s there were no known pairs remaining east of the Mississippi River. However, a captive breeding program initiated by Cornell University scientists in 1970 led to a U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) recovery program five years later aimed at reestablishing the peregrine falcon in its eastern breeding range. By 1975, DDT residues in the environment were at low enough levels to pose no threat to the bird. In 1984, the FWS selected Great Smoky Mountains National Park as the most promising site for a reintroduction of the falcon in Tennessee. Assistant Superintendent Roland H. Wauer and Superintendent Cook agreed that there were compelling biological, aesthetic, and moral reasons to support the effort. The Park Service cooperated with the FWS, the Tennessee Wildlife Resources Agency, TVA, and the Peregrine Fund in carrying out the project.[46] A total of thirteen young peregrine falcons were hacked and released. For the next ten years peregrine falcons were sighted in the park but no nesting pair was recorded. Starting in 1997, a pair nested in the Alum Cave Bluff area.[47]

The next animal reintroduced in the park was the river otter. A mostly fish-eating carnivore, the river otter is three to four feet long and weighs about 22 pounds. Its body is finely adapted for an aquatic environment, with webbed feet, a muscular tail, a sleek head and torso, and a thick, two-layered coat of oiled under-fur and long guard hairs. The otter's fine pelt made it a valued commodity in the fur trade and the animal was relentlessly hunted by fur trappers in the nineteenth century. Once abundant throughout North America, it was drastically reduced in numbers. In the twentieth century, pollution and the destruction of wetlands eliminated the animal from much of its original range. The last recorded sighting of a river otter in the Smokies was in 1936.[48]

The otter was reintroduced in Tennessee in 1982 at Land Between the Lakes in a cooperative effort by TVA and the

The effort to reintroduce red wolves to the park ultimately proved unsuccessful.

Tennessee Wildlife Resources Agency (TWRA). Encouraged by the results, TVA and TWRA broached the Park Service about reintroducing the otter at Great Smoky Mountains. Park Service officials were receptive as the reintroduction met all of the Park Service's criteria. As park biologist Kim DeLozier explained, besides the obvious requirement that the reintroduced species is native, "the species can't be detrimental to other native species in the park, and it can't be detrimental to nearby landowners." There was some resistance to the reintroduction by anglers who feared the otter would prey heavily on trout, but biologists thought the otter would most likely go after slow-moving, bottom-feeding fish that were easier to catch, and this did prove to be the case. Jane Griess, a graduate student at the University of Tennessee who wrote her master's thesis on the reintroduction of otter at Great Smoky Mountains, contended that "otters may actually benefit trout populations by removing competitive fish from trout waters."[49]

After nearly two years of discussion and feasibility studies, 14 otter were captured and shipped to the University of Tennessee. Two died of stress en route and a third was too severely injured to be released into the wild, but the remaining 11 recovered from the trauma of their capture and shipment. These otters were quarantined at the University of Tennessee for a minimum of ten days, and while in quarantine each one was fitted with a radio transmitter (surgically implanted in a cavity in the intestinal area where the device would not interfere with the animal's mobility or reproductive capabilities). On February 28, 1986, they were released into Abrams Creek. Some people involved in the effort had worried that these otters, which had been captured in warm, lowland rivers on North Carolina's coastal plain, would migrate out of the park in search of warmer waters with more food in them. But they stayed in the area and bred and successfully raised young.[50]

The park followed up this effort with more releases in other parts of the park. The next test was to see if otter could thrive in waters that were more heavily visited by humans. Accordingly ten otters captured in South Carolina were released in the Little River during the winter of 1988-89, and four more from Louisiana were released in the same area in 1990. Another ten were released in 1992, eight of these on the North Carolina side of the park.[51]

The attempt to reintroduce the red wolf began with an inquiry to Superintendent Pope from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) in about 1990. Approximately ten years earlier, the FWS had captured some of the last remaining red wolves in the wild on the coastal plains of North Carolina and South Carolina and had transported them to Point Defiance Zoo in Tacoma, Washington, where a captive breeding program was established. By about 1990, this captive population had grown from 14 to more than 100 individuals, and the FWS wanted to take some and attempt to re-establish them in their native habitat. Great Smoky Mountains National Park appeared to be a good prospect.

Pope strongly supported it and invested a good deal of time on the matter over the next few years. First he held discussions with his staff and once his staff was on board he widened the circle to include state and local representatives. A major concern was whether this large predator posed a threat to humans. Wolf biologists brought out the important point that the red wolf does not run in packs like the northern timber wolf. Another concern was that the red wolf would attack livestock. The FWS made arrangements to compensate livestock owners for any loss of cattle in Cades Cove, where one of the releases was planned.[52]

Over the winter of 1991-92, a red wolf family was experimentally released and recaptured. In October 1992, a red wolf family was released from a pen near Cades Cove, and in December 1992, a second family was released from a pen near Tremont. Cades Cove was selected because it had an abundance of deer as well as a small herd of cattle. Biologists wanted to learn whether the wolves would prey on livestock. Prior to the release, biologists worked with livestock owners to construct a "nursery corral" for the protection of young

The experimental elk reintroduction started in 2001 in Cataloochee Valley with the release of 25 animals from Land Between the Lakes. Today, the park's elk population continues to grow and disperse.

calves. Five calves were lost to wolf predation, all of which were taken when they were outside this corral.[53]

Both wolf families produced litters in the spring of 1993. All of the wolf pups died during the next six months. Biologists suspected they were killed by parvo virus, a disease to which the wolves had low resistance because it had only appeared in the Southeast in the early 1980s (when the population was in exile at Point Defiance Zoo). The pattern was repeated annually: in the spring new litters appeared, and by fall all of the pups had been found dead or had vanished. After five years of watching the adult wolves fail to sustain young, biologists with the FWS determined that they must abandon the wolf recovery effort at Great Smoky Mountains and refocus the effort in other areas where climate and land conditions might be more suitable.[54] The last adult red wolf was captured and removed in 1998.

While the red wolf recovery effort ended on a down note for the park, another reintroduction was getting underway that would give people much joy. In 2000, the park completed an environmental assessment for the reintroduction of North American elk, a species that had been missing from the native biota for about two centuries. Major concerns about this reintroduction included the effects that this very large herbivore might have on the ecosystem, and its potential to carry diseases that could be passed to cattle outside the park. Also, while elk had been successfully reintroduced in a number of locations in the eastern United States, the project carried the usual risk of failure. One notable risk factor: the park was a good deal more forested than was ideal for elk habitat.[55]

The elk were released in the Cataloochee Valley in 2001, each one radio-collared and ear-tagged so that the Park Service could track its movements. After five years, the elk herd was growing and its range was spreading to other parts of the park and outside the park. December 2005 marked the end of the first phase (experimental release and data collection) and the beginning of the second phase (data evaluation). Indications were strong that the elk reintroduction was a success.

[1] J. R. Eakin, Memorandum for the Press, July 25, 1941, File 715-02, Box 1138, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[2] Leopold quoted in Ben H. Thompson to R. J. Fleetwood, June 4, 1934, File 885-01 Part 1, Box 1152, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[3] H. M. Jennison, "Report on Wildlife Activities for the Period August 15 to September 15, 1935, File 885-01 Part 1, Box 1152, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[4] Raymond Fleetwood, "Activities of Naturalist Assistant from November 16 to December 16, 1934," File 885-01 Part 1, Box 1152, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[5] "Proposed Work Programs, March – June 1934," File 885-01 Part 1, Box 1152, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[6] Willis King, "General Status and Program for Wildlife Conservation, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," File 885-01, Box 1153, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[7] Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diaries of Harold L. Ickes*, Vol. 2 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), 626; Blair Ross to Charles E. Ray, May 26, 1948, File 715.04, Box 1139, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; C. C. Presnall, "Special Wildlife Report on Great Smoky Mountains National Park," June 17, 1938, File 720-04, Box 1139, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[8] Victor H. Cahalane, "The Evolution of Predator Control Policy in the National Parks," *Journal of Wildlife Management*, 3, no. 3 (July 1939): 235-36.

[9] H. C. Bryant to Superintendent, January 19, 1932, and J. R. Eakin to The Director, January 21, 1932, File 208-06 Part 1, Box 303, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[10] J. R. Eakin to The Director, April 24, 1935, and A. E. Demaray to Eakin, May 10, 1935, File 714, Box 1138, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Brown, *The Wild East*, 185.

[11] Arthur Stupka to J. R. Eakin, September 6, 1938, in "Black Bear Management," Vertical Files, GRSM.

[12] J. R. Eakin to Regional Director, November 24, 1943, File 715.02, Box 1138, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[13] Claudia Konker, "Home is Where the Heart Is," unpublished essay based on oral history interview with Grady and Estelle Webb by Claudia Konker, May 2005, in author's possession.

[14] Brown, *The Wild East*, 233.

[15] Brown, *The Wild East*, 179-184. See also the file labeled "Tom Alexander Correspondence, Bear Killing" in Box XIV, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[16] A. E Demaray to Fred Schermer, September 15, 1948, Joe Jennings to L. D. Arnold, November 15, 1948, and John H. Provinse to Joe Jennings, December 1, 1948, File 715-02, Box 1138, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; "Bearkeepers Await Court Decision," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, October 5, 1975.

[17] "1969 Bear Management Program," Resource Management Reports, Box XV, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[18] "Summary of Bear Incidents (1960-1969), Great Smoky Mountains National Park," Resource Management Reports, Box XV, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[19] Chief Ranger to Superintendent, January 26, 1968, Bear Management File, GRSM; George W. Fry to Mrs. Robert F. Wagner, May 1, 1968, Resource Management Reports, Box XV, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[20] Michael R. Pelton and Gordon M. Burghardt, "Black Bears of the Smokies," *Natural History* 85 (January 1976): 54-63; "Panhandling Bears of the Smokies," *Natural History* 89 (September 1980): 10; Jane Tate Eagar and Michael R Pelton, "Panhandler Black Bears in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park," report prepared for National Park Service by University of Tennessee, May 1979, Vertical Files, GRSM.

[21] Francis J. Singer and Susan Powers Bratton, "Black Bear Management in Great Smoky Mountains National Park," Management Report No 13, 1977, Uplands Field Research Laboratory, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Vertical Files, GRSM.

[22] Francis J. Singer and Susan Powers Bratton, "Black Bear Management in Great Smoky Mountains National Park," Management Report No 13, 1977, Uplands Field Research Laboratory, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Vertical Files, GRSM.

[23] Resource Management Specialist to Superintendent, April 18, 1980, in "Black Bear Management," Vertical Files, GRSM. Bear-proofing of the backcountry took another leap forward in the late 1990s when the park installed stainless steel cables for hanging food out of bears' reach at numerous backcountry campsites. (Minnigh interview.)

[24] Bear Incident and Management Action Report, GRSM, 1992, in "Black Bear Management," Vertical Files, GRSM.

[25] Connie Toops, "Batting the Bears," *National Parks Magazine* 66 (November/December 1992): 38-42; Fitzgerald interview.

[26] Toops, "Baiting the Bears," 41.

[27] Toops, "Baiting the Bears," 41; Randall Pope, interview by Theodore Catton, April 18, 2007; Hart interview.

[28] "The Plundering Pigs of the Smokies," *National Parks & Conservation Magazine* 52, no. 6 (June 1978): 20-21.

[29] James R. Fox and Michael R. Pelton, "An Evaluation of Control Techniques for the European Wild Hog in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park," in "Wild Boar Management," Vertical Files, GRSM.

[30] Resource Management & Visitor Protection Division, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, "European Wild Boar Management, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1959-1977," January 1978, in "Wild Boar Management," Vertical Files, GRSM.

[31] Gordon Young, "Solitude for Millions: Great Smoky Mountains National Park," *National Geographic* 134 (October 1968): 528.

[32] Resource Management & Visitor Protection Division, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, "European Wild Boar Management, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1959-1977," January 1978, in "Wild Boar Management," Vertical Files, GRSM; Brown, *The Wild East*, 252-54.

[33] Keith Neilson to V. R. Bender, Jr., October 15, 1970, File N16, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[34] Resource Management & Visitor Protection Division, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, "European Wild Boar Management, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1959-1977," January 1978, in "Wild Boar Management," Vertical Files, GRSM.

[35] Resource Management & Visitor Protection Division, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, "European Wild Boar Management, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1959-1977," January 1978, in "Wild Boar Management," Vertical Files, GRSM; Brown, *The Wild East*, 248-49.

[36] Resource Management & Visitor Protection Division, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, "European Wild Boar Management, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1959-1977," January 1978; Interim Wild Boar Management Plan, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, March 1978; and "Wild Hog Management Guidelines, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," July 1993, all in "Wild Boar Management," Vertical Files, GRSM.

[37] Resource Management & Visitor Protection Division, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, "European Wild Boar Management, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1959-1977," January 1978, in "Wild Boar Management," Vertical Files, GRSM.

[38] Interim Wild Boar Management Plan, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, March 1978, in "Wild Boar Management," Vertical Files, GRSM.

[39] European Wild Boar Management Plan, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, June 1982, in "Wild Boar Management," Vertical Files, GRSM.

[40] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1999, Box I, Narrative Reports Collection, GRSM.

[41] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Long Range Wildlife and

Habitat Management Plan 1967-1971, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," August 1967, File 12, Box III, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[42] "White-Tailed Deer – The Cades Cove Dilemma," *The "Bare" Facts, Resource Management Information Letter*, March 12, 1981; U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *The White-Tailed Deer of Cades Cove: Population Status, Movements and Survey of Infectious Diseases* (Atlanta: National Park Service, 1989), 1-2.

[43] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *The White-Tailed Deer of Cades Cove: Population Status, Movements and Survey of Infectious Diseases* (Atlanta: National Park Service, 1989), 123.

[44] Superintendent's Annual Report for 2005, GRSM.

[45] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Long Range Wildlife and Habitat Management Plan 1967-1971, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," File 12, Box III, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[46] "Reintroduction of Peregrines, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," no date, in "Peregrine Restoration," Vertical Files, GRSM.

[47] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1999, GRSM; "Falcon Returns to the Smokies," *National Parks* 72 (January/February 1998): 18-19.

[48] Lawrence S. Earley, "On the Rebound," *National Parks* 66 (May/June 1992): 34-38.

[49] Earley, "On the Rebound," 37.

[50] Jane M. Griess, "River Otter Reintroduction in Great Smoky Mountains National Park," M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1987, 11-14, 66-69; Earley, "On the Rebound," 37.

[51] Mary C. Miller, "Reintroduction of River Otters into Great Smoky Mountains National Park," *TWRA Technical Report*, No. 92-6 (Nashville: Department of Tennessee Wildlife Resources, 1992), 49-52; Earley, "On the Rebound," 37-38.

[52] Pope interview.

[53] *Red Wolf Update, Recovery in the Smokies* 3, no. 1 (June 1993): 1.

[54] "Red Wolf Pups Vanish in Smokies Park; Wildlife Program Undergoing Evaluation," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 18, 1997.

[55] Great Smoky Mountains National Park, *Environmental Assessment for Experimental Release of Elk (*Cervus elaphus*) in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park* (Gatlinburg: Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 2000).

Chapter Thirteen

Fisheries Management

Fisheries management in Great Smoky Mountains National Park was shaped by two historical conditions, one cultural and the other environmental. The first condition was that the national park system had a strong tradition of recreational fishing dating back to the Mather-Albright years and even earlier.[1] The Park Service not only permitted fish to be taken (in contrast to its strict prohibition against hunting) it actively supported the artificial stocking of lakes and streams — all with the intent of serving the Park Service's mission to provide for the public's enjoyment. Early superintendents of Great Smoky Mountains were keen to satisfy the public's expectation that this park, already known to eastern sportsmen as a "trout fishing paradise," would yield good fishing.[2] The second important historical condition was that the park's only native salmonid — the eastern brook trout (*Salvelinus fontinalis*) — was already in trouble when the park was established. Biologists in the 1930s attributed the brook trout's decline to several factors present in the first three decades of the twentieth century including over-harvesting of the fishery, degradation of stream habitat by logging, and competition from the rainbow trout, an introduced species. These two problems – satisfying the demand for good fishing and arresting the decline of the brook trout – framed practically all aspects of fisheries management from the 1930s to the first decade of the twenty-first century. To a large extent the problems were juxtaposed, since stocking rainbow trout could work against preserving brook trout. In the beginning, the park administration emphasized the fish stocking program over the protection of the native brook trout. Eventually the situation was reversed; protecting the native species took priority over providing for recreational use of the fishery.

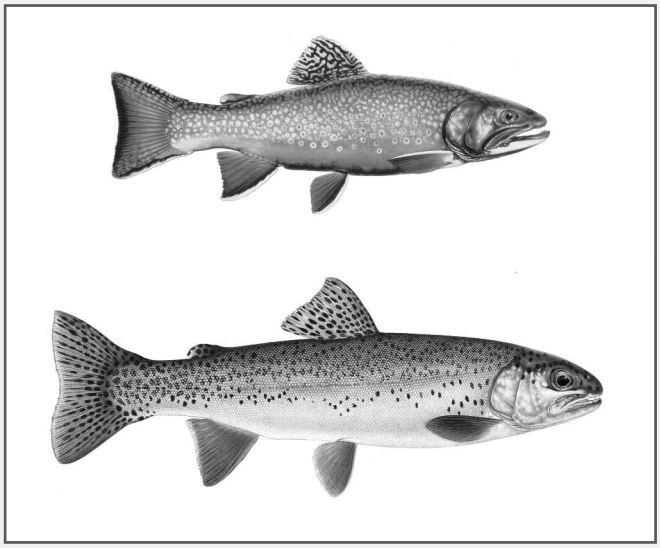
Fish Conservation in the Eakin Years

The first stage of fisheries management at Great Smoky Mountains National Park was dominated by J. Ross Eakin, superintendent from 1931 to 1945, who undertook a program to "restock" park waters and make the area into a first-class sport fishery. Basic to Eakin's program was his view that fish populations were depleted from over-fishing and needed to be replenished by a combination of natural and artificial fish propagation. His program included regulation of fishing, planting of fish in park waters, and development of a fish hatchery and rearing ponds within the park.

The first part of this program aimed at ending illegal fishing practices. Most fishing in the park area in the early 1930s was done by local residents, some of whom caught large quantities to feed their families. Pioneer fishing methods, such as putting a seine net across a creek or killing fish with dynamite, were still in use.[3] Park regulations prescribed that fishing could only be done by hook and line and imposed a minimum size limit of eight inches for bass, seven inches for rainbow trout, and six inches for brook trout, and a creel limit of ten bass and twenty trout per day. The superintendent also closed numerous waters for restocking, with each closure indicated by signs. In successive press releases Eakin insisted that the unpopular closures would be "rigidly enforced."[4] The park would be rife with violations for many years, but the regulations gradually worked a change in how the local population treated the fishery.

The next part of Eakin's program entailed fish planting. Eakin broached the possibility of securing fingerlings from federal fish hatcheries with officials of the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries in Washington shortly before he went to Great Smoky Mountains in January 1931. Three months later, after discussions with several local game wardens and sportsmen, Eakin made his first application to the Bureau of Fisheries: he wanted 80,000 rainbow trout fingerlings for stocking Forney Creek and Twentymile Creek in North Carolina, and Cosby Creek, Jakes Creek, and the West Fork of Little River in Tennessee. At this time, Eakin had little concern about planting an exotic species in park waters. "Experience in this country has proven that rainbow trout do best and they predominate to within about two miles of the extreme heads of the creeks where eastern brook trout are found," he wrote. The headwaters had relatively little fishing pressure, and knowledgeable sources had assured him that there were "plenty of eastern brook trout in the smaller streams at present."[5]

The Bureau of Fisheries wanted the park administration



The brook trout (top) is the only trout native to the Smokies. Rainbow trout (bottom) though highly revered by anglers, is a non-native and has been a constant detriment to brook trout populations.

to develop rearing ponds in the park so that the trout fingerlings could grow to adult size before being released. Eakin immediately had an experimental rearing pond built on Deep Creek, and 50,000 rainbow trout were placed in the pond in July 1931.[6] However, Acting Director Arno B. Cammerer instructed Eakin to go slow in this area of park administration, as it appeared to involve development when the Park Service was not yet authorized to develop the park. Eakin replied that he was "extremely sorry" that the restocking program had been ruled as a development measure and recommended that the ruling be reconsidered.[7] This is how matters stood until the advent of the CCC two years later, when Eakin obtained a labor force with which to begin construction of other rearing ponds and a fish hatchery. In the meantime, Eakin authorized the Izaak Walton League to plant 400,000 rainbow trout eggs in park waters. These were placed in West Prong, Middle Prong, and Panther Creek (a tributary of Abrams Creek) in the winter of 1932-33.[8]

Eakin started on the third part of his fish restocking program in 1935 when he got authorization to build a fish hatchery at Smokemont. The site was chosen for its proximity to the confluence of Bradley Fork and the Oconaluftee River. Initiated with a $20,000 allotment of WPA funds, it was built with a combination of WPA and CCC labor during 1935-36. The facility included rearing ponds, a small diversion dam, pipe line, and administrative buildings.[9] Later, the CCC developed more rearing ponds at Chimneys and Cades Cove.

As Eakin's fish restocking program got into full swing, two biologists began to advise Eakin and the Park Service leadership about the fisheries problems at Great Smoky Mountains. The first of these was Willis King, a young Ph.D. candidate employed by the CCC as an assistant wildlife technician from 1934 to 1940. His stream studies would provide a foundation for all subsequent research on the trout fishery at Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The second biologist was David H. Madsen, a fish culture expert with the Bureau of Fisheries who came over to the Park Service in 1935. His position was in the Park Service's Wildlife Division, which was based in Berkeley, California, though Madsen kept his former office in Salt Lake City. As the agency's new supervisor of fish resources, Madsen visited the Smokies in the winter of 1935-36 and consulted with Eakin and King on fish matters through the rest of the decade. In the spring of 1936, Madsen raised the issue of whether stocking rainbow trout would further jeopardize the position of native brook trout in park waters — a problem that would lie at the heart of fish management at Great Smoky Mountains for the next 40 years. Describing the hatchery, rearing pools, and fish plants as "a very extensive program," Madsen stated in April 1936 that the job now before the park administration was to determine how to protect native trout in those headwaters where they still predominated, and to improve sport fishing opportunities in all other park waters where rainbow had become the dominant species.[10] This was Madsen's interpretation of how the Park Service's preservation-and-use mission ought to be applied to fisheries management at Great Smoky Mountains.

The situation in the Smokies undoubtedly influenced Office Order No. 323, a major policy statement on fish management for the entire national park system, which Director Cammerer announced on April 13, 1936. Historian Richard Sellars writes that this order was "almost certainly prepared by Madsen."[11] It seems that Madsen developed the policy statement while in the midst of correspondence with Eakin and King, and in fact, some of its language mirrors points Madsen made to Eakin and King about potential conflicts between stocking exotics and protecting natives in the park. The policy clearly tried to establish that when preservation and use were in conflict, preservation was the Park Service's higher calling. However, that principle was difficult to put into practice, especially when a park had two people such as Eakin and King who were keen to improve the sport fishery. Since the policy spoke so directly to conditions at Great Smoky Mountains, it is worth quoting at length:

> No introduction of exotic species of fish shall be made in national park or monument waters now containing only native species.
>
> In waters where native and exotic species now exist, the native species shall be definitely encouraged.

> In waters where exotic species are best suited to the environment and have proven of higher value for fishing purposes than native species, plantings of exotics may be continued with the approval of the Director and the superintendent of the park in which such waters are located.
>
> It is the definite purpose of this policy to prohibit the wider distribution of exotic species of fish within the national parks and monuments, and to encourage a thorough study of the various park waters to the end that a more definite policy of fish planting may be reached.
>
> In waters where the introduction of exotic species threatens extinction of native species in an entire national park or monument area, such plantings should be discontinued and every effort made to restore the native species to its normal status.[12]

By 1936, King had established that brook trout occupied most of the headwaters in the park above 3,000 feet elevation, while rainbow occupied the lower reaches of those same streams. King thought the brook trout had once thrived in park waters below the 3,000 elevation level, but that its range had dwindled to about a fourth of its original extent, mainly due to a rise in water temperatures as a result of deforestation from logging. He thought brook trout could not thrive in water temperatures warmer than 68 degrees Fahrenheit. With the decline of brook trout populations, the introduced rainbow had freely occupied the brook trout's former range. King predicted that as forests recovered and streams once again became shaded, brook trout would reclaim their former range in the park. In the meantime, rainbow would provide a substitute.[13]

Madsen was less sanguine. If the Park Service did not take steps to protect the native trout in its diminished habitat, he argued, there was a danger that rainbow would take over. Madsen proposed that the Park Service experiment with the making of fish dams to keep the two populations apart. The dams could be covered with large rocks so as to make each one appear like a natural waterfall. "Stock the waters below with rainbow," he suggested to Eakin, "devise some means of taking as many rainbow from the waters above as possible, give the natives adequate protection, determine what reproduction of rainbow is taking place in the upper waters." In short, Madsen argued that the Park Service needed to ensure that the native trout were secure in their sanctuaries before proceeding at full steam with the restocking program.[14]

Eakin and King chose not to heed Madsen's advice, but rather to assume that the native species was adequately protected if rainbow were planted only in those waters where rainbow already predominated, and no fish except brook trout were planted in those waters where brook trout still thrived. (Generally the 3,000-foot elevation level described the boundary line, but in some streams natural barriers served. King described fish plants of 37,700 trout (virtually all rainbow) in 1935, 151,650 trout (over 90 percent rainbow) in 1936; 250,093 trout (60 percent rainbow) in 1937; and 196,500 trout (60 percent rainbow) in 1938. The planting was carried out by seven CCC camps located throughout the park.[15]

As the fish planting reached full steam, Eakin had to admit that the Kephart Prong fish hatchery was not producing as many fish as expected. The hatchery had two rearing ponds, one for brook trout and one for rainbow, and in both ponds the fingerlings died unaccountably in mass numbers. Various adjustments were made in how water was piped into the ponds in order to change the ponds' oxygen content. Finally the problem was traced to the water supply itself, but it was not until many years later that researchers understood the problem's origins. Road construction in the upper watershed had exposed Anakeesta rock formations, which leached a toxic combination of ferrous sulfate, sulfuric acid, and metals into the Oconaluftee River. Brook trout were more sensitive than rainbow to the pollution, but both species were sickened by it, and in their weakened state the hatchery fish often succumbed to disease.[16]

With the termination of the CCC in 1942, fish planting ended for the duration of the war years. Park officials wondered how to protect park waters from being over-fished again. Eakin sought to close certain streams in order to protect stocks until fish planting could be resumed after the war. All of Eakin's recommended closures covered the more accessible waters below 3000 feet, which contained rainbow. Madsen and others suggested that these closures might push anglers into the headwaters of those streams to the detriment of brook trout. They advised that the list of stream closures ought to be revised both by opening some of the lower, accessible streams and by closing some of the higher streams containing the native species. Eakin compromised, keeping open two accessible streams that he had recommended for closure. Another factor weighing in his decision, he explained to the acting regional director, was that wartime conditions had reduced the number of wardens on his staff, making closures of the more remote streams difficult to enforce.[17]

Fish Management Outsourced

The next stage of fisheries management began after World War II and lasted until the mid-1970s. It was marked by constant concern about how to optimize recreational fishing in

the park as well as growing concern about the fate of the eastern brook trout. After Eakin, there was no dominant personality behind the fish stocking program. As the Park Service terminated its Wildlife Division and moved most of its biologists into the Fish and Wildlife Service, King took a fisheries job with the state of North Carolina. (In 1950, King worked for the state of Tennessee, and in the mid-1950s he returned to the Park Service in the regional office in Atlanta.) In the absence of strong Park Service leadership, fisheries management and research were largely delegated to the Fish and Wildlife Service. Not until the arrival of Superintendent Boyd Evison in 1975 did the Park Service reassert leadership in this area of park administration.

In the immediate postwar years, the states of Tennessee and North Carolina tried to assert control over fish management in the park. The first scuffle occurred over the Kephart Fish Hatchery, which the Fish and Wildlife Service had taken over and practically moth-balled during World War II. When the Park Service proposed to close the hatchery due to its poor performance and its run-down condition after the war, state officials protested and raised concerns about whether the park was prepared to meet the needs of a growing number of anglers. Representative Monroe M. Redden (D-NC) weighed in on the states' behalf. The Fish and Wildlife Service, for its part, indicated that it would only operate the hatchery if the Park Service was willing to open more waters to fishing and stock them with full-size fish; otherwise the hatchery was not justified. The Park Service prevailed and the hatchery was permanently closed but state officials remained dissatisfied. In 1950, Tennessee officials (headed by Willis King) seriously proposed that the states participate in a trout management program for park waters, with the states undertaking creel censuses, stocking, licensing, and enforcement of fishing regulations by state wardens. The regional director politely declined the offer.[18]

Behind this disagreement was a concern that fish stocks in the park were again being depleted. In 1947, Lloyd L. Smith, Jr., assistant chief of the Park Service's small Biology Division, produced a report titled "Recommendations for Management of Great Smoky Mountains National Park Fishery." Smith emphasized that sport fishing use of the park was heavy and increasing. With park waters constituting about 20 to 30 percent of good trout fishing waters in the southern Appalachians, the fishery attracted local residents within about a 50 to 100 mile radius. To meet this demand, it would be necessary to undertake "intensive fishery management," Smith stated. By intensive management, Smith meant the use of scientific investigation and inventory to increase crop yield. Like intensive forest management, intensive fishery management assumed that with more input the resource would produce an even greater output. Park Service policy did not generally contemplate "intensive fishery management" in national parks, Smith allowed, but the important position of Great Smoky Mountains' fishery in the region made it an exceptional case. Smith recommended that the park acquire a full-time biologist and two part-time technicians to monitor changes in fish populations and determine annual utilization of fishes by the public. He concluded, "Approximately 15,000 catchable-sized rainbow should be planted in park streams annually until creel census and investigation show greater need."[19]

Although the park did not obtain the specialized staff that Smith recommended, and therefore could not conduct systematic creel censuses or angler surveys, park managers had other indications that fishing pressure was increasing. Tennessee's sales of non-resident fishing permits, for example, grew year by year. In 1947, Smith had estimated that fishing pressure amounted to 15,000 to 20,000 angler days per year. In 1949, park rangers conducted a small survey and estimated the load at 32,000 angler days per year. Based on these assessments, Superintendent John Preston asked for a 50 percent increase in the fish plant, or an additional 7,000 fish on top of the 15,000 that the park was obtaining each year from the Fish and Wildlife Service. Acknowledging that park waters had a limited carrying capacity, Preston nonetheless doubted whether an additional 7,000 fish distributed around the park's 400 miles of fishing waters "would do serious damage."[20]

Rather than augmenting the yearly plant, however, the Park Service asked the Fish and Wildlife Service to assign a fishery research biologist to Great Smoky Mountains National Park. In 1953, Dr. Robert Lennon began nearly a decade of research studies in the park. Keeping with tradition, his inquiries focused on the park administration's two main concerns: how to optimize trout fishing opportunities in the park, and how to protect or even reestablish brook trout in streams where populations had been reduced or destroyed by severe floods or droughts. During his long association with the park, Lennon surveyed more than a third of its fishable streams, developing estimates of population size and standing crop biomass for both native and rainbow trout. He also conducted the first extensive survey of anglers. His research led to various salutary changes in the park's fishing regulations such as a 7-inch size limit, a creel limit of just five fish, and prohibition of live bait fishing. Most importantly, the park designated certain streams for catch-and-release fishing only. Still a relatively new concept, "fishing for fun" was quickly embraced by the public.[21]

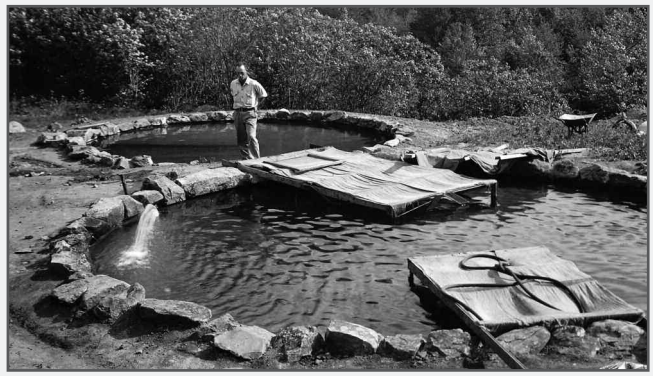
Lennon's investigations of brook trout populations led him to conclude that they were still in decline. As in the

1930s, the brook trout were limited principally to headwater streams above 3,000 feet elevation. Contrary to expectations, there had been no significant extension of range to lower areas accompanying reforestation. Where brook trout and rainbow shared the same habitat, the latter species was predominant. Lennon found numerous indications that brook trout were not thriving, such as a lop-sided sex ratio among adults and low fecundity in the females. He also found evidence of genetic differences between native brook trout and northern brook trout that had been introduced in park waters from New England, Pennsylvania, and Canada. He suggested that the native brook trout were a distinct "Southern Appalachian strain of brook trout," and he believed that the remnant populations in the park must be given greater protection from fishing pressure and habitat loss if they were to survive.[22]

Under Lennon's guidance, the park experimented with chemical agents to poison and eradicate noxious fish populations and reclaim stream habitat for desired fish species. The chemical agent was Rotenone, which worked by causing capillaries in the fishes' gills to constrict, suffocating them. While the poison broadly affected all fish species, it reputedly did not affect other aquatic life, which meant that the fishes' food supply was left intact. Furthermore, waters containing residual levels of Rotenone could be detoxified by a treatment of potassium permanganate. Thus a stream could be cleaned of all fish in one or two days and then restocked with the desired species of fish only a few days later.[23] Rotenone was used in the reclamation of two park streams in 1957, one to help the brook trout situation and the other to improve the sport fishery.

The first experiment with Rotenone was made on Indian Creek, a small tributary of Deep Creek. Brook trout were native to this creek, but rainbow trout had taken over all but its upper reaches. Rotenone was put into the creek at the upper limit of the rainbow's range. When the bolt of poison reached the junction with Deep Creek, potassium permanganate solution was applied to detoxify the water as it entered Deep Creek. Just as desired, it seemed that the eradication of fish in lower Indian Creek was rather thorough while fish mortality in Deep Creek was minimal. This treatment was followed by planting 12,000 fingerling brook trout in Indian Creek. Lennon reported, "the National Park Service approved the Indian Creek experiment since it is a matter of policy to preserve native species or to seek their restoration wherever possible."[24]

Judged a success, the experiment paved the way for a much larger stream reclamation project – one that involved very different circumstances and led to some unfortunate consequences. In the spring of 1957, the Aluminum Corporation of America had recently completed its dam on the Little Tennessee River at Chilhowee, Tennessee and was preparing to close the gates and create a 17,000-acre reservoir bordering the southwest corner of the national park. The reservoir would inundate the lower sections of Abrams Creek, Panther Creek, Tabcat Creek, and Shop Creek in the park. The Tennessee Game and Fish Commission expected to stock the reservoir with rainbow trout. Accordingly, the commission proposed that all waters lying within the impoundment area or immediately tributary to it be treated with Rotenone to eradicate various undesirable species of fish before they had a chance to infest the new lake. Just two days after the Indian Creek reclamation, a meeting was held at park headquarters between the park, the Fish and Wildlife Service, the Tennessee Game and Fish Commission, and TVA. The Park Service and the Fish and Wildlife Service agreed to eradicate all fish along the lower 17 miles of Abrams Creek and the bottom of Panther Creek. In a synchronized operation, the Tennessee Game and Fish Commission would similarly treat all other waters outside the park. This operation was not to benefit the native brook trout, but rather to assist the state in establishing rainbow in what would become Calderwood Lake.[25]



In the early years the Park Service focused on raising fish in hatcheries to restore waters depleted by unregulated logging and recreational fishing.

The state furnished the park with 150 gallons of Rotenone, and a maintenance crew assisted in backpacking five-gallon containers of the chemical to various remote stations, including Abrams Falls. An odd feature of this reclamation project was that the Tennessee Game and Fish Commission gave it advance publicity, informing local people that the dead fish would be safe to collect and eat. The park announced that no permit would be required to pick up dead fish, although each person's "take" would be limited to 7 trout, 10 bass, 10 sauger, 7 walleye, 30 crappie, 30 white bass, and 30 bluegill. On the eve of the appointed day, Abrams Creek Campground overflowed with interested fish collectors. The Park Service assigned two of its own person-

nel to collect and preserve representative dead fish, and two more personnel to man checking stations for canvassing the public on what they collected. On June 8, 1957, Rotenone was dripped into the creek over a six-hour period, and a total of 3,233 fish were reported killed from it. In the short run, it was deemed a success.[26]

The final report on this project blithely stated, "thirteen species can be added to the park list of fishes as a result of the collections on Abrams Creek."[27] On further analysis, however, one of these specimens was classified as a separate species of catfish known as the Smoky Mountain Madtom. It appeared that the Rotenone poisoning had wiped out the only known population of this little catfish in the world. Moreover, as certain rare species of fish were listed under the Endangered Species Act in the 1970s, park officials grew concerned that the Rotenone poisoning might have eliminated three other species — yellowfin madtoms, duskytail darters, and spotfin chubs — from the only creek in the park where they occurred. In the late 1980s, the park cooperated with biologists at the University of Tennessee in an effort to reintroduce these rare species in Abrams Creek. About three years after the release, one smoky madtom and one spotfin chub were collected almost at the site of release during a stream monitoring survey of Abrams Creek. With no evidence of reproduction, it appeared that the reintroduction had not been successful.[28]

Years after the event, the chemical treatment of Abrams Creek was viewed as a disaster. "It was the most catastrophic thing I know of that has happened to the park," said Stephen E. Moore, the park's fishery biologist, in 1998. Use of the poison appeared particularly reckless in view of its ultimate futility, as the trash fish that it had meant to eliminate soon reappeared, evidently swimming downstream from refuges that the Rotenone's curtain of death had missed.[29]

New Priorities

The third phase in fisheries management began with a new seriousness about the Park Service's longstanding commitment to protect native species. When brook trout restoration finally claimed first priority, other changes in the fishery program logically followed. Stocking of rainbow was rapidly phased out, fishing regulations were tightened further, and the park acquired a fishery biologist, Stephen E. Moore — its first on staff since Willis King. The next two decades were a time of experimentation in stream habitat restoration and increased monitoring and research. By the first decade of the twenty-first century, there were positive signs that the park's native trout was on the road to recovery.

Winds of change were blowing in the early 1970s. Ronald D. Jones, a biologist with the Fish and Wildlife Service, began making stream population surveys in 1970. After a few years he affirmed what Lennon had long suspected: planting of rainbow in park waters was contributing to the brook trout's gradual demise. When this information got out to Trout Unlimited, a conservation group, people in that organization started agitating for an end to the artificial stocking program. In 1973, Nathaniel P. Reed, the Nixon administration's ecologically-minded assistant secretary of the interior for fish, wildlife and parks, paid a visit to the park and spoke with Trout Unlimited. After returning to Washington, he fired off a memorandum to the regional director: "A complete review of fisheries management should be initiated with the goal of returning all trout streams to high quality, low kill, native species management. I want *all* stocking schedules closely reviewed with termination of catchable released trout as an objective."[30] Superintendent Vincent Ellis responded defensively to Reed's memo, assuring the regional director that change was on the way— pending the completion of further studies.[31] "We believe that management decisions must be based on data derived from research and management studies and certainly the development of a long range fishery management program must be predicated upon such information." It seemed that changing direction was like turning a battleship. Park Ranger Marion W. Myers, who was as familiar with fisheries as anyone on the park staff, wrote a detailed memo to Chief Ranger Richard A. Moeller in which he described several areas of conflict between stocking rainbow and protecting brook trout. "How far should the park go in providing a fishery recreation in the Park?" he asked pointedly.[32]

When Boyd Evison became superintendent in June 1975, he brought a stronger ecological perspective together with a more action-oriented management style. That summer was the first without artificial stocking since the early 1930s, and the following summer the native species received full protection under the park fishing regulations. Rather than trust anglers to distinguish between rainbow and brook trout, Evison closed all waters containing brook trout including those sections of streams that contained both species.[33] In June 1976, he took the unusual step of nominating the "Southern Appalachian Brook Trout" for listing as a threatened species. Evison co-signed the nomination with George Alan Kelly, the Fish and Wildlife Service's new biologist assigned to Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Although he did not expect the trout to be listed, since it was at most only a subspecies of the eastern brook trout, Evison hoped the nomination would "secure more money for the Fish and Wildlife Service work on our brook trout." Included with the nomination were letters of support by Lennon and King.[34]

Evison's next step was to investigate ways to restore native trout to their former range. There were two parts to this problem. First, managers had to find a way to eradicate the trout's main competitor, the rainbow trout. Use of poison was ruled out based on the park's bad experience with Abrams Creek, so an alternative means had to be found and it was decided to experiment with electrofishing. Second, managers needed to learn what made an effective barrier to trout swimming upstream. Without a barrier, rainbow would simply recolonize a section of stream from which they had been removed, undoing whatever restoration was accomplished. Research was initiated on both problems at once and the program was formalized in an Interim Brook Trout Management Plan, completed and approved in 1978. Public hearings on the plan were held in Maryville and Sevierville, Tennessee, and Bryson City and Waynesville, North Carolina. Altogether the meetings drew just over 100 people, a relatively light attendance, which the Park Service took as a sign of the public's general approval.[35]

If brook trout restoration did not face much challenge politically, successful implementation of the plan still faced enormous obstacles in nature. The technique of electrofishing, though environmentally benign, could not obtain decisive results. Historian Brown has described what the technique looked like. "When two electric wands with opposite charges were placed on the water, all life in the stream become temporarily stunned; biologists moved into the water, quickly sorting the fish and putting them into containers. Before the rainbows knew what hit them, they were transported below a physical barrier, such as a waterfall, that prevented them from moving upstream, leaving the brookies to multiply."[36] Unfortunately, this method could never achieve 100 percent removal of the rainbow. The Park Service experimented with deploying larger crews, which consisted of a lead person with electrofishing backpack unit and one or two assistants. It tried making multiple removals in the same stream in one season. It sought to correlate the efficiency of electrofishing removals with stream morphology to learn whether fish escapes were a function of stream width or depth. Experimentation with electrofishing continued year after year without achieving the level of success required. If even a small remnant of the population escaped capture, the rainbow soon came back.[37]

Even when the Park Service thought it had completely eradicated rainbow from a section of stream, the exotic trout returned. Stephen Moore, who first got involved in this effort as a graduate student at the University of Tennessee in the late 1970s and subsequently joined the park staff, discovered that rainbow simply defied the textbook definition of what would constitute a barrier to their movement upstream. "We realized we didn't really know what a barrier was, though we thought they were in the 7½ foot to 9½ foot range," Moore explained. "We learned that you can't statistically define these waterfalls — it can't be done." So Moore and his colleagues tried a new approach they called "mark and move." For each separate stream restoration effort, individual rainbows were captured, marked, moved to a point below the theoretical barrier, and released. The trout would try to go home, so if none of these marked fish were picked up again above the cascade, then the cascade could be classified as an effective barrier. On the other hand, if any did reappear then managers knew it would be a waste of effort to attempt restoration there.[38]

After two decades of native trout restoration work, only a few miles of stream habitat had been restored. Meanwhile, the brook trout appeared to be losing ground before a new threat: acid rain deposition, which had the most severe effects in those high elevation areas that composed the brook trout's last refuge. In light of this new concern, fishery managers decided to take another look at the use of chemical treatments for restoring native trout. In 1996, the park staff began to evaluate the potential use of a chemical piscicide known as Fintrol, or antimycin. A pilot project on Sams Creek was devised, and an environmental assessment was completed in 2000. Like the use of Rotenone on Indian and Abrams creeks in 1957, the use of antimycin was accompanied by detoxification of the water with potassium permanganate immediately afterwards. The Sams Creek experiment differed from the earlier applications in two important ways. First, Moore chose to involve the angler community by inviting anglers to remove as many trout as possible from Sams Creek prior to the chemical treatment. Some 228 anglers participated, catching 250 fish or about 30 percent of the estimated trout population in Sams Creek. Second, the chemical treatment was followed by a two-year study of its effects on non-target aquatic species, including salamanders, crayfish, and insects. Results showed that total taxa were reduced by up to 25 percent immediately following the treatment, but within four months to a year there was a complete recovery of the pre-treatment community. The Sams Creek restoration was deemed a success and a likely model for future restoration efforts.[39]

[1] Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 80.

[2] W. T. Combs, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park a Trout Fishing Paradise," *Atlantic Sportsman* 2, no. 9 (September 1933): 198, 213.

[3] Stephen E. Moore, Bromfield L. Ridley, and Gary L. Larson, *Changes in Standing Crop of Brook Trout Concurrent with Removal of Exotic Trout Species, Great Smoky Mountains National Park*, Research/ Resources Management Report No. 37 (Gatlinburg, TN: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1981), 3; Matt S. Thomas to J. R. Eakin, February 2, 1933, File 714, Box 11, GRSM – General Correspondence 1933-53, RG 79, NASER.

[4] Press releases, March 4, 1932, and May 25, 1932, File 208-06 Part 1, Box 303, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[5] J. R. Eakin to Fred J. Foster, April 20, 1931, File 714, Box 11, GRSM – General Correspondence 1933-53, RG 79, NASER.

[6] J. R. Eakin to The Director, July 1931, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM.

[7] Lewis Radcliffe to J. R. Eakin, August 1, 1931, Eakin to The Director, August 4, 1931, Arno B. Cammerer to Eakin, August 6, 1931, and Eakin to The Director, August 8, 1931, File 208-06 Part 1, Box 303, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[8] Matt S. Thomas to J. R. Eakin, February 2, 1933, File 714, Box 11, GRSM – General Correspondence 1933-53, RG 79, NASER.

[9] A. E. Demaray to Charles E. Jackson, September 18, 1935, and J. R. Eakin to David H. Madsen, November 1, 1935, File 714, Box 1138, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[10] David H. Madsen to J. R. Eakin, April 8, 1936, File 714, Box 1138, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[11] Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 124. See also David H. Madsen, "A National Park Service Fish Policy," in *American Planning and Civic Annual*, ed. by Harlean Jones (Washington: American Planning and Civic Association, 1938): 92-94.

[12] Office Order No. 323 Fish Policy, April 13, 1936, in Dilsaver, ed., *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents*, 149.

[13] Moore, Ridley, and Larson, *Changes in Standing Crop of Brook Trout*, 3; Stephen E. Moore, Matt A. Kulp, John Hammonds, and Bruce Rosenlund, *Restoration of Sams Creek and an Assessment of Brook Trout Restoration Methods, Great Smoky Mountains National Park*, Technical Report/ NPS/NRWRD/ NRTR-2005/342 (Fort Collins: National Park Service, 2005), 2; Willis King, "Trout Management Studies at Great Smoky Mountains National Park," *Journal of Wildlife Management* 6, no. 2 (April 1942): 154.

[14] David H. Madsen to J. R. Eakin, April 8, 1936, File 714, Box 1138, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[15] Willis King, Record of Trout Stocked in Streams at Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, File 714, Box 1138, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Press release, July 2, 1937, File 885-01, Box 1153, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II. See also Willis King, "General Status and Program for Wildlife Conservation, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," File 885.01, Box 1153, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II. King supervised a program of stream restoration, clearing the streams of accumulations of debris, slash, and logs left by logging operations, which were removed to allow the streams to resume their natural course.

[16] J. R. Eakin to The Director, June 24, 1940, File 714, Box 1138, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Brown, *The Wild East*, 137.

[17] C. P. Russell to Acting Regional Director, March 4, 1943, J. R. Eakin to Acting Regional Director, March 9, 1943, John T. Needham to Superintendent, March 9, 1943, and Acting Regional Director to The Director, March 17, 1943, File 208-06, Box 1089, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[18] Blair Ross to Regional Director, March 19, 1946, Thomas Allen to Director, March 28, 1946, Acting Director to Director, July 12, 1948, and Hillory A. Tolson to John Jennings, Jr., July 23, 1948, File 620-30, Box 1132, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Willis King to Charles Ray, January 18, 1947, and Newton B. Drury to Monroe M. Redden, June 4, 1948, Miscellaneous Records 1947-48, National Park, Parkway, and Forests Development Commission Collection, NCSA; Allen to Director, April 17, 1950, File N1423, Box 2303, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[19] Lloyd L. Smith, Jr., "Recommendations for Management of Great Smoky Mountains National Park Fishery," June 27, 1947, File 620-30, Box 1132, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Samuel P. Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 21.

[20] Superintendent to Regional Director, February 9, 1952, File N1423, Box 2303, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[21] Eastern Federal Waters Investigations Annual Report of Progress for Fiscal Year 1957, Superintendent to Regional Director, April 4, 1955, Director (Fish and Wildlife Service) to Director (National Park Service), April 20, 1956, and Robert E. Lennon, "Angling on Little Pigeon River, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1953," Special Scientific Report: Fisheries No. 121, File N1423, Box 41, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER; Mark Alston, Jerry West, Mark MacKenzie, and Norbert McKinney, *Historical Overview of Fisheries Studies and Sport Fisheries Monitoring Plan for Great Smoky Mountains National Park*, Research/Resources Management Report SER-78 (National Park Service, Southeast Region, Uplands Field Research Laboratory, 1984), 6; Clayton Davis, "Fishing for Fun," *Wildlife in North Carolina* 24, no. 6 (June 1960): 7.

[22] Robert E. Lennon, *Brook Trout of Great Smoky Mountains National Park* (Washington: Department of the Interior, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, 1967), 16.

[23] Robert E. Lennon and Phillip S. Parker, "The Reclamation of Indian Creek, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1957," File 1423, Box 41, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[24] Robert E. Lennon and Phillip S. Parker, "The Reclamation of Indian Creek, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1957," File 1423, Box 41, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[25] Robert E. Lennon and Phillip S. Parker, "The Reclamation of Abrams Creek, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1957," File N1423, Box 41, Administrative Files -GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[26] Robert E. Lennon and Phillip S. Parker, "The Reclamation of Abrams Creek, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1957," File N1423, Box 41, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[27] Robert E. Lennon and Phillip S. Parker, "The Reclamation of Abrams Creek, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1957," File N1423, Box 41, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[28] Brown, *The Wild East*, 294; Superintendent's Annual Report, 1993.

[29] Steve Moore, interview by Theodore Catton, April 17, 2007.

[30] Long Distance Telephone Call Record, July 17, 1973, and Nathaniel P. Reed to David D. Thompson, Jr., May 21, 1973, File N1423, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[31] Superintendent to Regional Director, July 18, 1973, File 1423, Headquarters Attic

Administrative Files, GRSM.

[32] Park Ranger to Chief Park Ranger, October 3, 1975, File N1423, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[33] "Brook trout fishing banned," *Gatlinburg Press*, January 13, 1976.

[34] Superintendent to Regional Director, June 29, 1976, enclosing Acting Project Leader to Regional Director, June 25, 1976, File N2217, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[35] Moore interview; Superintendent's Annual Report for 1978; Superintendent to Regional Director, July 28, 1978, Richard A. Moeller, Public Meetings – Brook Trout Restoration Summary Report, July 28, 1978, Robert Gibbs to Regional Director, July 28, 1978, and Regional Director to Superintendent, July 31, 1978, File N1619, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[36] Brown, *The Wild East*, 263.

[37] Brown, *The Wild East*, 290-91; Stephen E. Moore, Matt A. Kulp, John Hammonds, and Bruce Rosenlund, *Restoration of Sams Creek and an Assessment of Brook Trout Restoration Methods, Great Smoky Mountains National Park*, Technical Report NPS/NRWRD/NRTR-2005/342 (Fort Collins, Colorado: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Water Resources Division, 2005), 3-4.

[38] Moore interview.

[39] Moore et al, *Restoration of Sams Creek and an Assessment of Brook Trout Restoration Methods, Great Smoky Mountains National Park*, passim.

Chapter Fourteen

Biological Monitoring

The amazing diversity of life in Great Smoky Mountains National Park made it a natural testing ground for new approaches to biological inventory and monitoring. Since the 1960s, three separate initiatives distinguished this park as one of the leading centers of biological scientific research in the national park system. The first initiative was the creation of Uplands Field Research Laboratory in 1975. Working with universities, Oak Ridge National Laboratory, and other research institutions, this unit raised biological studies in the park to a new level and oversaw the start of a long-term air quality monitoring program. The second initiative developed after 1993 when Great Smoky Mountains was selected as one of a handful of pilot parks for a congressionally-mandated biological inventory and monitoring program. The third initiative involved the park's positioning itself to become the site of the world's first complete All Taxa Biological Inventory, which ran for ten years commencing in 1998. These impressive advances in park science fulfilled those early pronouncements about the Smoky Mountains made in the 1920s when park campaigners had pointed to the area's singular biological diversity.

The Stupka Era

The park made a start toward biological inventory and monitoring several decades before the Uplands Field Research Laboratory existed. The emphasis in the early years was on biological "collecting." The goal of this activity was not so much to establish baseline data and monitor changes in the environment as it was to learn about the biota for educational purposes. For this reason, the work fell mainly to the park naturalist, Arthur Stupka, whose position came under the Park Service's Branch of Research and Interpretation. Besides developing an interpretive program, Stupka conducted field research, prepared the park's herbarium, and issued permits for qualified scientists to collect specimens in the park. At the Second Park Naturalists Conference, held at Grand Canyon in 1940, Stupka spoke on "Collecting Practice," explaining to his colleagues why, at Great Smoky Mountains, he issued more than double the number of collecting permits of any other national park and nearly a third of all collecting permits system-wide. It was due to the fact that the Smokies' remarkable diversity of plant life attracted botanists from all over the nation, placing him in a unique position to support the Park Service's policy of encouraging scientific investigation in the national parks. By rendering assistance to researchers, the park obtained an increasing number of specimens in its collections and a growing body of information in its files.[1] In the present day, some 65 years later, Keith Langdon, head of the park's inventory and monitoring program, says much the same thing. Asked what is the most critical function of the science program in the park today, Langdon says "we need to continue to be good hosts for scientists who want to come here." The park now issues about 200 collecting permits each year, roughly double the number in Stupka's era.[2]

Stupka came to the park in 1934 and served as park naturalist for 30 years until he retired in 1964. His voluminous field notes and meticulously labeled collections, which were recently moved from the Sugarlands Visitor Center to the Twin Creeks Science and Education Center, continue to serve the park's educational and resource protection functions. A testimonial about Stupka in 1946, written by Ralph Lewis who worked with him for several weeks on the park's first interpretive prospectus, provides insight about how Stupka went about his work. Lewis was impressed by Stupka's comprehensive knowledge of the park's botany and zoology and the "careful and systematic" way that he collected scientific observations. For example, Stupka recorded blooming dates for individual tree species year after year (valuable in today's context of climate change), and whenever Lewis asked about a particular fact Stupka "seemed able to pull out a file drawer and in a few moments back up his answer with records." The park naturalist also made a conscientious effort to keep abreast of new advances in the field of biology, subscribing to various scientific periodicals and annotating in the margins wherever the contents had a bearing on park problems. He was highly respected by scientists at the University of Tennessee with whom he interacted fairly regularly.[3]

Arthur Stupka came to the park in 1934 and served as park naturalist for 30 years until he retired in 1964. His voluminous field notes and meticulously labeled collections continue to serve the park's educational and resource protection functions.

While the Park Service's Branch of Research and Interpretation pushed for biological research primarily from an educational standpoint, the Park Service's Wildlife Division advocated biological research for the purpose of making informed natural resource management decisions. In this regard, biological research in the 1930s was more closely akin to biological inventory and monitoring that would develop later in the century. As historian Richard Sellars has written, biologists in the Park Service enjoyed more influence in the 1930s than they did for the next three decades or more, and this was largely due to the existence of the Wildlife Division in the Park Service organizational structure. Established by Albright in 1933, the Wildlife Division endured until 1940, when it was abolished and most Park Service biologists were transferred into the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.[4] During this period, the Branch of Research and Interpretation influenced biological research at the field level through the office of the park naturalist, while the Wildlife Division generally asserted its interests at the field level through a wildlife technician employed by the CCC. At Great Smoky Mountains National Park, this person was assistant wildlife technician Willis King, who served in the park from 1934 to 1940.

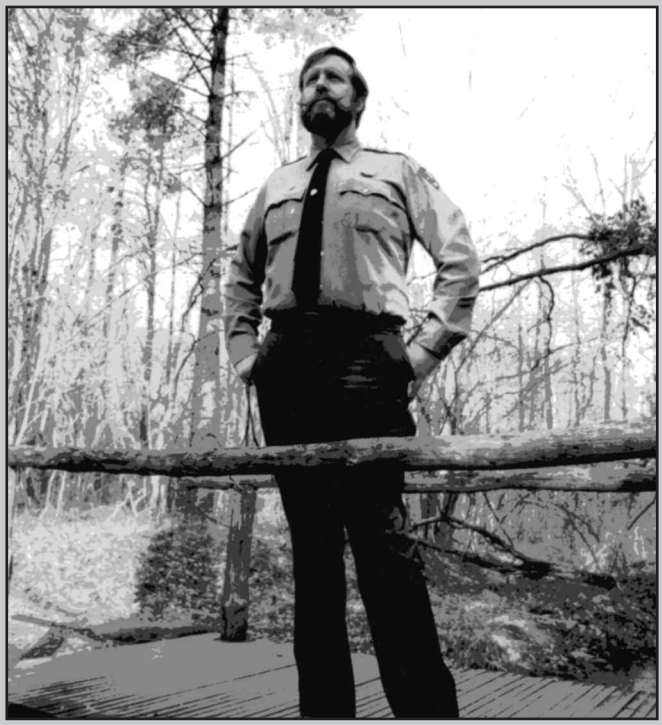
The Wildlife Division advocated an ecological approach to natural resource management in the national parks. In *Fauna of the National Parks,* which the division's top three biologists, George M. Wright, Ben H. Thompson, and Joseph Dixon, prepared in 1933, the authors declared that the goal of biological management in national parks should be to preserve, or even *restore*, faunal conditions to their original state. And what was this original state? Their answer to the question suggested a time horizon associated with the advent of Europeans or white Americans in any given area. "The rate of alteration in the faunal structure has been so rapid since, and relatively so slow before, the introduction of European culture, that the situation which obtained on the arrival of the settlers may well be considered as representing the original or primitive condition that it is desired to maintain."[5] This concept would be essentially restated in the landmark Leopold Report of 1963, which recommended as a primary goal of national park management: "the biotic associations within each park [should] be maintained, or where necessary recreated, as nearly as possible in the condition that prevailed when the area was first visited by the white man. A national park should represent a vignette of primitive America."[6]

Its ambitious goal for ecological management notwithstanding, the Wildlife Division had practically no budget for conducting scientific research; mostly it worked in an advisory capacity and took advantage of research opportunities

presented by the CCC. Wildlife technician King, for example, accomplished numerous stream surveys in Great Smoky Mountains as part of his work of coordinating the activities of the CCC. In 1939, King published a survey of amphibians and reptiles found in the Smokies in *The American Midland Naturalist*, describing the distribution of each species in relation to topography, climate, and vegetation. The article was drawn from his Ph.D. dissertation for the University of Cincinnati, which he had completed the year before.[7]

In February 1934, the Wildlife Division proposed a three-tiered land classification system for protecting natural values. Each park would contain developed areas, primitive areas, and research areas.[8] Research areas were to be relatively small preserves set aside primarily for the study of ecological succession. Fire protection would extend over research areas and backcountry use by the general public would be allowed in them; however, all waters in research areas were to be off-limits to fish stocking. King worked with the Wildlife Division in defining five research areas that were eventually established for Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The first and largest centered in the Raven Fork watershed. Containing 19,640 acres, it featured spruce and northern hardwood forests at higher elevations and cove hardwood forests at lower elevations, as well as a few areas of hemlock forest and a few heath balds. The other four were called "Biotic Succession Areas." One featured various other forest types as well as what was thought to be the largest stand of dead mature chestnut in the park, another covered a small sphagnum bog in the Deep Creek drainage, and the remaining two blanketed the tops of Gregory Bald and Andrews Bald.[9]

The research reserves represented the strongest commitment to preservation that the Park Service had yet devised. The reserves set aside in Great Smoky Mountains were not without controversy, however. After a windstorm blew down hundreds of trees on Andrews Bald in 1936, Superintendent Eakin requested permission to remove the fallen timber within this research area before it became a fire hazard. Park Service biologists, joined by Stupka, argued that this would be inconsistent with the research area designation. When Eakin refused to back down, Acting Director Demaray finally consented to the cleanup operation but only with the abolishment of the research area. As Sellars has observed, "Andrews Bald illustrated the vulnerability of the reserves to administrative discretion and, too, the vulnerability of research in the national parks. An area committed to serve research purposes over a long period of time was subject to sudden modification as a result of internal decision-making."[10]



In 1993 **Keith Langdon,** a natural resource specialist with a background in biogeography, was appointed coordinator for the park's new inventory and monitoring program. The overall aim was to identify long-range population trends.

The Uplands Field Research Laboratory

Biological research at Great Smoky Mountains National Park was minimal during the 1940s and 1950s. The Leopold Report of 1963 provided a new impetus for biological inventory and monitoring, yet the park lacked the necessary funding to conduct biological investigations on its own. After Stupka retired, university-based research in the park actually declined. Furthermore, there was a lack of coordination among those studies that did occur. Some studies made use of sample plots to investigate plant succession or monitor — information that was obviously useful to resource managers — but the park lost track of where these sample plots were located or never received adequate information about them in the first place, making it difficult or impossible to incorporate these projects into a biological monitoring program.[11]

In 1974, Raymond Herrmann, chief scientist in the Southeast Regional Office, recruited Susan Bratton to join the Park Service as a biologist at Great Smoky Mountains. Bratton was already known to the Park Service for her field research on beech forest ecology in the Smokies, a dissertation project that had included a major foray into the scientific literature on wild hogs. Herrmann wanted Bratton to develop her research on wild hogs for the use of park managers, and more broadly he wanted her to establish a regional science

field team in the park. Although Superintendent Ellis was lukewarm about this initiative, Bratton took the job. In 1975, the Park Service established the Uplands Field Research Laboratory, and it soon had a full-time staff of three research scientists: a plant ecologist (Dr. Bratton), a wildlife biologist (Dr. Frank Singer), and an aquatic ecologist (Dr. Gary Larson). In addition, the new science unit employed a number of seasonal and temporary student employees and technicians who supported the scientists both in the field and in the lab. Located initially in trailers at the Tremont Environmental Center, the science team was soon installed in the former superintendent's house at Twin Creeks at the behest of the new superintendent, Boyd Evison.[12]

Biological monitoring received a big boost when Great Smoky Mountains National Park was designated an international biosphere reserve by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1976. The designation was part of UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Program (MAB), whose aims were to improve understanding of the structure and functioning of the biosphere and its ecological regions, systematically observe changes in the biosphere brought about by humankind, and promote public education on these subjects. As originally conceived in 1970, MAB encompassed 14 projects, with Project 8 involving the development of an international network of biosphere reserves, or protected areas that were representative of ecological regions. Under MAB Project 8, research and monitoring within each biosphere reserve would contribute to a better understanding of healthy ecosystems.[13]

The MAB-8 goals dovetailed fairly closely with Park Service goals, but there were some differences. Due to its limited resources, the Park Service's prior efforts to moni - tor anthopogenic effects on the environment — such as the effects of past logging, the presence of introduced species, road construction, and acid rain deposition — had been relatively narrow in scope and oriented toward immediate management problems. The biosphere reserve designation caused the science team to broaden its outlook by putting greater emphasis on long-term projects and permanent sampling regimes and by considering the park's biological resources as part of a larger complex of genetic material extending throughout the southern Appalachian region.[14]

The biosphere reserve designation led Bratton to develop a new scheme for biological monitoring in the park, which she called "purposeful monitoring." Bratton's scheme borrowed from impact assessment methodology as exemplified in the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969. Both NEPA and MAB-8, Bratton reasoned, were predicated on "an increasing need to know, in advance, the environmental consequences of man's activities." Bratton's "purposeful monitoring" involved three steps: first, a predictive phase in which the biologist formed a specific hypothesis of change in the environment; next, a monitoring phase in which the biologist observed certain indicators that would test the hypothesis; and finally, an assessment phase in which the biologist interpreted data obtained from monitoring activity and tested the accuracy of the predictive model. Following this assessment, the model would be refined and the cycle of prediction-monitoring-assessment would begin anew. Purposeful monitoring was an "iterative process," Bratton explained, "designed to refine predictions and to identify measurable parameters that are diagnostic of ecosystem or population 'health.'"[15]

In 1979, the Uplands Field Research Laboratory, originally under the regional office, became an official division of the park. It still provided assistance to other units in the region but it focused mainly on the Smokies. That year, it had more than two dozen major research projects under way. These ranged from studies on the impacts and population dynamics of the wild boar, to measurement of human trampling and damage in backcountry campsites, to an investigation of interaction between rainbow and brook trout in certain, isolated, park waters. The highly motivated and dedicated laboratory staff produced a stream of management reports, reports to the superintendent, scientific articles, and conference papers. The support staff grew to five technicians on temporary appointments and 45 volunteers.[16]

In the early 1980s, the Uplands Field Research Laboratory went through a complete turnover of its senior staff. Singer left in 1980, and Bratton and Larson departed in 1981. Dr. John Peine, whose background was in the social sciences, was appointed research coordinator in 1981 and Dr. Peter White, a botanist, was hired that same year. Peine found faculty and graduate students at the University of Tennessee and other institutions in the area to take over most of the ongoing wildlife studies, while he searched for better funding to continue and expand the nascent air quality monitoring program. The aquatic ecology position vacated by Larson was left vacant. Despite these growing pains, a regional review team evaluated the Uplands Field Research Laboratory science program in 1982 and gave it high marks overall. It found the quality of research and the mechanisms for setting research priorities to be good. It praised the relationship between science staff and resource managers while recommending one specific change. Rather than making "black and white" recommendations to managers, the scientists needed to present options with an

analysis of consequences for each option.[17]

The science team did not have long to put this recommendation into practice, however, before a staff reorganization made the point practically moot. This staff reorganization, which had important consequences for the park's science program, occurred as part of a chain reaction in the Park Service that began, oddly enough, with a decision by Secretary of the Interior James Watt to "fire" the Park Service's regional director in Alaska, John E. Cook. As a Senior Executive Service (SES) federal employee, Cook was subject to "directed reassignment" at the Secretary of the Interior's whim (provided that the SES employee receive 120 days notice and another SES position). Watt used his prerogative to shuffle strong administrators out of his way, and as Cook had become a problem for Watt in Alaska the secretary requested that he take the job of superintendent at Great Smoky Mountains. In Cook's sardonic phrase, Watt sent him to the Smokies "to be rehabilitated." The position was temporarily upgraded to an SES-level position to accommodate the former regional director, and Cook moved into it in April 1983. Cook brought with him Dave Mihalic, who took the assistant superintendent position vacated by Jerry Eubanks, acting superintendent since December 1981. Then, in another move that flowed from political changes occurring at higher levels, Cook recruited Roland Wauer, former chief scientist in the Washington Office, to serve as a second assistant superintendent. This was another new position for the park. Cook secured the position for Wauer as part of a service-wide reorganization to move senior officials from Washington out to the field in order to cut administrative overhead. Cook saw that getting Wauer on his staff was key to enhancing the park's science program, since Wauer had an insider's knowledge of how to "manipulate the Washington money machine."[18]

These staff changes at the top of the park organization were the first step in a major staff reorganization that Cook instituted in the fall of 1983. The science staff was combined with the senior resource management staff in a new Division of Resource Management and Science, while most of the ranger force, formerly under the Division of Resource Management and Visitor Protection, was placed under a new Division of Ranger Activities. Mihalic was made assistant superintendent in charge of park operations and Wauer was made assistant superintendent for resource management and science.[19]

Wauer made the science program stronger at the same time that he integrated it more fully into park management. With Peine, he secured multi-year funding for more than 30 park-based research projects, including major funding for hog control, exotic plant control, and air quality studies. Approximately 15 percent of the science program's financial support came from park base funding, 35 percent came from the region, 10 percent from the Washington Office's Air Quality Program funds, and the remainder from outside sources.[20] The park's list of research partners expanded to include Oak Ridge National Laboratory, NASA, the Soil Conservation Service, and North Carolina State University.[21]

Peine, meanwhile, proved to be an energetic and innovative research administrator. He was a principal mover in putting together a conference on management of biosphere reserves, which the park hosted in Gatlinburg in November 1984.[22] He broadened the scope of the science program to include social science research, and he volunteered numerous ideas to his superiors in Washington on ways to improve the Park Service's overall science program, which he tended to view as overly decentralized.[23] Writing to the associate director for natural resources in 1988, Peine commented candidly on the continuing gulf that separated his science team from resource managers. "A research staff should be more a part of the team of people that sets the agenda for the resources management function as well as setting the agenda for the research tasks," he wrote. "We don't have that parity yet in the Smokies but we will get to it at some point in time."[24] After eleven years at Twin Creeks, Peine transferred to the University of Tennessee in Knoxville in 1992.

The following year, Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt created the National Biological Survey (NBS) with important consequences for the science program at Great Smoky Mountains. All research grade biologists in the Park Service (and in other Interior Department agencies) were transferred to the new agency. Babbitt's intent in creating the NBS was to foster an interagency ecosystem management approach and address land management issues on a national, regional, and local scale. His initiative was hampered from the outset, however, by suspicion on the part of private landowners, lack of support by Congress, and resistance from the federal agencies that had to give up their biologists. After a name change to National Biological Service, the fledgling agency was incorporated into the U.S. Geological Survey.[25]

As a result of the reorganization, four research scientists at the Uplands Field Research Laboratory were transferred to the USGS although their physical job locations remained in the park and they were eventually allowed to resume their work on park-oriented projects. Funding for air quality research suddenly dropped from $100,000 per year to nothing. The lab itself was dissolved and the facility was renamed the Twin Creeks Natural Resources Center. "It was

a time of turmoil," Keith Langdon remembers. "For whatever reason the connotation of the name 'research lab' was not helpful." Although the lab had been mostly under park administration since 1979, the name change appeared to signify a further step to ensure that the science program took direction from park management.[26]

Ironically, the science program at Great Smoky Mountains emerged from this upheaval stronger than at any previous time in its history. The park was selected as one of four parks to develop a prototype program for inventory and monitoring. Promoted at the national level, this program promised to add nearly a half million dollars annually to the park's base funding to conduct scientific, long-term inventory and monitoring of natural resources. As park scientists turned to implementing this program on the ground, they were laying the foundation for the Smokies' singular All-Taxa Biological Inventory, which would get underway half a decade later.[27]

Air Quality

A key component of biological monitoring at Great Smoky Mountains was measurement of air quality, since air pollution affected plant life and ecosystem health. In particular, rising ozone levels and acid rain deposition were found to be significant threats to the park. Ozone damaged plant foliage, while acid rain deposition altered the chemical composition of soil and water, threatening the health of trees and aquatic life. Air pollution also caused concern from the standpoint of how it affected visibility, and therefore visitor enjoyment. Fine particulate matter in the air scatters light, causing a whitish haze that obscures distant views. Few other national parks were so affected by hazy skies as Great Smoky Mountains, where scenic views were seriously impaired by regional air pollution.[28]

Air quality became a major issue in the park immediately following Congress's passage of the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1977. The act as amended classified large national parks, including Great Smoky Mountains, as Class I areas subject to the highest level of protection and enhancement of air quality. This did two things for the park: it required the states of Tennessee and North Carolina to consult the superintendent on any proposed development that would degrade air quality in the area, and it provided a source of funding for air quality monitoring.[29]

The park's air quality monitoring program began with the loan of an ozone monitor to the Uplands Field Research Laboratory and overflights of the park to measure ozone levels in the atmosphere. Scientists from the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) visited the park for one week in the summer of 1977 to take air, water, soil, and leaf samples. These preliminary tests gave credence to what was already widely suspected, that ozone levels were elevated and probably harming the biota. Bratton and Larson started designing a monitoring program for air pollution effects on vegetation and aquatic life based on sample vegetation plots and tests of water chemistry, respectively.[30]

Due to the high cost and complexity of atmospheric monitoring equipment, the monitoring program was spotty for the first decade. The park had to seek technical expertise and acquire instrumentation. EPA provided some assistance as did TVA — whose coal-fired electric power plants were known to be major sources of air pollution in the region. The park also received technical assistance from state and local air quality experts and the Park Service's new Air Quality Division (later renamed the Air Resources Division) located in Denver. Within three years of the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1977, the park superintendent was notified of six different proposals by Tennessee and North Carolina to build new power plants in the area, and in each case the superintendent forwarded the proposal to the Air Quality Division for recommendations. The Park Service needed reliable air quality data in order to take forceful stands against these development proposals.[31]

By the mid to late 1980s, monitoring of airborne pollutants was proceeding through numerous channels at once. The park maintained one monitoring station at Elkmont, established under the National Atmospheric Deposition Program, which measured nitrogen and sulfur deposition as well as 13 other parameters. It operated another monitoring station at Look Rock on the Foothills Parkway, in cooperation with three other agencies, which collected data on nitrogen, sulfur, ozone, hydrocarbons, fine aerosols, and six measures of climate conditions. Later, it installed a monitoring station on Clingmans Dome to measure ozone and the acidity of cloud water. In addition to the data collected from these stations, the park began to accumulate evidence of acid rain deposition and ozone damage from stream studies, surveys of lichen, and other indicators.[32] In 1989, Peine wrote to a superior in the regional office: "The researchers working in the Smokies and elsewhere in the Southern Appalachians are piecing together evidence which demonstrates that the severity of the air pollution problems may be as devastating here in the high elevation forests of the Southern Appalachians as anywhere on this continent."[33]

Two major threats to the biosphere were emerging. The first was associated with acid rain deposition, or more precisely, acid deposition from clouds. Most of the park's high-elevation streams and soils were highly sensitive to acidification. As clouds hovered in the high elevations dur-

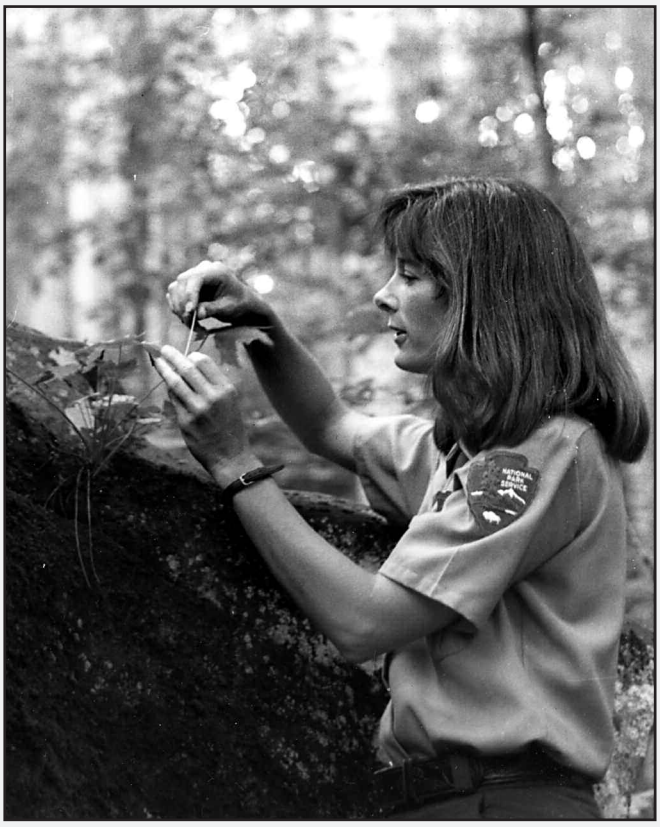
ing much of the growing season, soils became nitrogen-saturated, a condition that inhibits the ability of plants to absorb calcium and other soil nutrients. Spruce-fir forests on Clingmans Dome and at other high elevations in the park showed signs of increasing stress.[34] The second threat came from ozone pollution, which causes damage to leafy plants. Researchers recognized the threat of ozone pollution as early as the 1970s, but the park gained a much more precise understanding of the ozone threat from a six-year study begun in 1987. This study involved the use of ozone fumigation chambers to document ozone effects on foliage and plant growth. Of 46 species tested in the fumigator, 30 showed symptoms that matched symptoms observed in the field. This confirmed that plants were being harmed by ambient levels of ozone throughout the park, with the injury to plants increasing in severity at higher elevations.[35]

Concerns about the air pollution threat to the park led to a notice by the assistant secretary for fish, wildlife, and parks, published in the *Federal Register* in 1992, urging all pollution-permitting bodies in five neighboring states to withhold permits for new major pollution sources within 120 miles of the park unless their polluting effects were in some way mitigated. In response to the *Federal Register* notice, those five southern states, which included Tennessee and North Carolina, forged an interstate agreement called the Southern Appalachian Mountain Initiative (SAMI) aimed at improving air quality in Class I areas. At the turn of the century, three more states joined the initiative so that it now includes West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia, together with about 100 participating entities in the federal government, academia, and private industry. The thrust of the organization is to foster a regional perspective in weighing the socioeconomic and environmental implications of actions affecting air pollution levels, with a primary focus on protection of Class I areas.[36]

After 1992, the park grew increasingly vocal in its efforts to restrict development of major new pollution sources within the 120-mile buffer area. The park was represented on two standing committees of SAMI by James Renfro, its air quality specialist since 1987. Renfro acted on the superintendent's authority to question projects that would likely impact the park's air quality. A test case involved the application of Tenn-Luttrell Company to build two lime kilns in East Tennessee. In 1995, the state issued a permit to the company and the Department of the Interior and National Parks Conservation Association appealed the decision to the Tennessee Air Pollution Control Board. Meanwhile, the parties negotiated an agreement: Tenn-Luttrell would donate $40,000 to a broker in air pollution credits, and the state and the Department of the Interior would enter a memorandum of understanding that improved the state's reporting process for alerting the park to new pollution sources. In March 1996, the state rescinded the memorandum of understanding under pressure from industrial firms. Public outcry over the state's move, however, soon brought state officials back to the negotiating table, and a new agreement was completed in June 1997.[37]

James Renfro (standing) has been the air quality specialist since 1987. Renfro acted on the superintendent's authority to question projects that would likely impact the park's air quality.

Thirty years after the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1977, park scientists and regional air pollution experts knew much more about pollution effects and trends than they had in the 1970s, but the picture was by no means clear. A report by SAMI in 2002 offered several key findings for Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Sulfate is the largest contributor to haze in the region, the SAMI report found, and sulfur dioxide emission reductions are the key to improving visibility in Class I areas. Acid deposition poses the most significant threat to spruce-fir forests in the park, and nitrogen oxide emissions reductions are crucial for addressing that problem. Ozone damage to plants will likely not be so severe as to cause changes in forest types, but it could cause small changes in the abundance of individual tree species in forest stands.[38] The outlook for achieving these reductions remains uncertain. While much progress has been made in lowering emissions through improved technology — such as by TVA's retrofitting of its power plants with scrubbers — these gains



Janet Rock, a biological technician with a master's degree in botany from Western Carolina University, was appointed the park botanist in 1993. Along with inventory and monitoring responsibilities, she worked on issues relating to poaching of ginseng and wild "ramps" in the Smokies.

are offset by ever-increasing energy demands. During the 1990s, TVA's consumption of coal increased by 18 percent, and at the turn of the century TVA relied on coal to generate 64 percent of its electricity. These trends, coupled with the southern mountain region's vigorous population growth, portended more problems from air pollution in the future.[39]

Rare and Exotic Plants

Rare plants were a longstanding resource management concern at Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Park officials first took inventory of rare plants in the botanical collections by Stupka, A. J. Sharp, and H. M. Jennison in the 1930s, which documented the area's extraordinary floral richness and numerous rare species.[40] The Endangered Species Act (ESA) of 1973 and the Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species (CITES) of 1975 raised the concern for rare plants to a higher level. American ginseng, which was an early candidate for listing under both the ESA and CITES because of the strong demand in Asian markets for this wild plant's medicinal properties, was the first plant found in the Smokies to be given legal protection beyond what was afforded all plants in the park. In 1979, Susan Bratton produced a management report on the status of rare plants, indicating those areas in the park which held concentrations of rare plants and identifying major threats to them.[41] A few years later, Peter White updated the list of plant species found in the park, consulting botanical collections at universities and institutions and consolidating the park's own collections dating from the 1930s.[42]

There were myriad reasons why Great Smoky Mountains contained so many rare plants. The high mountains at the southern end of the Appalachian chain were the last refuge of numerous plant species whose range had contracted northward at the end of the ice ages, leaving isolated populations in the southern uplands. The Smokies also contained many unusual habitats for plants, such as limestone sinks and outcrops, boggy meadows, grassy balds, and cove forests. The human history of the Smokies was also relevant, as certain plant species had gained a foothold in connection with past farming activity. Ironically, such rare plant species were threatened by the natural process of forest succession. Four plants listed under the ESA in the 1970s were found only on grassy balds or in former mountain farm locations. Rare plants were subject to myriad other threats. Direct human threats included trampling and illegal collecting. Wild hogs were known to endanger a number of herbaceous species by their extensive rooting. The large deer population and agricultural uses posed threats to rare plants in Cades Cove. Air pollution posed yet another threat to rare plants throughout the park.[43]

In 1993, the park began systematically monitoring rare plants. Keith Langdon, a natural resource specialist with a background in biogeography, was appointed coordinator for the park's new inventory and monitoring program. Janet Rock, a biological technician with a master's degree in botany from Western Carolina University, was appointed the park botanist. Together, Langdon and Rock designed a monitoring program that was a first of its kind in the national park system. They selected plants based on various criteria — they could be globally rare, or listed by one of the states as threatened or endangered, or recognized in some way as rare enough to be of concern — and then they ranked all of them by threat level. The level of monitoring for each species varied according to the threat level and when the threat level increased or decreased the level of monitoring would be stepped up or relaxed accordingly. Low level monitoring involved a census of populations found in the park; high level monitoring entailed a census of individuals and annual checks on the health and reproductive activity of each individual. In some cases, plants at risk could be given an assist by thinning vegetation around them to improve sunlight

penetration or by fencing off an area to keep out deer or hogs. The overall aim was to identify long-range population trends.[44]

An opportunity arose for cooperation with the Ranger Division to address poaching of ginseng in the park. John Garrison, a district ranger at Deep Creek, was aware that ginseng poachers were active in the area and he informed Langdon that he had actually caught a few poachers and confiscated what quantities they had collected. Langdon and Garrison developed a plan for preserving confiscated ginseng roots and replanting them so that the plant populations and the effects of poaching could be studied. The park also began marking each root so that if it was later seized outside the park there was a way for law enforcement to prove that it had been taken illegally in the park. Various methods of marking were tried, and in this effort the park obtained valuable help from Jim Corbin, a plant specialist with the state of North Carolina, who had been involved in a similar marking exercise to protect the saguaro cactus in Arizona. Over the years, some 11,000 ginseng roots were counted and marked. The program helped to put some ginseng poachers out of business, and as rumors spread of radio tagging it worked as a deterrent as well.[45]

Paralleling the crackdown on ginseng poachers, the park initiated a study on the effects of ramp harvesting. The ramp is a wild leek that grows in the eastern United States and Canada. In the southern Appalachians there was a certain amount of ritual surrounding this edible plant when it was harvested in the early spring. Park officials turned a blind eye when local people harvested the plant inside the park, thinking that the practice would die out. But the growing popularity of ramp festivals gave rise to concern that the plant was being over-harvested. In 1989, the park began a study based on yearly measurements of ramp populations in five test plots. Each plot was assigned a different harvest level, and either 0, 25, 50, 75, or 100 percent of plants — including leaves, stem, and bulb — were removed from the plot year after year depending on the harvest level assigned to it. After four years, this study provided conclusive evidence that an annual harvest of just 25 percent of plants would affect a population for as much as two decades, and that an annual harvest of more than 50 percent would cause a population irreparable harm. Few such studies on wild plant harvesting existed, although land managers recognized a growing need for scientific data to support stronger regulation of this activity.[46]

Considering the area's floral richness, it was not surprising that many exotic species of plants found a strong foothold in the park. The environment was especially conducive for the spread of various ornamental species introduced from East Asia, such as kudzu, mimosa, and Tree of Heaven. When the Park Service began to increase efforts to control or eradicate exotic plant species in the 1980s, Great Smoky Mountains National Park ranked high in priority in the nation. Kudzu infestations were massive in some areas. The Park Service used chemical treatments to attack this climbing vine in the spring and shrink it down to a manageable size so that it could be pulled out of the ground later in the year. Over the years, kudzu infestations were sharply reduced. Much of this work was accomplished by vegetation management work crews that traveled from park to park. After an exotic plant was eradicated from an area, the site was placed on a maintenance schedule and monitored every three to five years to ensure that the plant did not make a resurgence.[47]

The All-Taxa Biological Inventory

Great Smoky Mountains National Park's role as a pilot park in the service-wide inventory and monitoring program of the mid 1990s proved to be a springboard for its playing host to the world's first complete All Taxa Biological Inventory (ATBI). When Congress funded the inventory and monitoring program, the Park Service committed itself to identifying no less than 90 percent of all vertebrates and vascular plants in each national park within five years of initiating a survey. But as scientists made good headway toward realizing that goal in the Smokies, they also realized that the program had been set up with too narrow a focus. "It was stupid to be monitoring the species we had always monitored and not get into the ecological processes and the large guilds of species that we didn't know much about," Langdon commented. Langdon saw the ATBI as a vehicle for doing just that.

A team of scientists headed by Dr. Dan Janzen of the University of Philadelphia had organized an ATBI at Guanacaste Conservation Area in Costa Rica with a proposed budget of $90 million. That project ended prematurely when a portion of the first $20 million of funds raised for the ATBI was redirected to something else. Langdon thought Great Smoky Mountains National Park would make an excellent choice for a second try at undertaking an ATBI. The park was renowned for its biodiversity and yet it probably had only half the number of species as the park in Costa Rica. Great Smoky Mountains had the necessary status and recognition to attract generous grant support. Langdon organized a workshop of interested scientists in October 1997 to consider his proposal and strategize how an ATBI at Great Smoky Mountains might be implemented.

Langdon persuaded the scientific community that the

park was the right choice and that the ATBI could be accomplished with relatively modest federal support. Scientists and educators interested in the ATBI formed a non-profit organization, Discover Life in America, Inc., to spearhead the grant-writing effort and coordinate among scientists. Discover Life in America entered a general agreement with the Washington Office and a cooperative agreement with the park, and these instruments guided how the ten-year project would be structured. As Langdon had predicted, the park's high profile in the eastern United States proved to be an enormous asset in securing grants and donations with which to launch the ATBI. After more than a year of preparations, the project formally kicked off in the spring of 1999.

The ATBI used a two-pronged approach for discovering and identifying species. It employed a "structured" approach whereby 19 separate plots were established in various ecological zones throughout the park. The idea behind the structured approach was to obtain data that were repeatable and statistically comparable. At the same time, it followed a "traditional" approach of allowing taxonomists to collect in specialized habitats or areas that were appropriate to their particular interests. The advantage of the traditional approach was that it took advantage of individual initiative, which usually came with its own funding source. Scientists worked under collecting permits that allowed them to take specimens back to their laboratories for identification, after which voucher specimens were sent back to the park. A web-based ATBI data management system was developed and administered at Ohio State University.

As the ATBI acquired momentum, Langdon explained that it was not just a list of species found in the park, but something of much greater value to resource managers. "It is perhaps best understood as an annotated 'atlas' of all species," he wrote. "It is aimed at gaining a comprehensive scientific understanding of total biodiversity…species by species and site by site." By 2001, park managers had begun to use the ATBI data in several controversial issues. Species distribution maps were being prepared as overlays for making spatial comparisons with maps of ozone risk, acid rain deposition, and exotic species. By 2008 the ATBI was being emulated in half a dozen other national parks.

[1] Arthur Stupka, "Collecting Practice," in *Proceedings: Second Park Naturalists Conference, Grand Canyon National Park, November 13-17, 1940*, mimeograph report in Department of the Interior Library, Washington, D.C. Langdon interview.

[3] Testimonial by Ralph Lewis quoted in C. P. Russell to Mr. Miller, Mr. Tolson, and Mr. Drury, February 27, 1946, File 207.04, Box 1088, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[4] Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 91.

[5] Quoted in Alfred Runte, *Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 162.

[6] A. S. Leopold, et al., "Wildlife Management in the National Parks," in Dilsaver, ed., *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents*, 239.

[7] Willis King, "A Survey of the Herpetology of Great Smoky Mountains National Park," *The American Midland Naturalist* 21, no. 3 (May 1939): 531-45. See also Willis King, "Catalogue of the Amphibians and Reptiles in the Collection at Great Smoky Mountains National Park," May 12, 1938, File 712, Box 1138, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[8] Ben H. Thompson to Harold C. Bryant, October 8, 1934, File 601-014 Part 1, Box 1101, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[9] S. Charles Kendeigh, "Research Areas in the National Parks, January 1942," *Ecology*, 23, no. 2 (April 1942): 236-238. The list in 1942 did not include the reserve covering Andrews Bald, which was abolished in 1936.

[10] Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 111-12.

[11] Raymond Herrmann and Susan Bratton, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park as a Biosphere Reserve: A Research/Monitor ing Perspective," Management Report No. 23, January 20, 1977, Vertical Files, GRSM, p. 5; W. Carter Johnson and Susan P. Bratton, "Biological Monitoring in UNESCO Biosphere Reserves with Special Reference to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park," *Biological Conservation* 13 (1978): 109; Brown, *The Wild East*, 250.

[12] Brown, *The Wild East*, 248-49; Herrmann and Bratton, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park as a Biosphere Reserve," 5. Evison had two aims in moving the lab to Twin Creeks. He wanted to integrate the science staff more fully into park operations, and he wanted to move his own place of residence and young family out into the community. (Langdon interview).

[13] Herrmann and Bratton, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park as a Biosphere Reserve," 1-3.

[14] Herrmann and Bratton, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park as a Biosphere Reserve," 8-9.

[15] Johnson and Bratton, "Biological Monitoring in UNESCO Biosphere Reserves with Special Reference to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park," 105-15.

[16] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1979, GRSM.

[17] James L. Cooley, John D. McCrone, and Dewey L. Bunting, "Uplands Field Research Laboratory Science Program Evaluation," August 1982 (draft), enclosed with Superintendent's Annual Report for 1982, GRSM.

[18] John E. Cook interview.

[19] John E. Cook interview; Chief, Resources Management to Assistant Superintendent (R&S), January 1983 [1984], Box XV, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[20] "Natural Resource Management Activities," 1986, Box XV, Park Management Collection, GRSM; Superintendent's Annual Report for 1987, GRSM.

[21] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1984, GRSM.

[22] Peine, John D. (ed.), *Proceedings, Conference on the Management of Biosphere Reserves, November 27-29, 1984, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Gatlinburg, Tennessee* (Gatlinburg, Tennessee: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Uplands Field Research Laboratory, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1985), 1.

[23] John D. Peine to Director, June 7, 1985, Box XVII, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[24] Chief, Science Division, to Associate Director, January 6, 1988, File 36, Box 1, John Peine Collection, MS 2029, Special Collections, Hoskins Library, University of Tennessee.

[25] Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 188-89.

[26] Superintendent to Regional Director, November 25, 1994, File N3615, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM; Langdon interview.

[27] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1993, GRSM; Langdon interview. The other three parks selected to develop prototype inventory and monitoring programs were Denali, Channel Islands, and Shenandoah.

[28] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Air Resources Division, *Air Quality in the National Parks* 2nd edition (Lakewood, Colorado: National Park Service, 2002), 10-11, 35-36.

[29] *Air Quality in the National Parks*, 1-2.

[30] Staff Park Specialist to Superintendent, June 8, 1977, and Jerry A. Eubanks to Leroy G. Fox, October 28, 1977, File N3615, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[31] "Air Quality," *The "Bare" Facts, Resource Management Information Letter, Great Smoky Mountains National Park*, October 1, 1980.

[32] John D. Peine, Charlotte Pyle, and Peter S. White, *Environmental Monitoring and Baseline Data Management Strategies and the Focus of Future Research in Great Smoky Mountains National Park*, Research/Resources Management Report SER-76 (Gatlinburg, Tennessee: Uplands Field Research Laboratory, 1985), 6-10.

[33] John D. Peine to Deputy Associate Regional Director for Science and Natural Resources, November 16, 1989, File 1, Box 2, John D. Peine Collection (MS 2029), Special Collections, Hoskins Library, University of Tennessee.

[34] *Air Quality in the National Parks*, 37.

[35] *Air Quality in the National Parks*, 37-38; "Attachment 2. Great Smoky Mountains National Park Background and Current Status Ozone Monitoring and Effects Research," attached to Superintendent's Annual Report for 1987, GRSM; Superintendent to Regional Director, November 25, 1994, File N3615, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[36] "Great Smoky Mountains National Park Air Quality Information" (2008) http://www.nature.nps.gov/air/permits/aris/grsm/ <February 28, 2009>.

[37] Regional Chief Scientist to Regional Director, March 29, 1995, File N3615, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM; Superintendent's Annual Report for 1993, and Superintendent's Annual Report for 1996 and 1997, GRSM; "Air Quality: Tennessee Reneges on Agreement," *National Parks* 70 (May/June 1996): 18-20; "Pollution: Tennessee Agrees to Air Quality Plan," *National Parks* 71 (May/June 1997): 20-21.

[38] "Great Smoky Mountains National Park Air Quality Information" (2008) http://www.nature.nps.gov/air/permits/aris/grsm/ <February 28, 2009>.

[39] U.S. General Accounting Office, *Air Pollution: Air Quality and Respiratory Problems in and Near Great Smoky Mountains* (Washington: U.S. General Accounting Office, 2001), 1-3, 34-35; "Unhealthy Air Awaits Visitors at Great Smokies," *National Parks* 74, no. 7-8 (July-August 2000): 11-12; "NPCA Files Suit Against TVA for Smokies Pollution," *National Parks* 74, no. 11-12 (November-December 2000): 12-14.

[40] "Report on Wildlife Activities," April 27, 1935, File 885-01, Box 1152, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[41] Susan P. Bratton, "Preliminary Status of Rare Plants in Great Smoky Mountains National Park," Management Report No. 25, March 1979, Vertical Files, GRSM.

[42] Janet Rock, interview by Theodore Catton, April 25, 2007.

[43] Bratton, "Preliminary Status of Rare Plants in Great Smoky Mountains National Park," 40-43.

[44] Rock interview.

[45] Rock interview.

[46] Janet H. Rock, Brian Beckage, and Louis J. Gross, "Population recovery following differential harvesting of *Allium tricoccum* Ait. in the southern Appalachians," *Biological Conservation* 116 (2004): 227-234; Rock interview.

[47] Superintendent's Annual Report for 2004, GRSM; Rock interview.

[48] Langdon interview.

[49] Philip A. Francis, Jr., Keith R. Langdon, Charles R. Parker, John Pickering, and Karen C. Ballentine, "All Taxa Biodiversity Inventory of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and other National Parks," no date, Vertical Files, GRSM; Keith Langdon, "The All Taxa Biodiversity Inventory (ATBI) at Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina/Tennessee," July 2001, Vertical Files, GRSM.

[50] "Biodiversity inventory stirs debate over ownership of organisms," *Environmental Science and Technology News* 33, no. 1 (January 1, 1999): 13A. See also "Great Smokies Species Census Under Way," *Science* 284 (June 11, 1999): 1747; Gary Braasch, "All Things Great & Even Microscopic," *Audubon* 102, no. 3 (May/June 2000): 54-59; Chris Fordney, "Counting on Life," *National Parks* 74 (July/August 2000): 22-25.

[51] Langdon, "The All Taxa Biodiversity Inventory (ATBI) at Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina/Tennessee," July 2001, Vertical Files, GRSM.

[52] Langdon, "The All Taxa Biodiversity Inventory (ATBI) at Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina/Tennessee," July 2001, Vertical Files, GRSM.

Chapter Fifteen

Preserving the Mountain Culture

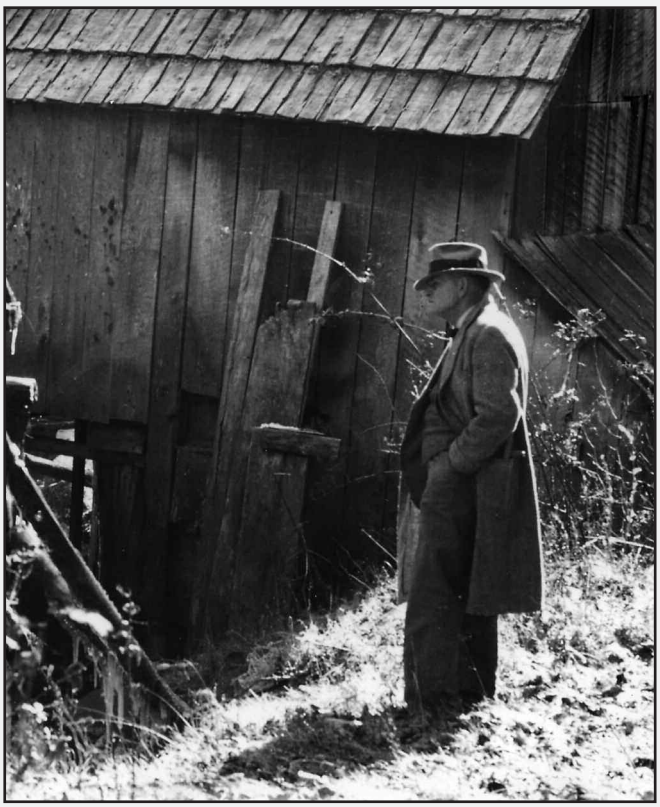
Great Smoky Mountains National Park was originally conceived as a preserve for nature, not human culture. In the campaign for the national park, proponents emphasized the area's rugged topography, primeval forest, botanical richness, and scenic and wilderness qualities, not its inhabitants or cultural landscape features. Descriptions of the Smokies usually contained some reference to the persistence of a "pioneer" or "mountain" culture, but campaigners and writers seemed to share a general view that residents of the park area would have to be relocated outside the park and the wilderness fully restored. After the park was authorized, the Park Service was gradually made aware that it was sitting on a gold mine of historic log-building architecture, and furthermore, that the park's lingering inhabitants were practicing a way of life that was of historic interest in its own right. During the 1930s, Park Service officials engaged in a lively debate over how to preserve these historic resources.

Two different views emerged. According to one view, Great Smoky Mountains National Park should be as much a preserve for the so-called "mountain culture" of the southern Appalachians as it was a preserve of nature, and the challenge for park administration was to develop a program that would "make the exhibits live." In other words, selected residents should continue to reside in the park and practice their accustomed way of life so that visitors could observe mountain farms and mills in actual use. According to the counter view, Great Smoky Mountains National Park contained both historic and natural resources, but the natural resources were paramount. When protection of one type of resource conflicted with protection of the other, such as when the mountain way of life included grazing livestock where it would impact the native flora, park management had to subordinate historic values to natural values. In this management scheme, the mountain culture could not persist as a living entity within the park and historic preservation needed to focus instead on maintaining a few deserted farmsteads and mills as "open-air museums." While this latter view largely prevailed by the end of the decade, the living history idea continued to wield influence.

The Folk Life Movement and the Smokies

Interest in American folklore and folk culture burgeoned in the early decades of the twentieth century. The transforming effects of industrialization, immigration, and the growth of cities gave rise to nostalgia and a desire to preserve American folk traditions. Urban, middle class Americans felt this preservationist impulse most keenly, as many of them were not long removed from life on the farm. The preservation of folklore focused attention on region, and no other region of the United States received so much attention as southern Appalachia. Due to the relative isolation of this region, some writers argued, it was a place where frontier culture still persisted largely as it had existed in the nineteenth century. Horace Kephart's *Our Southern Highlanders*, published in 1913, offered a romanticized portrait of mountain farmers in the Smokies and became a national bestseller. Other popular books of the era included Margaret W. Morley's *The Southern Highlander and His Home*, Emma Bell Miles' *Spirit of the Mountains*, S. T. Wilson's *Southern Mountaineers*, John C. Campbell's *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*, and Leroy Jeffers' *Call of the Mountains*. In 1918, *Century Magazine* ran an article with the provocative title, "The Mountaineers: Our Own Lost Tribes."[1] All of these writings suggested that the regional subculture found in the southern Appalachians was a throwback to an earlier time in the nation's history. Not yet transformed by modernity, the mountain-farm way of life offered visitors a fleeting glimpse of yesteryear.

The outside interest in this culture was double-edged. Sentimental and admiring on the one hand, it was also animated by a philanthropic desire to improve the mountain farmers' standard of living and raise the level of education. While some writers and folklorists asked their readers to respect Appalachian culture, others called for intervention to help the region "catch up" with the rest of the nation. The interventionist impulse was usually tinged with a sense of moral superiority. Often the preservationist and interventionist impulses went hand in hand. Kephart, for example,



Hiram C. Wilburn was an enthusiastic student of Cherokee and North Carolina history. His official title with the CCC was truck trail foreman. In his unofficial capacity he was historian for the North Carolina side of the park.

welcomed the economic opportunity that a national park would bring to the area and its native people. "If the Smokies are taken over for a park," he wrote, "immediately the construction of Federal highways and bridle-paths will begin, giving employment at fair wages to hundreds of mountaineers who are now eking out a scanty subsistence."[2]

Preservationist and interventionist impulses were both at play in the early history of the Pi Beta Phi Settlement School in Gatlinburg. The Pi Beta Phi Fraternity for Women founded the school in 1912 as a service project to commemorate the organization's fiftieth anniversary. Its first aim was to provide better education and health care for children in a section of southern Appalachia. But the school soon acquired a parallel mission to preserve native handicrafts. It hired a weaving instructor, began to develop markets for the sale of handicrafts, and started holding summer courses in arts and crafts. Other schools in the region developed similar programs, each aimed at promoting handicrafts as an artistic expression and a means of livelihood for the mountain people. In 1929 representatives of Pi Beta Phi and six other centers for producing handicrafts came together in Penland, North Carolina, and formed the Southern Mountain Handicraft Guild. The guild's purpose was to foster handicrafts not only for their present-day significance, but also for the preservation of old crafts that were in danger of dying out. When Great Smoky Mountains National Park was established, the guild immediately recognized that park tourism would provide an important outlet for the sale of handicrafts. It also began to lobby for a museum of mountain culture to be located in the park.[3]

The guild's call for a museum of mountain culture soon attracted wider support. By the fall of 1934, civic leaders had formed a Museum Committee with one division in East Tennessee and the other in Western North Carolina, for the purpose of collecting artifacts and planning a museum in the park. George W. McCoy, editor of the *Asheville Citizen-Times*, was the latter group's secretary-treasurer. He asked Representative Zebulon Weaver (D-NC) to request cooperation by the Park Service. A few weeks later, Superintendent Eakin informed McCoy that he was assigning two men, Willis King and Hiram C. Wilburn, to serve as liaison officers with the Tennessee and North Carolina divisions of the Museum Committee, respectively.[4]

King and Wilburn were both employed by the CCC. While King had no special knowledge of local history, having recently completed a doctoral degree in biology, Wilburn was an enthusiastic student of Cherokee and North Carolina history. Wilburn was in his mid-fifties, a native of South Carolina, and a graduate of Clemson College. Previous to his appointment with the CCC, he had worked as a land surveyor for the North Carolina Park Commission — a job that had given him much personal contact with residents of the park area. His official title with the CCC was truck trail foreman, which came with a modest annual salary of $1,920.[5] In his unofficial capacity he was historian for the North Carolina side of the park. Continuing to reside at his home in Waynesville, Wilburn probably never actually supervised a CCC trail crew. Rather, he was allowed to pursue his historical work with a great deal of independence, identifying historic structures, collecting artifacts, researching local history, and networking with other historic preservationists in the region.[6]

In 1935, the park acquired another cultural resource manager by way of the CCC. This was Charles S. Grossman, an architect, whose official title with the CCC was senior foreman. Like Wilburn, he was allowed to devote most of his energy to cultural resource management and do little or no actual supervising of CCC crews. Grossman resided at Elkmont, replacing King as Wilburn's counterpart on the Tennessee side of the park. Grossman and Wilburn developed a lively correspondence and the two men formed a strong, collaborative, professional relationship. With Arthur Stukpa, the park naturalist, Grossman and Wilburn prepared a sem-

inal document for cultural resource management, "Report on the Proposed Mountain Culture Program for Great Smoky Mountains National Park," submitted in June 1938. Despite their close collaboration, Grossman and Wilburn had different ideas about what direction the history program should take. In their 1938 report and in subsequent memoranda, Wilburn espoused the "living history" approach to historic preservation while Grossman favored the "open-air museum," or collections of buildings without occupants. Grossman, the younger of the two men, eventually eclipsed Wilburn in his influence on park management. Wilburn was opinionated and did not hesitate to go over Eakin's head when he thought the superintendent was giving the mountain culture program short shrift. He clashed with the superintendent and eventually lost his job in 1940.[7] Grossman was a better fit in the park staff organization and remained until 1943, when he transferred to the Blue Ridge Parkway. He returned to Great Smoky Mountains in 1948 on a two-week detail to recommend a program of rehabilitation for the park's historic structures.[8]

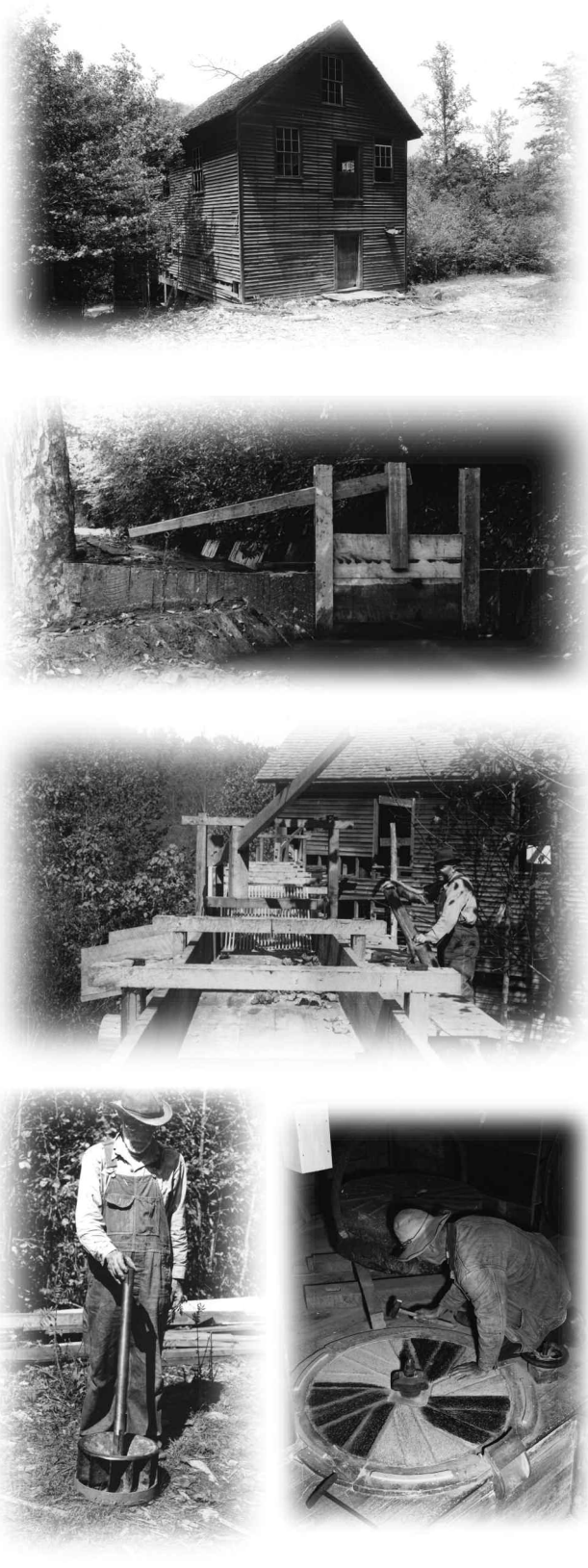
Wilburn and Grossman kindled an appreciation for cultural history in the Smokies at a time when history's star was rising in the Park Service. Horace Albright wanted the national park system to encompass historical parks as well as natural parks and he lobbied successfully to make that happen. In 1930, Colonial (Jamestown and Yorktown) and George Washington Birthplace national monuments in Virginia were added to the national park system, and in 1933 numerous battlefield sites and historic forts were brought in from the War Department. The Historic Sites Act of 1935 further solidified the Park Service's move into historic preservation, as it mandated the development of museums and educational programs for historic site interpretation. Meanwhile, Albright promoted history inside the Park Service bureaucracy, establishing a Branch of Research and Education and a Division of History within that branch. In 1935, a new Branch of Historic Sites and Buildings was split off from the Branch of Research and Education, its function described as "general leadership in, and guidance of, the park educational program for all historical and archaeological areas." As former bureau historian Barry Mackintosh has written, "Historical interpretation thus attained organizational parity with natural interpretation and enjoyed the clearer legal mandate."[9]

As the Park Service moved into the forefront of the historic preservation movement in the 1930s, its history program was heavily weighted toward patriotic themes such as military history and the homes of great men. The history program for Great Smoky Mountains was markedly different in that its historical interest lay in the material culture of a resident people. The unique circumstances pertaining in the Smokies raised a number of difficult issues. How was history to be preserved and interpreted in a natural-area park? Would some residents be encouraged to stay in their homes as part of the preservation effort? If the main cultural exhibit was vernacular architecture, how was the Park Service to determine which buildings were most representative of the culture? How many of the hundreds of buildings still standing in the park were to be preserved?

In 1935, the park acquired **Charles S. Grossman,** an architect, whose official title with the CCC was senior foreman. Like Wilburn, he was allowed to devote most of his energy to cultural resource management and do little or no actual supervision of CCC crews.

Historic Buildings Surveys

Superintendent Eakin wanted Great Smoky Mountains National Park to be the East's premier wilderness area and he thought historic preservation distracted from that goal. Soon after his arrival in January 1931, he directed his rangers to destroy all abandoned buildings unless they were outstanding examples of pioneer architecture.[10] Within nine months, a total of 339 buildings had been razed.[11] In the spring of 1932, Albright and Cammerer both questioned whether more buildings of historical interest ought to be preserved. Albright wrote to Eakin, "I hope you are not trying to make a



Built in 1886, **Mingus Mill** was restored by the CCC to working condition. It continues to grind corn into corn meal today.

hundred percent clean-up of all the lands that have come under your control. It seems to me that some of the old cabins, particularly the very old ones that were put together by dovetailing rather than by the use of nails, ought to be kept."[12] Cammerer suggested that Eakin inspect each log cabin himself, verifying that it was "absolutely no good from an educational or historical standpoint," before allowing it to be destroyed.[13]

In reply to these letters, Eakin explained that he had made the removal of abandoned buildings a high priority because the empty cabins were attracting desperate people back into the park. In some cases, former residents were requesting that they be allowed to return to their homes. "A cabin razed is a cabin that cannot be reoccupied," Eakin pointed out. Alluding to the current economic crisis, he asserted: "I would go so far as to state that under existing circumstances and those we may expect within the next few years, if in cleaning up deserted buildings an occasional cabin is razed that really should be preserved, the best interests of the park will have been served."[14] Cammerer did not buy this argument, but informed the superintendent in no uncertain terms that he must inspect each log building himself before permitting it to be destroyed. With some reluctance, Eakin relayed this directive to his rangers, adding, "The razing of other old shacks, and outbuildings, may proceed along the lines you have been following."[15]

In this exchange of letters could be seen the first glimmer of historic preservation in the Smokies. Still, there was no allocation of funds or staff time to protect historic resources. The buildings, abandoned and exposed to the elements, deteriorated rapidly. Some were infested by animals, others were raided for salvage logs, and still others were burned by arsonists. When a tourist from Maryland asked Eakin if he could dismantle a tub mill and take it home for display in his yard, Eakin proceeded to write Cammerer for permission to allow it, saying there were a hundred more like it. Cammerer demurred, concerned about precedent. By such piecemeal actions, the Park Service fumbled toward a greater appreciation of the many historic buildings found in the park.[16]

With the appointment of Wilburn and King to the Museum Committee in the fall of 1934, the Park Service took the first positive step toward historic preservation. The committee, in its early discussions, conceived of a number of "branch museums," or clusters of historic buildings, located in various sections of the park. One promising area for a branch museum was Cataloochee, where many old log cabins were located. In February 1935, Wilburn and King conducted a survey of log cabins in the Cataloochee watershed, the first such survey in the park. They recommended different prescriptions for Little Cataloochee and Big Cat-

aloochee. In Little Cataloochee they found three old farmsteads and recommended that the most intact of these, the Cook place, be restored. The attractive setting included an old apple orchard and native grasses that were currently grazed, which maintained a forest opening. The buildings would be maintained in that place as a "representation of a typical isolated mountain home" and exhibited unfurnished so as not to require a custodian. In Big Cataloochee, meanwhile, Wilburn and King suggested that the valuable log cabins should be dismantled, removed, and placed under cover until such time as they could be reconstructed in a more convenient location. The location they recommended was the former Caldwell place in the lower end of the valley and they thought it could be furnished with articles typical of a "highlanders farm." Members of the Caldwell family had expressed interest in helping with this project.[17]

In May 1935, the park began a survey of all existing buildings in the park, apparently under Grossman's direction. The purpose was to inventory every structure and to make a record of the best architectural examples using scale drawings and photographs. Also, when a building was identified as historically significant and still slated for removal, each piece of building material was numbered so that all material could be carefully yarded until such time as the building could be restored in another place. By the end of the year, a total of 1,427 structures had been inventoried. Of this number, 499 were log buildings and the rest were frame or prefab, the latter dating from the recent logging era. The largest concentrations of log buildings were found in Sugarlands (119), Cataloochee (101), Greenbrier (73), and Cades Cove (61). Significantly, while Cades Cove ranked fourth in the number of log buildings, it had a much larger number of frame buildings (247), second only to Cataloochee (257).[18] The large proportion of more modern frame buildings in Cades Cove belied its reputation as a place out of time.[19]

In 1936, the CCC restored two old grist mills to working condition. It restored a large grist mill and millrace on Mingus Creek known as the Mingus Mill. Dating from 1886, this steel-turbine mill had once served some 200 families in the area and was the largest historic structure in the Smokies. After the mill was restored, the Park Service leased it to John Jones, a local miller, for demonstration purposes. The second mill was the Cable Mill in Cades Cove. Built by John Cable in the 1870s, powered by an overshot wheel on Mill Creek and representing an older form than the Mingus Mill, it had only recently fallen into disuse. The two-story structure was about one fourth the size of the Mingus Mill, and it too was put back in use as a historical exhibit. Both restored mills were an immediate hit with park visitors, some of whom told park officials that they hoped more old build-

Cable Mill in Cades Cove was also restored by the CCC. Originally constructed in the 1870s, it continues to grind corn and is open to the public.

ings would be preserved.[20]

In July 1937, Grossman produced a report, "A Study for the Preservation of Mountain Culture in Field Museums of History," highlighting the results of the historic buildings survey. Nowhere else in the United States, Grossman asserted, could be found such a rich concentration of "pioneer structures." What made these buildings especially valuable — such as farmsteads composed of cabin, barn, and small outbuildings — still in their original primitive settings. Focusing on preservation of the log buildings, Grossman wrote:

> Many of the oldest and most unique structures were abandoned years before the idea of making this area a National Park was conceived. The advent of the saw mill showed the more progressive people the advantages of frame houses which soon replaced their log structures and caused their abandonment. Because these log buildings have been unoccupied and in disrepair for many years they are in such a condition that unless the work of restoring them is started in the immediate future there will be little evidence remaining upon which to base restorations.[21]

Grossman urged the Park Service to adopt a preservation program soon and save the older buildings before they deteriorated beyond repair. He suggested two types of "field museums." One type would consist of "reconstructed and reorganized communities." For this type, buildings would be dismantled, moved, and restored in a natural setting selected by the park administration. The other type would consist of "reconstructed existing groups," or buildings restored on their original site. For this type, maintaining the buildings in their original setting would add to the value of the exhibit, especially where the location might lend itself to naturalist-led trips. Grossman wanted a generous representation of all types of pioneer structures in the park, including the more modern frame houses, although he would weight the sample toward older buildings:

> Each community should include several groups of domestic buildings….These domestic groups should include one room cabins, two story houses, barns, cribs, apple houses, spring houses, smoke houses, blacksmith shops and pig pens, all of which are constructed of logs. Frame buildings, in which all of the lumber is hand dressed, should be included. One or two of the poorly constructed boxed houses will be sufficient to illustrate the effect of the coming of the lumbering industry on the life of the mountain folk.[22]

Grossman's report was sent to Washington where it circulated among senior officials. A two-page memorandum, citing the report and co-signed by a number of top staff, was prepared for the director recommending the need for a "Mountain Culture Program" to guide historic preservation at Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Specifically, the memo suggested that the director request Eakin to assign this task to Grossman, Wilburn, and Stupka, and that the plan provide details on the proposed groupings of pioneer structures at Cades Cove and Sugarlands, selecting one of these two projects for careful study. Cammerer approved this plan on February 3, 1938.[23]

Enthusiasm for preserving the mountain culture in the Smokies built rapidly. Members of the National Parks Advisory Board stressed its importance, as did this memorandum. In fact, with each new statement of the park's historical significance, the Park Service moved farther into an interpretation of the indigenous culture in the Smokies that later historians would find distorted, grossly overstating the place's isolation from outside influences. The memorandum that Cammerer approved on February 3, 1938, made another critical step in that direction as it proclaimed:

> The significance of the Smoky Mountain culture lies in the fact that there has survived here a manner of living, an entire cultural pattern, which is fast passing from American life. The Smokies might be conceived as part of a cultural island, to a great extent isolated from the outside world, where we are able to see the survival in our contemporaries of language, social customs, unique processes, that go back to the 18th century and beyond. These survivals are rapidly passing away and unquestionably should be fully recorded while that is still possible.[24]

The Mountain Culture Program

Grossman, Wilburn, and Stupka produced their report in June 1938, giving it the title "Report on the Proposed Mountain Culture Program for Great Smoky Mountains National Park." Ambitious in scope, the plan was well received. Regional Director Carl P. Russell called it "the best prospectus covering a broad program of preservation and interpretation that I have seen."[25] The report began by extolling the park's historic resources as a time capsule of American culture, describing the Smokies as a place "where so called progress failed to penetrate…[leaving] a pioneer culture which dates back over a century and a half. Industries, domestic arts, ballads, and many forms of speech have remained unchanged." The authors proposed the development of a central museum

of pioneer culture and recommended the appointment of a "Curator of Mountain Culture." In addition to a main collection of buildings at the central museum location, they proposed "field exhibits" at four other locations. A key element of the plan — and a concept that went beyond what Grossman had outlined earlier — was Wilburn's idea to "make the exhibits live" by putting actual people on display. "Native mountain people might be engaged in producing articles of craftsmanship," the authors wrote. The products of their handiwork could be sold to visitors at a "Mountain Craft Trading Post," and these same people would live on the premises "to carry on their activities under natural and realistic conditions."[26]

Cammerer highlighted the mountain culture program in his annual report for 1939. The park presented a "unique opportunity," he wrote, "to preserve frontier conditions of a century ago, which have vanished elsewhere." Several typical mountain habitations remained intact inside the park and could constitute valuable outdoor exhibits whenever the "proposed museum of mountain culture" should materialize.[27]

But despite increasingly bold statements about the significance of the park's historic resources, not much was happening. Without looking for a debate on the subject, Eakin quietly soft-pedaled historic restoration. He included the proposed museum building and field exhibits in his project lists, but he gave them such low priority ratings and put them so far down on his construction program priority list that none of it was funded. Furthermore, the park's tour guide literature did not call attention to the mountain culture program. Cammerer finally noted the superintendent's foot-dragging in the spring of 1940 and asked Eakin to suggest how he might step it up. "While no one wishes to minimize the importance of the fine scenic qualities of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park area," he wrote delicately, "the Service cannot on the other hand afford to neglect the human element which in this park is of especial significance."[28]

It seems likely that Wilburn had supplied information to the Washington office to prompt Cammerer's memo. Whether or not that was the case, in the following month Wilburn fired off three lengthy memos of his own, each aimed at kick-starting the mountain culture program. One laid out a detailed plan for reviving operation of the Mingus Mill, which had fallen silent again after the passing of Mr. Jones, the miller. Another reported on the destruction of stone fences in the Cataloochee area.[29] The third was a concise restatement of the proposed Mountain Culture Program, especially as it pertained to Wilburn's idea to "make the exhibits live." It gave a very extensive list of buildings, industries, and craft works to be established at Cades Cove, Cataloochee, Ravensford, Smokemont, Sugarlands, and Little Greenbrier. In Cades Cove, for example, Wilburn described a blacksmith operation, a copper works, a domestic textiles exhibit (including a flock of sheep for producing wool), the Cable Mill, and a honey bee farm. The people who would reside at these locations and perform the industries and crafts could be employed by a concession, Wilburn proposed. Wilburn addressed his memo to Eakin, bluntly reminding the superintendent that the Mountain Culture Program had drawn enthusiastic, high-level support at the outset. "I submit that there should be practically an even break between amounts allowed for natural history subjects and that allowed for historical and cultural subjects," Wilburn asserted.[30]

Eakin asked for comments on Wilburn's memo from Stupka, King, and Frank Mattson, the park's landscape architect. Each one offered trenchant criticisms. Stupka argued that the great majority of park visitors came to the Smokies to experience wilderness, not cultural exhibits, so he could not go along with Wilburn's plea for a near equal division of funds between natural and cultural resources.[31] King voiced concern about ecological impacts associated with the cultural exhibits, especially if sheep were grazed, and he did not see how people could be made to farm using nineteenth century technology.[32] Elaborating on this point, Mattson pointed out that the people in these living exhibits would certainly press for the use of modern tools and household items, both to make their lives easier and as a matter of pride.[33]

Park Service historian Roy Edgar Appleman, who was then regional supervisor of historic sites, discussed these issues with Stupka at the Historical Technicians Conference in Richmond and offered his own thoughtful memorandum. Appleman was doubtful that a concession could properly handle a living history program, but he otherwise supported the living history idea. Ideally, he thought, the mountain culture and folk handicraft exhibits should blend with the natural landscape of the park. It would be very difficult to administer a program in which several families occupied residences and cultivated land within the park, he conceded, but it should still be done at some time in the future. Appleman was particularly enthused about the production of handicrafts:

> It would be splendid, indeed, if a folk handicraft industry could be developed within the borders of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park which would result in supplying handmade iron, copper, textile, leather, woodwork, and basketry objects typical and more or

> less indigenous to the Southern Appalachian region to the hundreds of thousands of visitors annually who will visit the park and who shall increasingly, it is believed, be interested in acquiring objects of this nature.[34]

Appleman arranged for a study of the problem by a Park Service consultant, Dr. Hans Huth. Huth's report, completed in August 1941, gave further support to Wilburn's idea to bring back people as cultural demonstrators and he offered his own plan for how this might be done. "Carefully selected settlers, some of them skilled craftsmen as well as farmers, would live and work in the park area wherever it would be deemed necessary and possible to rededicate a farm, for example, to actual life," Huth wrote. Since they would be restricted in what technology they could use, the farmers would need financial support, mainly in the form of cheap leases. "What is needed are responsible people who know perfectly well what they are going to do and what it is all about. They must know that they will have to live simply and that there are many difficulties they will have to overcome." Huth developed these ideas in considerable detail, suggesting what kinds of farm implements and household items might be permissible.[35]

Based on Huth's report and his own maturing thought on the issue, Appleman outlined a proposed policy and objectives for the Mountain Culture Program. Appleman began with two assumptions — or concessions — which moved the program back in the direction that Grossman had espoused four years earlier. First, it did not seem possible to perpetuate a pioneer way of life. Therefore, the program must focus on physical remains and objects associated with that earlier way of life. Second, it was not feasible to preserve and maintain so many historic buildings in their original locations. The buildings worth exhibiting would have to be moved and grouped in a few central locations; others must be demolished or simply allowed to disintegrate. Based on these assumptions, Appleman proposed four developments. There would be a central museum dedicated to mountain culture. Then there would be three open-air museums or groupings of historic buildings located at Cades Cove, Oconaluftee, and the Cataloochee Valley. Each would have a different emphasis: Cades Cove would display mountain homes and potentially include an "artisan colony" where local people would produce handicrafts and sell their products to visitors. The Oconaluftee area (including Mingus Mill) would focus on various types of mills and industrial life in the mountains. The Cataloochee area would exhibit farming activities.[36]

Of all the iterations of the Mountain Culture Program from 1937 to 1941, this one came closest to describing what finally developed. Like all the previous plans, however, it was contingent on future funding. Appleman submitted his plan to the regional director on December 6, 1941, on the eve of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. On the following day, with the nation at war, it was suddenly clear that the Mountain Culture Program would be postponed for several more years.

Before leaving the park in 1943, Grossman wrote a brief summary of the accomplishments of the Mountain Culture Program before World War II. Over 1,700 buildings had been inspected, and most of those structures had been recorded with photographs. Scale drawings of six buildings had been produced for the Historic American Buildings Survey and filed in the Library of Congress. Another twelve buildings had been restored and approximately twice that number stabilized. He and Wilburn had each developed large collections of artifacts, and after Wilburn's departure he had combined the two collections at park headquarters and it now contained over 1,300 items. These included household utensils, furniture, guns, farming tools, leatherworking tools, milling equipment, and much more. Grossman held that the Mountain Culture Program could be "one of the outstanding programs of its kind in the world." The groundwork was laid; it only awaited funding. "Millions of dollars have been spent to preserve historic shrines, public buildings, plantations, and mansions of the early aristocracy," he wrote. "Little or nothing has been done to preserve the culture of the common man." In the Smokies could be found "probably the only remaining opportunity in the country to preserve the culture of the hardy pioneer."[37]

[1] Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 300; Carl Knoedler, "The Magnificent Smokies," *The New South* 1, no. 3 (May 1927): 19.

[2] Kephart, "The Smoky Mountains National Park."

[3] Marguerite Butler to Arno B. Cammerer, April 12, 1933, enclosing "A Brief History of the Southern Mountain Handicraft Guild," File 840 Part 1, Box 1143, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; H. C. Wilburn to Mrs. John C. Campbell, December 22, 1934, File 16, Box I, Wilburn Collection, GRSM. The six other founding members of the guild were Fireside Industries of Penland; The Spinning Wheel of Asheville; The Brasstown Handicrafts Association of Brasstown, North Carolina; Berea College in Berea, Kentucky; Crossmore School in Crossmore, North Carolina; Cedar Creek Community Center in Greeneville, Tennessee; and Allanstand Industries of Asheville.

[4] H. C. Bryant to Superintendent, October 20, 1934, File 2, and J. R. Eakin to Willis King, October 26, 1934, File 12, Box IV, Wilburn Collection, GRSM; Eakin to George W. McCoy, September 5, 1934, W. E. Bird to Zebulon Weaver, September 12, 1934, and Bird to Eakin, September 12, 1934, File 19, and McCoy to Weaver, October 27, 1934, File 20, Box 1, Zebulon Weaver Collection, WCU.

[5] Guy N. Numbers to H. C. Wilburn, June 30, 1937, File 11, Box III, Wilburn Collection, GRSM.

[6] H. C. Wilburn to Robert P. White, March 10, 1940, File 20, Box III, Wilburn Collection, GRSM.

[7] George M. Stephens to Ronald F. Lee, June 10, 1947, File 833.05, Box 1143, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Arno B. Cammerer to the Superintendent, March 3, 1940, J. R. Eakin to the Director, April 23, 1940, and H.C. Wilburn to Superintendent, June 11, 1940, File 5, Box II, Wilburn Collection, GRSM.

[8] Blair Ross to the Director, June 11, 1948, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM.

[9] Barry Mackintosh, "The National Park Service Moves into Historical Interpretation," *The Public Historian* 9, no. 2 (Spring 1987): 53.

[10] J. Ross Eakin to The Director, May 7, 1932, File 620, Box 1132, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[11] T. Young, "False, cheap, and degraded: when history, economy and environment collided at Cades Cove, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," *Journal of Historical Geography* 32 (2006): 175.

[12] Horace M. Albright to J. Ross Eakin, June 11, 1932, File 620, Box 1132, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[13] Arno B. Cammerer to J. Ross Eakin, May 4, 1932, File 620, Box 1132, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[14] J. Ross Eakin to The Director, May 7, 1932, File 620, Box 1132, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[15] Arno B. Cammerer to J. Ross Eakin, May 15, 1932, and Eakin to Charles S. Dunn, May 16, 1932, File 620, Box 1132, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[16] J. R. Eakin to The Director, August 17, 1932, and Arno B. Cammerer to Eakin, August 24, 1932, File 620, Box 1132, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[17] Willis King, "Memorandum Regarding the Preservation of Log Cabins in the Cataloochee Watershed for Museum Purposes," February 1935, and H. C. Wilburn to Willis King, February 28, 1935, File 12, Box IV, Wilburn Collection, GRSM.

[18] Historic Building Survey, no date, and Summary of 1935 Inventory of Buildings the Smokies, no date, Box I, Grossman Collection, GRSM.

[19] Young, "False, cheap and degraded," 173.

[20] Charles S. Grossman, "A Study for the Preservation of Mountain Culture in Field Museums of History," no date, Box I, Grossman Collection, GRSM; Michal Strutin, *Gristmills of the Smokies* (Gatlinburg: Great Smoky Mountains Association, 2000), 5-12.

[21] Charles S. Grossman, "A Study for the Preservation of Mountain Culture in Field Museums of History," no date, Box I, Grossman Collection, GRSM.

[22] Charles S. Grossman, "A Study for the Preservation of Mountain Culture in Field Museums of History," no date, Box I, Grossman Collection, GRSM.

[23] The original memorandum was dated July 29, 1937, and was signed by Acting Assistant Director Branch Spalding, Acting Chief Architect W. J. Carnes, Chief of the Museum Division Ned J. Burns, and Assistant Director Harold C. Bryant. The same memo was resubmitted with Tom Vint signing in place of Carnes on January 17, 1938. Cammerer approved it on February 3, 1938. See File 840 Part 1, Box 1143, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[24] Spalding et al. to the Director, July 29, 1937, File 840 Part 1, Box 1143, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[25] Carl P. Russell to the Superintendent, July 9, 1938, File 6, Box VII, Interpretive Division Collection, GRSM.

[26] Report quoted in Young, "False, cheap, and degraded," 176-77.

[27] *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1939* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939), 271.

[28] Arno B. Cammerer to the Superintendent, March 3, 1940, File 5, Box II, Wilburn Collection, GRSM.

[29] H. C. Wilburn to Park Naturalist, no date, and Wilburn to Superintendent, June 11, 1940, File 5, Box II, Wilburn Collection, GRSM.

[30] H. C. Wilburn to the Superintendent, April 13, 1940, File 10, Box, - Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[31] Arthur Stupka to the Superintendent, May 2, 1940, File 10, Box XIV, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[32] Willis King to Superintendent, April 24, 1940, File 10, Box XIV, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[33] Frank Mattson to the Superintendent, May 14, 1940, File 10, Box XIV, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[34] Roy Edgar Appleman to Regional Director, May 16, 1940, File 10, Park Management Collection XIV, GRSM.

[35] Hans Huth, "Report on the Preservation of Mountain Culture in Great Smoky Mountains National Park," report prepared for U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, August 1941, File 10, Box XIV, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[36] Roy Edgar Appleman to Regional Director, December 6, 1941, File 10, Box XIV, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[37] Charles S. Grossman to Mr. Eakin, April 22, 1943, Box I, Grossman Collection, GRSM.

Chapter Sixteen

The Interpretive Program

Park Service officials who developed the interpretive program at Great Smoky Mountains National Park traveled a rocky road. From the interpretive program's inception in 1939, it faced three major challenges. First, the visitor use pattern in the park was such that the interpretive staff could never achieve the desired goal of making contact with a substantial percentage of visitors. Their biggest obstacle in this regard was the fact that Great Smoky Mountains had no entrance stations. Without manned entrance booths, the Park Service could not dispense information to each carload of people entering the park. In the 1940s and early 1950s, ranger-naturalists tried to compensate for the lack of entrance stations by making rounds at Smokemont and Chimneys campgrounds, greeting as many visitors as possible in their campsites. But as the number of campgrounds proliferated in the Mission 66 era the park abandoned this approach. The opening of Sugarlands Visitor Center in 1961 partially remedied the problem; however, this facility became so overcrowded at peak times that the Park Service eventually opened a welcome center in Gatlinburg to take some of the load off it. The decentralized visitor circulation pattern at Great Smoky Mountains contrasted with the situation found in most other parks where a high percentage of visitors stopped at an entrance station or visitor center as they entered the park.

The second challenge for the interpretive program at Great Smoky Mountains had to do with the park's political geography. With half the park in Tennessee and half in North Carolina, the Park Service was pressed to develop an interpretive plan that included two museums or visitor centers, one for each state. The first would focus on natural history, the second on mountain culture. But two visitor centers appeared to be more than the park's quota, so a temporary exhibit in the ranger station was made to suffice for the long-sought Museum of Mountain Culture at Oconaluftee. As a result, a central organizing principle of the interpretive plan — separation of subject matter between the two respective sides of the park — was thwarted.

The third challenge for the interpretive program stemmed from the nature of the park's resources. The qualities that made Great Smoky Mountains a national treasure were not easily distilled into a succinct interpretive theme. The park contained enormous biodiversity; it had impressive topographical relief and inspiring scenery; it was home to a mountain culture; it protected the largest wilderness in the eastern United States. All of these qualities came together to form a complex story. In all its complexity, Great Smoky Mountains lacked the crisp narrative edge that park interpreters found so useful, for example, in the description of the Everglades as "a river of grass," or of Mount Rainier as "an arctic island in a temperate sea." At one time it was suggested that the idea of "sanctuary" might serve to tie together all elements of the park story — "a sanctuary of flora and fauna in geologic time and a sanctuary for people in historic time."[1] This was simply too vague to be useful, however.

The interpretive program at Great Smoky Mountains National Park developed in the face of these many challenges. In search of a solid footing, the program tended to lurch from one major Park Service initiative in interpretive planning and programming to the next. In the Mission 66 era, it embraced the idea of bringing interpretation to the automobile-bound visitor through the development of wayside exhibits and motor-nature trails. During the Hartzog era, it ventured into Living History, appealing to a perceived desire on the part of the public for more emphasis on cultural history interpretation. In the present era of retrenchment, it built on opportunities growing out of the park's location in a densely populated region of the United States to pursue a new client base through such initiatives as Park as Classrooms and other forms of environmental education outreach. Over the years the interpretive program at Great Smoky Mountains displayed a certain degree of faddishness. Perhaps this was only befitting a park that so quickly came to serve more visitors than any other park in the system.

Early Years

The interpretive program at Great Smoky Mountains National Park formally began in the summer of 1939 when park naturalist Arthur Stupka and two seasonal ranger-naturalists,

H. M. Jennison and J. P. Porter, both professors of botany at the University of Tennessee, began leading the public on nature hikes. Each outing was advertised in local newspapers and hotel lobbies and drew around one to two dozen people. Popular hikes included the trails to Laurel Falls, Mt. LeConte, and Charlies Bunion. While leading each hike the ranger-naturalists pointed out interesting natural phenomena along the way. In addition to hikes, Stupka and his two assistants gave public lectures about the natural history of the Smokies. Lacking campground amphitheaters in the park, they held these lectures at the three hotels in Gatlinburg and at other venues in Knoxville, Maryville, Elkmont, Bryson City, Waynesville, and Lake Junalaska. Based on many positive remarks received from people attending the hikes and lectures, Stupka thought the "nature-guide services" were amply justified. After his two assistants returned to teaching university classes in the fall, Stupka carried on these activities by himself until October 30. At the end of the season he and his assistants had conducted a total of 200 guided walks and lectures, attended by a total of 6,867 people.[2]

Stupka, like other park naturalists in the 1930s, measured the success of the interpretive program by tallying the number of "visitor contacts" made. For each guided walk or public lecture, Stupka recorded the number of persons attending, each of whom was considered a "visitor contact." At the end of the year he tallied the attendance figures for all events. He used the totals to help evaluate the relative effectiveness of one type of activity versus another. If numbers were up, more staff time might be devoted to that activity. If numbers were down, the activity might be modified or discontinued. The numbers were also used to disclose visitor-use trends, justify staff increases, and guide construction design such as the seating capacity in a campground amphitheater. Finally, the totals recorded for all activities were combined into a grand total of "visitor contacts" for the year. In 1940, Stupka reported almost double the number of contacts compared to the first year. In 1941, the park was allotted two more seasonal ranger-naturalists for a total of four and at the end of the season Stupka again reported almost double the number of contacts compared to the previous year. These gross figures served as a management indicator that the interpretive program was doing well.

By another measure, these figures belied one of the big challenges facing interpretation at Great Smoky Mountains. The total number of visitor contacts in 1941 was 22,254. That year was also the first year that the park administration made an official estimate of total visitation, pegging it at 1,310,010. Thus, the interpretive staff made contact with one visitor in 59, a relatively miniscule number. At Lassen Volcanic National Park, California in that same year, for example, the park naturalist reported 63,062 contacts out of 108,663 total visitors, or better than one visitor in two.[3] The main difference between the two parks was that Great Smoky Mountains lacked entrance stations and a museum.

During World War II, Stupka carried on the interpretive program alone, still striving to maximize visitor contacts. What he could not achieve in quantity, he made up for in quality. In the summer of 1944, he led a total of 2,425 people on hikes, spending an average of 4½ hours with each person. The longest hike was an 11-hour roundtrip to Gregory Bald. Since wartime gas rationing was in place, each hike began in front of the Gatlinburg bus station, where the group proceeded either by bus or on foot to the trailhead.[4]

Preparation of the park's first interpretive prospectus was initiated one month before the United States entered World War II, shelved for the duration of the war, and completed in 1945-46. Ned J. Burns, chief of the Museum Division, visited Great Smoky Mountains in early November 1941 and discussed museum plans with Eakin, Stupka, and Resident Landscape Architect R. A. Wilhelm. Out of this meeting came several points that would guide program development in the future. It was agreed that the interpretive program should emphasize human history as well as natural history. Further, the park should be served by two museums, one focused on science and located at Sugarlands, the other focused on mountain culture and located at Mingus Creek. As for the Cherokee story, that would be left to a Museum of the Cherokee Indian currently proposed on the Cherokee Indian Reservation. The two park museums would establish major components of the interpretive program in both Tennessee and North Carolina, an important point since each state had appointed a museum committee to make sure that its interests were not overlooked. Finally, an outdoor exhibit of log buildings should be established at Cades Cove. This exhibit would "assume the proportions of a village" and be modeled after outdoor museums found in Scandinavia.[5]

As World War II drew to a close in 1945, Chief Landscape Architect Tom Vint tried to refresh Great Smoky Mountains' prewar moldering museum plans by submitting to the director a "radical proposal" to turn the existing park headquarters building into a museum and interpretive staff headquarters. Vint suggested that the existing building would do handsomely as a place to receive visitors and mount museum exhibits, and new administrative offices could be built behind the existing building so as to preserve the prominence of the existing building from the wye. If the new administration building was constructed along utilitarian lines, Vint argued, it would cost less than a new museum and laboratory building. Acting Superintendent Needham

opposed Vint's idea, but Regional Director Thomas J. Allen supported it. The Museum Division's Chief Burns pronounced it a worthy and practicable plan. At the same time, he reminded Vint that "public relations" required the Park Service to build a second "public contact building" on the North Carolina side of the park, where the pioneer story would be featured.[6]

Stupka prepared the park's first interpretive prospectus the following spring, assisted by Historical Technician Ralph H. Lewis. As before, the prospectus made museum development the highest priority for interpretation. Indeed, as the authors wrote in their cover letter to the superintendent, the prospectus took from previous interpretive planning efforts and included "nothing revolutionary." It reiterated the two-museum plan consisting of a natural history museum at Sugarlands and a mountain culture museum at Oconaluftee, sketched how the administrative headquarters building would be adapted for use for the natural history museum, and similarly sketched how a pioneer culture museum of approximately 2,500 square feet would be laid out at Oconaluftee. One innovation in the prospectus was that it called for "a major field exhibit of mountain culture" at the end of Mingus Creek to be "closely associated with the museum." The exhibit was to consist of farm units in a natural setting, a tub mill, pounding mill, and school house, with the buildings furnished but not occupied. The Cades Cove field exhibit, meanwhile, would consist of ten units scattered along the loop road. These buildings would be unfurnished and closed up, except for one house to be restored near Cable Mill that would be furnished and open to the public. The interpretive prospectus further prescribed that visitor access to Cades Cove would be provided via a one-way loop road that generally followed the existing county road, and that about 70 percent of the area valley floor would be maintained in open fields. Finally, the prospectus called for minor field exhibits at the Jim Carr place on the main park road and the Bales place on Roaring Fork. Other important pioneer buildings in the Cataloochee Valley, the Deep Creek/Indian Creek area, and Greenbrier would be stabilized pending a later decision about what to do with them.[7]

The interpretive prospectus met with some skepticism by staff members in the regional office in Richmond. Regional Forester Fred H. Arnold called it "too ambitious" and "pretentious," and he thought it placed too much emphasis on preserving the mountain culture. Regional Engineer W. E. O'Neil, Jr., thought that it portrayed a very sizable program. To implement the plan in its entirety, O'Neil contended, would be to take on "a restoration project with operation, maintenance and protection problems on a par with Williamsburg, Virginia as far as the number of structures is concerned and scattered over widely separated areas." But Regional Director Thomas J. Allen did not share these reservations, calling it "an excellent job" and recommending it for approval.[8] It was signed by the director on May 6, 1946.

Park naturalist **Arthur Stupka** and his two assistants led guided walks and gave public lectures about the natural history of the Smokies. Lacking campground amphitheaters in the park, they held lectures at the hotels in Gatlinburg and at other venues in Knoxville, Maryville, Elkmont, Bryson City, Waynesville, and Lake Junaluska.

In the lean years following World War II, the Park Service made no headway toward developing the museums and field exhibits described in the prospectus. Park boosters in North Carolina grew impatient. Pointing out that the interpretive program was practically confined to the Tennessee side of the park, they suggested that a start could be made by hiring a consultant to work with the park in developing a temporary museum exhibit at the Oconaluftee Ranger Station, and that a ranger-naturalist could be stationed there during the summer months.[9]

Accordingly, the regional office dispatched Museum Curator J. Paul Hudson to Great Smoky Mountains in December 1947 to see what could be done. Hudson spent four days transferring the collection of mountain culture artifacts from the park headquarters building to the attic of the Oconaluftee Ranger Station and developing plans for an exhibit there. He returned in April, at which time Superintendent Ross diverted part of the park's operating funds to cover costs for preparing exhibits in six glass-faced cabinets and

five display tables. The museum was opened that summer. The Park Service kept a careful record of attendance, and Ross reported that from June 1 to October 31, 1948, the museum drew a total of 53,511 visitors.[10]

The Pioneer Museum became the focal point of the interpretive program for the next several years. Most years a ranger-naturalist was stationed in the museum throughout the summer, but in the summer of 1952 the facility was left unmanned, being unlocked and locked by a ranger at the beginning and end of each day. Remarkably there was no theft. In August 1952, work began on moving historic structures from various locations in the park to Oconaluftee, where they were rebuilt and arranged in an outdoor exhibit called the "Pioneer Farmstead." The exhibit opened to the public in June 1953. Stupka reported that largely due to this exhibit, visitor contacts reached an all-time high that year, with more than 185,000 people stopping at Oconaluftee to visit the indoor and outdoor exhibits.[11]

Mission 66

Before Mission 66, interpretive services in the national parks focused on three areas: museum use, guided walks, and campfire talks and lectures. Despite making great strides in expanding its reach in all three areas, the Park Service perceived that it was losing ground. This was because national park use was growing at such a prodigious rate that interpretive programs could not keep up. Numbers of visitor contacts were increasing, but total visitation was increasing faster. More and more people were visiting parks without benefit of any interpretation of what they were seeing.[12] To address this problem, Mission 66 pushed interpretive programs in a new direction, toward a greater emphasis on self-guiding walks, better signage, new wayside exhibits, and orientation films — in a word, automation. The goal of automation was not just to augment what could be accomplished with a limited staff, but to make interpretation more accessible to a motoring public. The Mission 66 plan for Great Smoky Mountains National Park promised "a complete system of roadside and trailside interpretive devices, including signs and markers and self-guiding nature trails." These developments also supported the Mission 66 goal of dispersing visitors more evenly throughout the park. With interpretation decentralized along Great Smoky Mountains National Park's road and trail system, people would enjoy more freedom and confidence to explore on their own. "The entire journey through the park should thus become a continuous series of new pleasures," the Mission 66 plan projected. "Most people will linger longer, and rather than concentrate in a few areas, as they do today, much more of the rest of the park along the routes of travel will have interest and appeal."[13]

During the next five years the Park Service zealously mass-produced interpretive signs along the Newfound Gap Road, the Cades Cove Loop Road, and other roads in the park. The signs identified roadside views and gave information on wildlife, forest trees, historic structures, and other features. By 1961, the park had a whopping 374 informational signs along its roads. These were first-generation wayside exhibits that apparently did not last. A decade and a half later, as the park prepared to put in a new generation of 25 wayside exhibits, the chief of interpretation stated that there was only one wayside exhibit in the entire park and it was outdated.[14]

In addition to signage, the Park Service produced informational leaflets designed both for self-guiding auto tours and hikes. The latter were keyed to numbered posts along a given trail. A trail register installed at the start of each trail gave the park a means of tallying "visitor contacts" and soliciting comments. Thousands of people used these interpretive services and wrote appreciative remarks in the trail registers.[15]

The park also dispersed the interpretive staff more widely around the park. Campfire programs were given on a regular basis at four of the park's five major campgrounds: Smokemont, Chimneys, Cades Cove, and Deep Creek. (The fifth campground, Balsam Mountain, was more remote and drew fewer numbers of campers.)[16] Seasonal rangers were stationed at a new information booth at Newfound Gap and occasionally in the new Clingmans Dome Tower. Information stations were built near the three main entrances to the park. These were equivalent to "checking stations" (entrance stations) in other parks, although no fees were collected. Interpretive staff manned these stations a few days per month, greeting people in their cars and distributing the park brochure and other literature.[17]

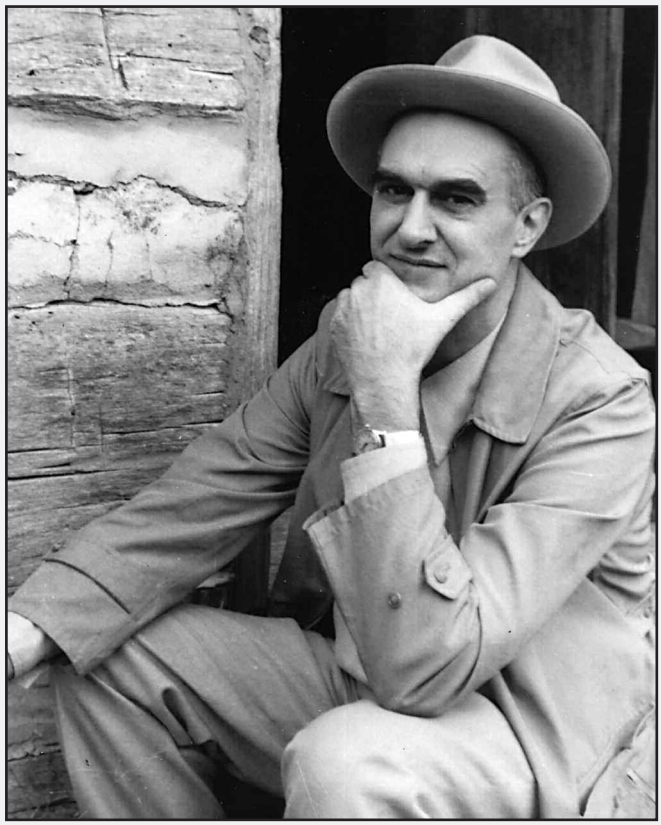
Thanks to an increase in interpretive staff – nine seasonal ranger-naturalists in 1957 comprised the largest seasonal staff the park had ever had – the interpretive program continued to include numerous guided walks, campfire talks, and public lectures. Stupka continued to give lectures at hotels in Gatlinburg, and in 1957 he moved these talks to the town's new civic auditorium. Giving two talks per week from May through October, he reached several thousand people each summer. Guided walks, meanwhile, ranged from leisurely-paced 90-minute walks through forest to vigorous overnight trips to the summit of Mt. LeConte. Even in this area of interpretative activity the staff was solicitous of the automobile-bound visitor. Each April and October the park naturalist led several "auto caravans" to view spectacular displays of wildflowers and fall colors respectively.[18]

The Spring Wildflower Pilgrimage grew into a nationally-renowned event. First held in April 1951, it was an immediate success. By 1957, it had grown to 46 events including auto caravans, guided walks, evening programs, and flower exhibits of various kinds. Some 1,900 people attended. The park charged a $1.50 registration fee and enlisted the help of several volunteer botanists to lead some of the many scheduled activities.[19]

Even with such a wide dispersal of interpretive services, the indoor and outdoor museums at Oconaluftee still drew by far the biggest crowds. The park recorded 361,770 visitor contacts at Oconaluftee Ranger Station in 1957, compared to 10,959 contacts on guided walks, and 9,686 contacts at campfire programs. In the language of Mission 66, Oconaluftee Ranger Station was an "information station" together with the information desk at park headquarters, which served 28,409 visitors that year.[20] The Mission 66 plan for Great Smoky Mountains National Park called for two main "visitor centers" at Sugarlands and Oconaluftee. Sticking to the plan put forth in the interpretive prospectus of 1946, the Sugarlands visitor center would contain a museum of natural history and the Oconaluftee visitor center would contain a museum of human history.[21]

The visitor center was a new concept, a Park Service invention. The idea behind the visitor center was to create a multi-purpose facility that would encourage motorists to stop and receive an orientation as they first entered the park. The visitor center differed from the old-style park museum in its invitation to the visitor to make only a brief stop. Generically, the visitor center featured an information desk, a relief model or large orientation map, an auditorium for screening the park's orientation film, and public restrooms that were usually accessible from the outside, saving the road-weary from making a bee-line trek through the lobby. Usually the visitor center included a small museum as well as administrative offices for the interpretive staff.

Superintendent Hummel's prospectus for the visitor center at Sugarlands largely followed the 1946 interpretive prospectus with one major difference: it would be a new building. In fact, Hummel and his staff envisioned a much larger building than the one that was eventually built. They wanted the building to be situated on the south side of the Little River Road and oriented so that the front lobby would have a grand view of Mt. Le Conte. They estimated that the facility would need to accommodate as many as 500 people on a regular basis during peak season, and up to 800 people on occasional peak days such as during fall-color tours. They wanted a large assembly room that could seat as many as 200 people and an exhibit room that could hold 350, with space for separate exhibits on plants, animals, and geology. They thought the parking area should be big enough for 150 cars, with overflow parking on grass for another 125 cars.[22] As originally built, the visitor center had only a modest-sized auditorium and its exhibit room was considerably smaller than the staff desired. Built on sloping ground with a daylight basement facing to the rear of the building, the lower level included space for a laboratory, herbarium, library, and archives.



Superintendent **Edward A. Hummel** was in charge during much of the Mission 66 planning period. He envisioned a much larger Sugarlands Visitor Center than the one that was eventually built. He wanted the building to be situated on the south side of the Little River Road and oriented so that the front lobby would have a grand view of Mt. Le Conte.

Director Wirth came to the park to dedicate the Sugarlands Visitor Center on its opening day. Speaking to an eager crowd, the director said that the visitor center was one response to a growing demand for information in the park, and that it was designed to "answer a wide variety of visitors' questions in an efficient and pleasing manner."[23]

The second visitor center at Oconaluftee was supposed to have all the features of the first one, including an auditorium, exhibit room, workshop, and reading room. Planning for the second visitor center apparently got as far as a drawing attached to a preliminary master plan prepared by the Eastern Office of Design and Construction. Hummel objected to the EODC's concept of locating the visitor center

on the other side of the Oconaluftee River from the Pioneer Farm. Hummel and his staff believed the facility should be located for the convenience of people entering the park from the North Carolina side so that it would serve to orient visitors to the entire park, not just the Pioneer Farm.[24] Another possibility was to move the Pioneer Farm to the other side of the river.[25] All of this became moot, however, as Mission 66 funding petered out before the project could be initiated.

Living History

At a conference of Southeast Region superintendents held in February 1965, William C. Everhart, chief of the Division of Interpretation and Visitor Services, announced a new direction in Park Service interpretation. It was Director Hartzog's aim to professionalize the Park Service's work in the field of communications. Instead of recruiting ranger-naturalists based on their expertise in botany or history or other academic subject fields, the Park Service would look for interpreters who were interested in working with people and who showed exceptional ability as communicators. As part of this new direction, interpretation was separated from research. Henceforth, the interpretive staff would focus their energies on serving the visitor through educational programming.[26]

This new emphasis on effective communications was soon coupled with another initiative, "living history." The practice of interpreting historical technologies, crafts, and life ways through reenactment or demonstration was not entirely new in the national parks; at Great Smoky Mountains the Park Service had put Mingus Mill back in operation as a historical exhibit in the 1930s, and more examples could be found in other parks. What distinguished "living history" from these antecedents was the use of costumed interpreters who acted their parts and sometimes even role-played, speaking in the first person from the perspective of their assumed identity. The idea of living history was inspired by a proposal in April 1965 by Marion Clawson, program director of Resources for the Future, for federal sponsorship of a national system of operating historical farms that would demonstrate agricultural practices characteristic of different eras and regions in the nation's past.[27] The idea took hold as living history farms (also called "living farms") were established in various places from Iowa to Washington state.

With its mountain culture program, Great Smoky Mountains seemed to be a natural fit for the Park Service's move into living history. In July 1966, Chief Historian Roy Appleman oversaw the compilation of a list of national park system units with greatest potential for living farm development, and Great Smoky Mountains was included in the list. Four months later, the Washington Office requested a new plan of development for the Pioneer Farm at Oconaluftee. Specifically, it encouraged the park to reintroduce livestock into the pastoral scene.[28] Chief Park Naturalist V. R. Bender, Jr., responded with a memorandum to the superintendent outlining how the living farms concept recently propounded by Resources for the Future could be applied at both Oconaluftee and Cades Cove. Bender proposed to modify the existing agricultural leases at Oconaluftee so that lessees would not just mow the field, but also pasture cattle on it. From November 1 to May 1 each year the livestock would require shelter and would need to be moved out of the area. He also proposed to introduce chickens, geese, ducks, and perhaps a few pigs and sheep during the summer season. These animals could be sold or given away each fall. The farm would require a part-time caretaker to tend the animals and grounds and discourage theft. Ideally, this person would also interact with visitors and conduct demonstrations such as weaving chair bottoms, splitting shakes, shooting a muzzle loading rifle, and making bullets. In Cades Cove, Bender suggested that the Coada house could be refurbished with bottled gas heating, lighting, and refrigeration, running water, and a septic system, and occupied by a person on government salary who would raise farm animals and small crops as well as operate the Cable Mill. The operation would be kept so small as not to require any farm machinery such as tractors, mowing machine, or balers.[29]

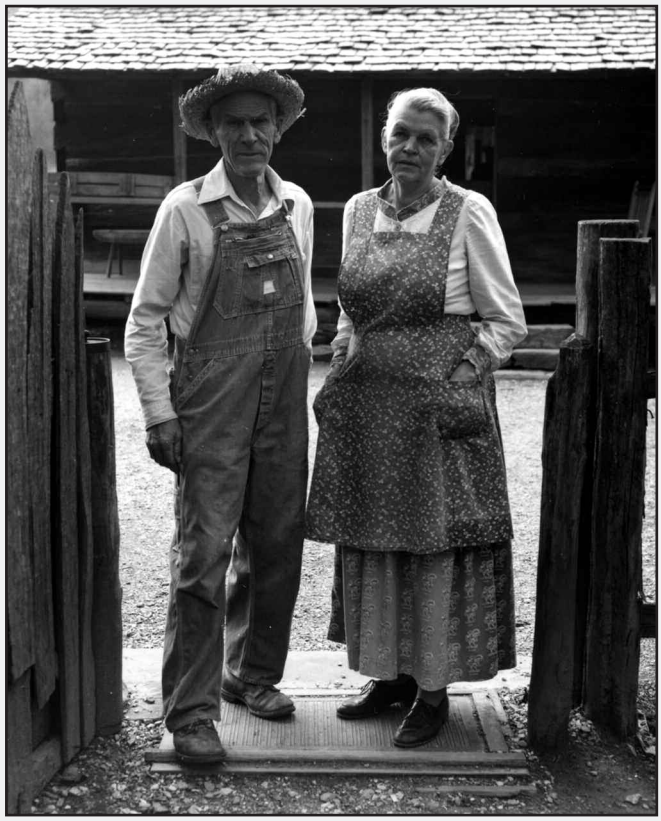
Superintendent Fry balked at some of Bender's ideas; pasturing cattle at Oconaluftee would require extending the rail fence all the way around the 30-acre field next to the farmstead, and the park's operating budget did not allow for a small working farm operation such as Bender envisioned for Cades Cove. There were also health and safety concerns associated with putting visitors and farm animals together. Nevertheless, with the help of donations from the Great Smoky Mountains Natural History Association, the park steadily increased its involvement in living history. Beginning with a muzzle loading rifle demonstration at Cades Cove in 1965, the park added weaving and shake making demonstrations at Oconaluftee and Cades Cove in 1966-67, and finally introduced farm animals at both locations in the summer of 1968. The outdoor exhibit at Oconaluftee had a full complement of farmyard animals including pigs, sheep, oxen, guineas, and chickens. All were free roaming except the pigs, which were penned. In the fall of 1969 a sorghum making demonstration employing an oxen was added to the program at Oconaluftee, and the following year another sorghum mill powered by a mule was introduced at Cades Cove.[30]

Interpreters in period dress became part of the program. The Great Smoky Mountains Natural History Association employed a park technician, Aubrey Coward, to spend each day at the Pioneer Farm dressed in bib overalls, blue denim shirt, and straw hat, acting the part of the farmer. The association also employed millers at Mingus Mill and Cable Mill and saleswomen at the Cades Cove country store, all of whom wore period clothes.[31]

The public responded enthusiastically to living history. The demonstrations drew large crowds. Superintendent Keith Neilson suggested that the popularity of living history at Great Smoky Mountains stemmed from the fact that most visitors were only one generation removed from the way of life being depicted and they took pride in showing these things to their children. For example, at weaving demonstrations people were overheard to say, "your grandmother used to weave clothing for the entire family." For city folk a visit to the living farm could be a kind of entertainment, but that was not to say the experience was shallow or unmemorable. When a child from the city rode in an ox-drawn wagon or fed a lamb, it was a tactile experience that this person might otherwise be denied.[32]

Not everyone approved of living history. People challenged its authenticity. One critic complained that the living farm at Booker T. Washington National Monument came across as a "charming scene…with almost no indication of the social environmental realities of slave life." Other detractors complained that living history often struck the wrong tone. To a visitor at Vicksburg National Military Park, a weapons demonstration seemed quite inappropriate as it implicitly promoted the nation's "martial tradition" against a backdrop of other interpretive material that spoke to the tragedy and horror of the Civil War. Another individual found the country store at Appomattox Court House National Historical Park with its costumed clerk and old-time candy "very attractively done," but weirdly distracting from that place's larger historical meaning. At Great Smoky Mountains, a demonstration of how to make corn whiskey brought letters of protest from the Women's Christian Temperance Union. In response, the Park Service sent a circular to all superintendents in the Southeast Region: "No such still should be set up as a single interpretive device that might be misconstrued as a monument to the distilling industry, legal or otherwise. The still must be part of an integrated program illustrating many phases of pioneer life."[33]

Living history highlighted a problem that interpreters at Great Smoky Mountains had struggled with since the 1930s: what period, exactly, was the mountain culture program trying to depict? In the park's early years, what little interpretation of the mountain culture was done put an emphasis on the mountain culture's continuity with the old frontier in the eighteenth century. Through the 1950s, Park Service interpretation of mountain culture fell into the same sentimental trap that so many popular writers fell into, treating communities like Cades Cove as though they were places out of time. A more sophisticated rendering of local history revealed that such communities had in fact evolved, manifestly influenced by industrialization, urbanization, immigration and other main currents in American history. By the 1960s, the Park Service had decided to interpret the mountain culture as it had existed circa 1890-1920 — and to counter stereotypes that the mountain culture was isolated and frozen in time. But in doing so it had to make do with a collection of historic resources that were, in fact, heavily weighted toward an earlier period. Owing to the Park Service's bias in the 1930s and 1940s for preserving log cabins over frame houses, the architectural record from about 1870 to 1930 had been largely obliterated.[34]



The park employed **Arvel and Jane Green**, a husband and wife, to work at the Pioneer Farm from April to October. In addition to watching them demonstrate such domestic arts as weaving, spinning, dyeing, and making soap, brooms, and shakes, visitors could observe them through the open Dutch door of the Davis-Queen cabin eating a home-cooked meal.

Despite these challenges, Great Smoky Mountains developed a diverse program during the heyday of living history in the 1970s. The park employed Arvel and Jane Green, a

husband and wife couple of old-timers, to work at the Pioneer Farm each day from April to October. In addition to watching them demonstrate such domestic arts as weaving, spinning, dyeing, and making soap, brooms, and shakes, visitors could observe them through the open Dutch door of the pioneer home eating a home-cooked meal. Jane Green, who had never used an electric range, still made soup beans, cornbread, and cake on a wood stove. At Cades Cove, living history focused on the complex of buildings at Cable Mill, where blacksmithing demonstrations were carried out in the blacksmith shop and musicians played folk instruments on the porch of the country store. At Little Greenbrier, a retired school teacher and superintendent named Elsie Burrell led groups once or twice per week on a half-mile walk to the school house where she would ring the bell, seat everyone, and conduct an old-time spelling bee.[35]

By the end of the 1970s, living history began to wane. It was not for lack of enthusiasm by the public, but due to mounting concerns within the Park Service about its authenticity and appropriateness. These problems related in turn to funding issues. High-caliber living history required a strong commitment to research and a meticulous attention to detail that was simply not possible for a staff comprised mostly of seasonal employees. At Great Smoky Mountains, as in other units of the national park system, living history became heavily subsidized by the park's cooperating association. By 1982, the Great Smoky Mountains Natural History Association was funding virtually the entire living history program in the park, paying salaries of all of the demonstrators at Oconaluftee, Cades Cove, and Little Greenbrier. In 1984, living history demonstrations were significantly curtailed.[36]

Retrenchment

Beginning in the late 1970s and continuing through the next decade and a half the traditional interpretive program of museum use, guided walks, and campfire talks entered a long period of retrenchment. Staff and budget cuts beset the interpretive division. While the number of permanent staff in the division held steady at about a dozen, the number of seasonal interpreters declined from upwards of 20 in the early 1980s to 16 at end of the decade and just 12 in 1993.[37] The division compensated for staff reductions by making more and more use of volunteers through the Volunteers in Parks (VIP) program as well as paid employees of the Great Smoky Mountains Natural History Association. Still, staff and budget cuts required some restructuring of the traditional interpretive program.

Replacement of NPS employees by association employees was nowhere more evident than in the visitor centers. Association employees assisted at sales and information desks, ran the park's library, worked in the archives, performed curatorial duties, and provided clerical and other support services.[38] They worked at the park's three visitor centers: Sugarlands, Oconaluftee (the former ranger station), and Cades Cove (the Becky Cable house). Together, these three facilities served upwards of a million visitors each year. In 1982, the year of the Knoxville World's Fair, the park added information kiosks on the lawn in front of Sugarlands Visitor Center and at the Townsend Wye. The first was manned by two NPS employees during peak periods and served 123,629 people, reducing pressure on the visitor center. The second was manned on a full-time basis from May 14 to October 25 and served 65,800 visitors. The kiosk at the Townsend Wye was kept in use after 1982.[39]

The interpretive staff continued to conduct nature walks; however, there was a shift in emphasis toward shorter walks. The change was due in part to changing visitor demand as some of the longer walks had few takers while some of the shorter walks became more popular. Indeed, a new variety of a 20-minute "introductory hike" was implemented at Sugarlands, Oconaluftee, Mingus Mill, and Cable Mill in 1980 and drew large attendance, thereby allowing more than double the number of conducted hikes offered per week compared to the previous year. Of course, these mini-hikes required less staff time, which freed up interpreters for other duties. One of the new duties was roving interpretation. A roving interpreter went to the point of greatest visitor concentration, such as Clingmans Dome or Newfound Gap, and simply mingled with the crowd, answering questions. Besides making many visitor contacts in this way, roving interpreters had a salutary effect on people's behavior under these crowded conditions, discouraging individuals from walking off trail, littering, feeding critters, and so on.[40]

The interpretive staff also gave fewer campfire talks. In the 1980s, it offered programs at six campgrounds: Smokemont, Cades Cove, Elkmont, Balsam Mountain, Cosby, and Look Rock. A seasonal ranger gave programs at Cataloochee Campground. But the programs were less frequent than in the past and attendance went down. Tom Robbins, a ranger-naturalist at Oconaluftee, remembered that there was a program offered every night of the week in the major campgrounds when he joined the park staff in the late 1970s. "If you didn't have 200 to 300 people you had to figure what am I doing wrong?" he recalled. "Nowadays you feel lucky to get 50 to 75 people." The main reason for the lower attendance was that campgrounds were no longer filling up. And the main reason for the reduction in campground use was the "plethora of motels competing for business" — some

dropping their rates to as little as $17 a night on a week day in the shoulder season, which made them price competitive with the rising campground fees. Beyond these factors, however, Robbins suggested that people had less interest as the years passed. More campers were content to stay in their RVs, essentially lounging indoors, watching satellite TV with the kids. And why would they want to go to a campfire talk about bears, for example, when they could get that information on the Discovery Channel?[41]

The trend toward automation continued. One new innovation was the Traveler's Information Station (TIS) — a radio station with a very small broadcasting area that could transmit to car radios as motorists drove through the area. Each TIS had a different message, usually about two minutes long, specific to the broadcast area. There were 15 of these in the park in 1979. Wayside exhibits gained a new life in the park, too. With the help of Harpers Ferry Center, the park installed a second generation of wayside exhibits in the early 1980s. These numbered 35. Audio-visual materials also helped to reach more people. A new orientation film, produced with a grant from the Alcoa Foundation and the Great Smoky Mountains Natural History Association, went into use at the Sugarlands Visitor Center in May 1979.[42]

In the 1990s, the interpretive division began to emerge at last from its doldrums. Two related factors were instrumental in this turnaround: first, the interpretive staff found a new sense of mission in environmental education, especially through participation in the Parks as Classrooms program, and second, it entered into a more dynamic process of program development through partnering. "Partnerships" became the wave of the future as an increasingly entrepreneurial professional staff sought to parlay the enormous public support for Great Smoky Mountains National Park into a variety of grant-funded projects.

One bellwether of this new way of accomplishing the government's business came in 1993 with the opening of the Gatlinburg Welcome Center. A joint project by the Park Service and the City of Gatlinburg, it stood at the junction of highways 441 and 321 in downtown Gatlinburg. It was the brainchild of Superintendent Wade, who recognized a need to reduce crowding at Sugarlands Visitor Center. After the welcome center opened, more than a half million visitor contacts per year were deflected to the new facility. Other welcome centers at Pigeon Forge, Townsend, and Kodak soon followed. Park officials discerned that the welcome centers attracted a different type of visitor. Generally these visitors were more interested in the services of the gateway community (motels, restaurants, shopping, entertainment) than in getting park information. It made sense to reach these people outside the park.[43]

Despite these hopeful trends, however, the interpretive program continued to experience budget and staff cuts. In 1999, the division (renamed the Division of Resource Education) turned to volunteers through the Volunteers in Parks program to staff the visitor center information desks. An intensive recruitment effort was followed by a period of VIP training, including a two-day trip to familiarize the VIPs with the park. The change to volunteer staffing was necessary, the superintendent's annual report stated, in order to "allow time for resource education staff to focus on increased visitor contacts in the field and to participate in the newly-developed outreach program."[44]

Environmental Education

With the rise of ecological awareness in the 1960s, interpretation in the national parks acquired a larger purpose. Interpretation of natural history began to shift from the old cataloguing approach to a more dynamic approach focused on ecological relationships. The Park Service also looked for new ties with educational institutions. In 1970, Boyd Evison, then chief of the Division of Environmental Projects at Harpers Ferry Center, established an Environmental Education Task Force to invigorate this effort.[45] Evison was a strong supporter of environmental education when he arrived in the Smokies five years later.

Tremont Environmental Education Center was founded in 1969. Occupying the site of a former Job Corps training facility built in 1964, it provided a place for educators and students to stay while doing field study in the park. In 1976, for example, 5,317 students from 112 different schools participated in week-long sessions, while 130 students enrolled in the summer wilderness-backpacking program. Tremont was operated by Maryville College under a one-year special use permit from 1969 to 1979. At that time two dormitories were condemned and the college pulled out. The Park Service removed the condemned buildings, remodeled another building into a 100-student dormitory, and moved administrative offices into the maintenance building. On September 13, 1980, Tremont reopened under the auspices of the Great Smoky Mountains Natural History Association. The Park Service made more renovations in the following years, adding a new dining hall and housing units. Its long-serving director, Ken Voorhis, entered on duty in 1984. After two decades of stewardship by the cooperating association, Tremont became an independent entity with Voorhis still at the helm. Renamed the Great Smoky Mountains Institute at Tremont, it completed a master plan in 2001 that looked to a thorough renovation of the campus facilities.[46]

The park entered a second partnership for environmen-

tal education in 1978 when it co-founded the Smoky Mountain Field School with the University of Tennessee. In its first year, the school consisted of 14 one-week courses taught by professors and open to the public for a modest tuition of $75 per course. The school struggled with low attendance for several years and then took hold. The course offerings changed from in-depth field studies to family-oriented outings. Although most courses were still led by professors, they were generally one-day events. From an early emphasis on natural history topics, it moved more and more toward an emphasis on heritage.[47]

The park's third major initiative in environmental education began in 1990 when Glen Bogart, principal of Pi Beta Phi School in Gatlinburg, approached Superintendent Pope about a partnership that would expose students to the park. Bogart's idea was to give children in kindergarten through sixth grade learning experiences in the park, and when they reached seventh and eighth grades these children would give a little back to the park through service projects. That year, Chief of Interpretation Gene Cox started a program under the Park Service's new service-wide initiative, Parks as Classrooms. Cox secured a grant through the Southeast Region office and created a full-time environmental education position for one of his staff, Karen Ballantine. Ballantine's job was to work with teachers in developing a curriculum for elementary school field trips in the park. Bogart, for his part, rallied teachers to embrace the program. He also secured critical funding through the local school board. As the curriculum developed, some classes made two or three field trips to the park in a year. Pi Beta Phi's program was then adapted for use by other schools in the area. The number of participating students grew, and by 2007 the program served about 10,000 students in Tennessee and North Carolina.[48]

Park staff saw numerous benefits from the program. First, they believed Parks as Classrooms enriched the students' education. It seemed apparent that time spent in the park opened young minds to a better understanding of ecology and a stronger appreciation of local heritage, and the program's proponents hoped to develop a method for testing that idea with empirical evidence such as test scores. Beyond its academic value, the program built trust and good will in the population surrounding the park. This benefit was brought home in the results of a survey of high school seniors and eighth graders conducted by Marc J. Stern, a Ph.D. candidate at Yale University, in 2004. The study was based on 727 completed surveys and 125 in-depth interviews with students from a dozen schools in seven counties. Stern found that positive attitudes toward the park correlated strongly with the number of school field trips to the park.[49]

The park's latest venture in environmental education is the Appalachian Highlands Science Learning Center. This project began with an overture from two landowners, Kathryn McNeil and Voit Gilmore, to donate their property to the park for environmental education purposes. The 530-acre parcel, located at nearly 5,000 feet elevation, lay within the authorized boundary just outside the existing boundary of the park in Haywood County. Serendipitously, the overture came at the same time as a national initiative called the Natural Resource Challenge, aimed to create a network of research learning centers in different bioregions around the country. The park appointed an education coordinator, Susan Sachs, and a research coordinator, Paul Super, who initiated programs on site in 2000, and in 2001 the facility was officially designated as a National Park Service learning center.[50]

The learning center brought a $225,000 increase in the park's annual base funding, which was intended as seed money for leveraging grants. While getting some research and educational projects underway, Sachs' and Super's efforts focused initially on rehabilitating the landowners' former residence into a suitable facility for housing scientists and students. When renovations were completed in May 2006, the building contained sleeping and living quarters as well as a lab. In its first summer of maximum use, the learning center hosted scientists involved with the All Taxa Biodiversity Inventory as well as one-week training seminars for high school teachers.[51]

[1] L. Clifford Soubier, "Interpretive Overview, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," May 1975, File 16, Box VII, Interpretive Division Collection, GRSM.

[2] Arthur Stupka to J. R. Eakin, November 13, 1939, File 1, Box III, Interpretive Division Collection, GRSM.

[3] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1941, Redwoods National Park Archives.

[4] Arthur Stupka to the Superintendent, November 9, 1944, File 6, Box III, Interpretive Division Collection, GRSM.

[5] Ned J. Burns, "Report on Interpretive Problems in Great Smoky Mountains National Park," November 17, 1941, and C. P. Russell to A. E. Demaray, November 28, 1941, File 833-05, Box 1143, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[6] Tom C. Vint to the Director, February 27, 1945, John T. Needham to Regional Director, May 10, 1945, Regional Director to the Director, May 31, 1945, and N. J. Burns to Vint, July 12, 1945, File 833-05, Box 1143, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[7] Great Smoky Mountains National Park Interpretive Prospectus, March 11, 1946, File 19, Box VII, Interpretive Division Collection, GRSM.

[8] Fred H. Arnold to Associate Regional Director, April 2, 1946, W. E. O'Neil, Jr., "Engineering Comment," March 27, 1946, and Thomas J. Allen to the Director, April 12, 1946, File 833-05, Box 1143, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[9] George M. Stephens to Ronald F. Lee, June 10, 1947, File 833-05, Box 1143, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Charles E. Ray to Blair Ross,

June 22, 1948, Miscellaneous Records 1947-64, National Park, Parkway, and Forests Development Commission Collection, NCSA.

[10] J. Paul Hudson to Regional Director, January 2, 1948, and Blair Ross to Regional Director, August 10, 1948, File 833-05, Box 1143, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1947, 1948, File A26, Box 4, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[11] Park Naturalist to Superintendent, May 11, 1954, File A26, Box 4, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[12] John E. Doerr to All Field Offices, August 29, 1955, enclosing "Annual Summary, Calendar Year 1954, Interpretive Services in the National Park System," File K1819, Box 40, and Questionnaire, no date (1955), File A98, Box 17, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER

[13] National Park Service, "Mission 66 for Great Smoky Mountains National Park," File 5, Box III, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[14] Chief of Interpretation to Superintendent, December 19, 1977, File H2621, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[15] Annual Report on Informational and Interpretive Services, 1957, File K1819, Box 40, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[16] Annual Report on Information and Interpretive Services, 1955, File K1819, Box 40, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[17] Annual Report on Information and Interpretive Services, 1957, 1960, File K1819, Box 40, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[18] Annual Report on Information and Interpretive Services, 1957, File K1819, Box 40, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[19] Annual Report on Information and Interpretive Services, 1957, File K1819, Box 40, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER; "History of the Spring Wildflower Pilgrimage" (2007), http://www.springwildflowerpilgrimage.org/wildflower/Information/history.cfm <January 21, 2008>.

[20] Annual Report on Information and Interpretive Services, 1957, File K1819, Box 40, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[21] National Park Service, "Mission 66 for Great Smoky Mountains National Park," File 5, Box III, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[22] Raymond A. Wilhelm et al., "Exhibit Plan, Natural History Visitor Center, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," no date, File 1, Box VI, Interpretive Division Collection, GRSM.

[23] Quoted in "Smokies Visitor Center is Dedicated," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, October 24, 1960.

[24] Superintendent to the Director, November 16, 1956, File 7, Box VII, Interpretive Division Collection, GRSM.

[25] Assistant Superintendent to Superintendent, November 15, 1956, File 7, Box VII, Interpretive Division Collection, GRSM.

[26] William C. Everhart, "Reorientation of Interpretation," in Proceedings of the Southeast Region Superintendent's Conference, February 1965, File A4063-SE, Box 6, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[27] Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective* (Washington: National Park Service, 1986) [on-line book, no pagination].

[28] Assistant Director to Regional Director, November 2, 1966, File 1, Box VII, Interpretive Division Collection, GRSM.

[29] Chief Park Naturalist to Superintendent, November 28, 1966, File 1, Box VII, Interpretive Division Collection, GRSM.

[30] Superintendent to Regional Director, July 7, 1965, January 11, 1967, September 10, 1968, and September 10, 1970, File 1, Box VII, Interpretive Division Collection, GRSM.

[31] Superintendent to Regional Director, September 10, 1968, and September 10, 1970, File 1, Box VII, Interpretive Division Collection, GRSM.

[32] Superintendent to Regional Director, September 10, 1970, File 1, Box VII, Interpretive Division Collection, GRSM.

[33] Quotations in Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service*, [on-line book, no pagination]; Robbins interview.

[34] Robbins interview.

[35] Kent Cave, interview by Theodore Catton, April 20, 2007; "Guidelines for Living Interpretation," no date [1976], File K1815, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM; Stan Canter, interview by Theodore Catton, August 17, 2007.

[36] Robbins interview; Superintendent's Annual Report for 1982, GRSM; Superintendent's Annual Report for 1984, GRSM.

[37] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1989; Superintendent's Annual Report for 1993, GRSM.

[38] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1976, GRSM.

[39] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1982, GRSM; Cave interview.

[40] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1980, GRSM; Cave interview.

[41] Robbins interview.

[42] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1978, Superintendent's Annual Report for 1979, Superintendent's Annual Report for 1981, Superintendent's Annual Report for 1996, GRSM; Harpers Ferry Center, "A Plan for the Interpretation of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina and Tennessee," July 1987, Vertical Files, GRSM; Cave interview.

[43] Cave interview.

[44] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1999, GRSM.

[45] Mackintosh, "Interpretation in the National Park Service," [on-line book, no pagination].

[46] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1976, Superintendent's Annual Report for 1980, Superintendent's Annual Report for 1984, GRSM; Cathy Cook, interview by Theodore Catton, April 20, 2007; Ken Voorhis, "Undeveloping Tremont – A Vision for Future Site & Facilities," (2007) http://www.gsmit.org/about_gsmit/then_now.html <January 26, 2008>.

[47] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1978, GRSM; Cathy Cook interview.

[48] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1996, GRSM; Karen Ballantine, interview by Theodore Catton, April 18, 2007; Pope interview; Cathy Cook interview.

[49] Marc J. Stern, "Results of surveys of area high school seniors and eighth graders concerning the Great Smoky Mountains National Park," December 2004, copy of draft report provided to author by Karen Ballantine.

[50] Don Hendershot, "Manifest Destiny: Learning Center at Purchase Knob Realizes its Role," *Smoky Mountain News/Outdoors* (2002) http://www.smokymountainnews.com/ issues/12_02_18_02/out_manifest_destiny.html <January 26, 2008>.

[51] Cathy Cook interview.

Chapter Seventeen

Cades Cove

Every national park has a famous boondoggle in its past. At Great Smoky Mountains in the 1930s there was a wild idea to make Cades Cove into an artificial lake. People proposed to dam Abrams Creek and flood the valley floor in order to create a lake that would supposedly form a scenic attraction and provide recreational swimming and boating. Remarkably, Cammerer and several of his senior staff gave this outlandish proposal a provisional nod. The level valley had the appearance of an ancient lake bed, and Cammerer allowed that if scientific investigation should establish that a lake had once existed there in the geologic past, then "it would not be contrary to national park policies to reestablish the old lake beds."[1] Fortunately, the National Parks Advisory Board advised against making an artificial lake and Cammerer backed off the idea.[2] But the proposal continued to attract prominent supporters, including the governor of Tennessee, the city manager of Knoxville, and the board of directors of the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association. It was still being discussed three years later.[3] National park boondoggles are startling and amusing reminders of how much national park values change over time. While the artificial lake proposal would seem utterly anathema by today's standards, it was plausible to Park Service leaders in the 1930s.

Perhaps nowhere else in the park were changes in park values written into the landscape more prominently than in Cades Cove. At the time of the park's establishment, Cades Cove was a popular place to visit because the valley had been cleared for agriculture and the open fields afforded panoramic views of the mountains. After the lake proposal died, the Park Service decided it would maintain those open fields by leasing the land back to the former owners. While the agricultural use program in Cades Cove evolved, so too did the visitor use pattern. Visitors were variously drawn to the valley for its open vistas, pastoral ambiance, historic buildings, and visible wildlife. Traffic congestion eventually became a problem. Statements on how to manage Cades Cove appeared in 1949, 1956, 1969, 1972, and 1979. These plans variously treated agricultural use, historic and natural resource management, and visitor transportation. At the same time, interpretation of Cades Cove underwent drastic revision. Once portrayed as a land that time forgot, it was later interpreted as an ordinary community with normal links to the outside world. The General Management Plan of 1982 listed Cades Cove as a historic district, but went on to state that the primary purpose of the agricultural use program was to preserve the open, pastoral feeling of the place, not to simulate or recreate historical conditions.[4] "There are layers of history now," says Dianne Flaugh, a cultural landscape specialist involved in the latest planning effort for Cades Cove, which began in 2000. "There was the pioneer period, and then there was the park development period, and now it probably more closely reflects the latter period."[5]

To say that Cades Cove was managed as a historical-area enclave within a natural-area park would be an oversimplification. Over the years the Park Service struggled to find workable management approaches that would satisfy visitor wants and protect the resources. Perhaps the most salient visitor desire was to experience Cades Cove's open aspect. Visitors enjoyed driving the loop road and they appeared to adapt to its increasingly congested conditions. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Park Service shifted its emphasis from public enjoyment to resource protection. Historic resources were always important in the area, but the Park Service had to balance open-field preservation with concerns about wildlife, native plants, and water quality in Abrams Creek.

Meadow Maintenance

The open-field management policy formally began on July 28, 1937 with Cammerer's approval of a memo submitted by branch chiefs H. C. Bryant, Ronald Lee, Tom Vint, and John Coffman. This memo outlined a "meadow maintenance project," based on agricultural leasing, that was to run on a trial basis for three years. Meadow maintenance was not explicitly linked to the mountain culture program, although both initiatives were conceived at the same time. It may have been viewed, in part, as a way to head off the lake proposal, which was still being actively pursued outside the Park Serv-

For a time the park allowed farmers in Cades Cove to continue using the land to graze cattle and raise crops.

ice. In any case, Cammerer, Eakin, and other officials were uneasy about the prospect of allowing natural succession to occur across the broad expanse of Cades Cove. Not only were the open vistas being lost, the abandoned fields were growing up with "unsightly" brier thickets rather than forest trees.[6]

As this experiment neared the end of its three-year term, senior officials debated its merits. Victor H. Cahalane and Clifford C. Presnall, both of the Section on National Park Wildlife, argued that the meadow maintenance program needed to be reevaluated because experience had shown that maintenance of such a large expanse could only be achieved by use of modern, mechanized equipment or "power farming." The method of clearing only tended to "obscure the historical picture, which might be more faithfully presented by a few scythe-cut clearings in an otherwise naturally forested cover." Cahalane and Presnall recommended that the plan should be limited to smaller areas that could be maintained by authentic pioneer methods in conjunction with minimal vista clearing by the Park Service.[7]

Superintendent Eakin stoutly defended the program, justifying it on the basis of scenic values. "I consider it absolutely essential that there be open spaces where distant view may be obtained," he wrote. "This is the great charm of Cades Cove."[8] Vint agreed and thought the type of farm machinery used in maintaining the open-field appearance was not important. "It is the result rather than the method that is important."[9] Cammerer was inclined to cancel the experiment and allow natural succession to happen, especially in light of the ongoing expense of meadow maintenance; however, just as this debate was occurring he was passing the director's baton to Newton B. Drury, who finally decided to keep the program going.[10]

By the end of this experimental period, there were 13 farmers in Cades Cove who were maintaining a combined total of 1,398 acres. The plan was to put just enough of this area in row crops so as to keep the farms economically viable, and to convert the great majority of the area to hay meadow. The hay meadow would be mowed for hay and used to graze cattle. Park officials expected pressure from the farmers to clear and cultivate more land in order to achieve a necessary economy of scale in their farm operations.[11] One of the problems with attempting to scale back the amount of open meadow was that smaller farm size, though closer to historical conditions, was not economically viable in the contemporary agricultural market. This problem, already apparent in 1941, became more acute after World War II.

After the war, Park Service officials again revisited the program of meadow maintenance in Cades Cove. Drury requested a land management plan aimed at making Cades Cove appear as nearly as possible like it did when the park was established. Oliver B. Taylor, a soil conservationist in the regional office at Richmond, was assigned the task of writing the plan. Taylor's first task was to discover what Cades Cove had looked like more than a decade earlier. Park files were not helpful on this point so he gathered most of his information by interviewing lessees. He wrote a detailed report on past and present farming conditions in Cades Cove that formed the background material for his plan. Illustrated with photos and accompanied by data tables, the report provides a detailed view of the Cades Cove landscape and community in 1945.[12]

Taylor found that the open area in 1935 (when most of the land was acquired by the Park Service) extended for about five miles from east to west and two miles from north to south. At that time the eastern portion held smaller farms and a denser population, the land being divided into numerous small fields, while the western portion contained larger holdings, especially as some people left and others acquired vacated lands in the years preceding the park's establishment. Ten years later, the area in cultivation was a mixture of pasture, meadow, and row crops. The principal change in land use was that the lessees now grazed their cattle in the valley all year, whereas they had formerly driven their cattle to the mountains each summer.[13]

The number of lessees had dwindled to ten in 1945. All had roots in the community. Taylor was impressed by the lessees' knowledge of the land as well as their cooperative attitude toward the park. The Park Service placed various restrictions on their leases, some of which Taylor found to be misguided. For example, each farm had once had a woodlot from which wood was obtained for boards, rails, and other uses; now the lessees were only permitted to cut down dead chestnut and beetle-killed pine. "I do not advocate a

return to previous forest abuses," Taylor wrote, "but I frankly believe the farm woodlot is as much a part of the view as a field of red clover, a log house, or a gravel road." Similarly, farmers had previously mined limestone locally (from Gregory Cave), which they used for soil fertilizer. The nearest source of limestone outside the park was 65 miles away, a prohibitive distance when the need was for two tons of crushed limestone per acre. Without lime treatment, the soil was losing its nutrient value. The lessees had enormous patience to carry on farming inside a national park, in Taylor's opinion. They made no complaint as raccoons, squirrels, and groundhogs raided their cornfields. They lived with the threat that bears would kill their livestock. As the bears became more common, depredations appeared more likely. Speaking of the bears, Taylor wrote, "No one speculates on how long they will labor for hours to dig out a groundhog rather than take a calf in the same field."[14]

The following year, Taylor produced a land management plan for Cades Cove. It was in two parts, a short narrative statement entitled "Preservation and Development" and a drawing entitled "Agricultural Use Plan, Cades Cove, Great Smoky Mountains National Park." These twin documents circulated for almost three years, generating much comment while signatures of approval eluded them. Finally, in June 1949, Superintendent Blair Ross resubmitted the plan to Regional Director Thomas J. Allen, who forwarded it to the director with a recommendation that he approve it. The undated and unsigned narrative statement was certainly Taylor's. It averred that the primary objective of the plan was to preserve an open landscape in Cades Cove similar to the condition that existed when the park was established. The open fields were to be expressive of the area's "cultural and human interest." It described the requisite agricultural use as follows:

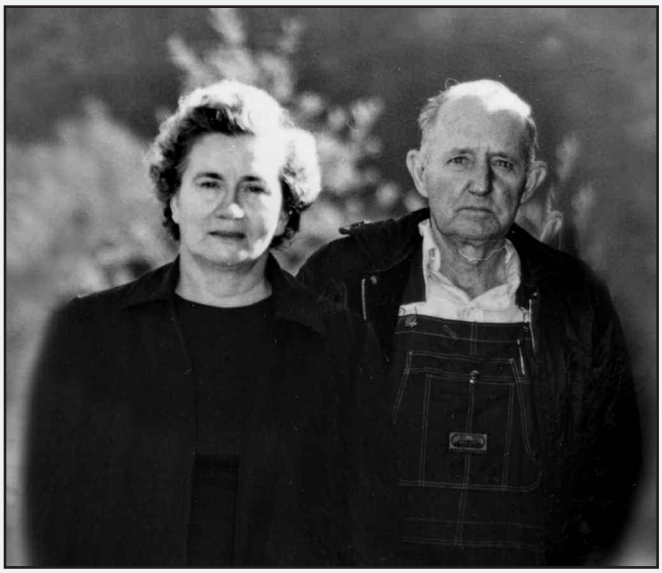
> In striving for the maintenance and preservation of the open fields, it should be clearly understood that intensive farming of all the land in the Cades Cove area is not intended. Rather, the purpose is to achieve the general impression of a pioneer farm setting in which the farm house, the barn and outbuildings, growing crops, and interspersed woodlands are composite elements. The use of modern machinery and present-day methods of farming are permitted, but encouragement will be given to the voluntary continuance by the leaseholders of pioneer practices and industries such as the home processing of foods, fruits, and berries, the keeping of bees, and similar endeavors.[15]

After another two months of review, Associate Director A. E. Demaray approved the plan as acting director. The plan had received a great deal of deliberation by the several divisions until finally a "consensus" formed that Cades Cove should be preserved in an open landscape. But Demaray went on to explain the Park Service leadership's reservations. "We do not doubt that many complex problems will arise as this plan develops," he wrote. "When roads, campgrounds, and the attendant facilities are constructed, it will be normal for the lessees to want to tie in with Service utilities, and thus begins the progression of modern conveniences and the higher standard of living which we cannot rightfully deny anyone….We are fully aware that this will be a delicate management problem."[16]

By the late 1930s there were 13 farmers in Cades Cove who were maintaining 1,398 acres. The plan was to put just enough of the area in row crops to keep the farms economically viable, and to convert the great majority of the area to hay meadow.

In the next decade, the Park Service developed Cades Cove for greater visitor use. The main access road via Laurel Creek, which was nearly complete except for bridges when World War II began, was finally completed and opened to the public in 1951. This road finally superseded the Rich Mountain Road as the primary route into the valley. The Cades Cove Campground was enlarged and fitted with sanitary facilities and a campfire circle in 1954. The Loop Road was rerouted in places, turned into a one-way road, and paved.[17]

The park also expanded interpretive activities in Cades Cove. The Cable Mill historical exhibit was enlarged with the addition of other restored buildings, including a frame house once occupied by Becky Cable, which was moved from its original location a half mile upstream on Mill Creek. A seasonal ranger-naturalist was stationed at the Cable Mill exhibit beginning in 1957, and the Pine Oak Nature Trail together with a horse concession and riding trails were introduced in 1958. As visitor use increased, more rangers were



The average size of a farm unit stood at 372 acres in 1956 (more than three times what it had been in 1940, and roughly ten times what it had been in the nineteenth century) and lessees were no longer growing much row crops but were producing more cattle and hay instead. The lessees were **Asa Sparks and wife** (above), Rufus Coada, Charles Myers, Joe Caughron, Kermit Caughron, E. W. Paine, and Albert W. Lewis.

assigned to the area; after a few more years, two ranger-naturalists and two campground rangers were stationed in the new government quarters.[18]

Meanwhile, the agricultural use program continued from year to year until it became more a reflection of longstanding practice than deliberate policy. By the mid-1950s, park officials were hazy about just what the farm leasing program, the historical exhibits, and other developments in Cades Cove were attempting to accomplish. "Is it to preserve the cove scenery, as such, which is artificial?" a staff committee report asked. "Is it to preserve an artificial scene of the basis of being a bona fide authentic historic exhibit?" Clearly, Cades Cove was being managed as a distinct enclave within the park, yet this committee was unable to find anything in the park files to explain the authority for that management direction. "The present state of development has apparently been achieved in an undirected way under unwritten policies that changed with the changing personnel involved," this committee reported.[19] Even though the director of the Park Service had twice signed off on the Cades Cove open-field policy — first in 1937 and again in 1949 — neither document was referenced in this report. Even the park naturalist, Arthur Stupka, who had been on the staff since the early 1930s, agreed with the committee that the park needed new management guidelines. "As it is now," Stupka wrote, "the Cove presents an unnatural spectacle, both historically and from a scenic standpoint — we have tampered with both."[20]

By this time the number of lessees had dropped to seven, while the amount of wooded and arable land assigned to them had almost doubled to a total of 2,606 acres. Agricultural use was steadily changing, modernizing, diverging more and more from the land use pattern of the 1930s. The average size of a farm unit stood at 372 acres in 1956 (more than three times what it had been in 1940, and roughly ten times what it had been in the nineteenth century) and lessees were no longer growing much row crops but were producing more cattle and hay instead. The lessees were Asa Sparks, Rufus Coada, Charles Myers, Joe Caughron, Kermit Caughron, E. W. Paine, and Albert W. Lewis. Some were satisfactory; others were unsatisfactory and had been placed on probation. Their offenses included removing fences without permission and failing to keep their cattle out of Abrams Creek.[21]

Superintendent Overly proposed to consolidate the seven remaining leases into a single cattle operation. He argued that the current lessees lived in substandard housing without electricity, barns were in poor condition, and when the time came to replace these aging facilities it would be too intrusive and costly to build a separate set of farm residences and utility buildings for each lease holding. In Overly's view, the situation called for a new approach similar to developing a park concession. Local business people, perhaps with assistance from the University of Tennessee, could form a corporation for the purpose of running a single cattle operation in Cades Cove. To protect the corporation's investment in new facilities, the leases could run for 20 years instead of from year to year. There would be a gradual turnover from the old system to the new as each current lessee moved out or died.[22]

The Park Service gave serious consideration to Overly's idea. Like the park staff, the regional staff in Richmond were perplexed by the open-field policy in Cades Cove and they went so far as to search out files of past correspondence stored in the Federal Records Center in St. Louis for internal review of how the open-field policy had developed. In a memorandum to the director, Regional Director Elbert Cox explained that the only alternative to rolling the several permits into a corporate operation was to turn the open-field maintenance program into a giant, 2,600-acre, Park Service mowing job — an impractical solution as it would cost the government approximately $80,000 per year.[23] Director Wirth did not reject the corporation idea, but he expressed concern about losing "the original intent of preserving early farmsteads" and requested that the park provide a new master plan sheet for Cades Cove to show what a corporate farm would look like there.[24] In 1961, the park submitted this Master Plan sheet indicating a proposed farmers' residence area.

Six months later, the Eastern Office of Design and Construction (EODC) responded that the park had not given adequate consideration to other alternatives, such as absentee farming or more hay farming.[25] The alternative of allowing Cades Cove to revert to forest was never considered.

Without support from the EODC, Overly finally had to shelve his corporate farm idea. By then, the number of lessees had diminished to five. That July, *National Geographic Magazine* published a story by Supreme Court Justice and conservationist William O. Douglas entitled "The People of Cades Cove."[26] Based on Douglas's tour of the valley accompanied by former resident John W. Oliver, the story warmly profiled several families including the Kermit Caughron family. Photographs showed Caughron in overalls leaning on a split rail fence in front of his farm and his children playing on a log building, among other rustic images. The article in *National Geographic* reinforced the impression — false but widely held — that the lessees were part of the Park Service's cultural preservation effort, a living history exhibit.

An official Cades Cove tour leaflet, in use about this time, contributed to the sense that the farm operations were historical in nature. "Here there survived a manner of living which has disappeared almost everywhere else in the United States — the pioneer way of life," this leaflet informed visitors. "That is what Cades Cove represents with its pastures and fields, its old mill and its cabins, barns, and other structures — a persistent pioneer community now being preserved as a historic exhibit." The general scene was being maintained by farming methods that conformed to NPS objectives, the leaflet continued (although it omitted to say that those objectives were primarily to maintain views, not to simulate historical conditions.) The "few families who have paid fees for the special use permits issued to them…have no connection with the Cove as an exhibit, but most of them are descendents of families who lived there for generations."[27]

Over the next few years, the historical connection between past and present farming methods grew more tenuous as the resident permit holders dropped from five to two. Park rangers modified the terms of the permits from year to year, designating which areas should be cleared of trees and shrubs, grazed by cattle, or planted to hay. These choices had little to do with historic preservation; they were aimed at vista clearing and wildlife benefits. In 1967, the Park Service made a number of changes to the program on the recommendation of the Soil Conservation Service in order to decrease agricultural runoff into Abrams Creek. It discontinued the practice of plowing and reseeding hay fields every three years, and stopped directing lessees to clear trees and shrubs from tributary stream channels or so-called "marginal lands" for pasture use. The Park Service also required lessees to fence their cattle out of these sensitive riparian areas and to reduce their herds. NPS objectives behind these changes were primarily aimed at protecting natural resources, especially stream ecology along Abrams Creek.[28]

Protecting the Visitor Experience

While issues with agricultural use continued to arise, they were accompanied in the late 1960s and early 1970s by growing concerns about protecting the quality of the visitor experience. By this time, as many as 400,000 people visited Cades Cove each year. The typical visitor experience consisted of driving around the 11-mile, one-way Loop Road, getting out of the car at a few wayside exhibits, and wandering around the open-air museum at Cable Mill. The picnic area was also a popular destination among local people. Increasing congestion on the road and in parking areas raised concerns that Cades Cove had reached its recreational carrying capacity, that if the system were overloaded it would cause a deterioration of the visitor experience and damage to the resources.

Concerns about recreational carrying capacity were paramount in a Cades Cove study report produced in 1969 by a study team appointed by Superintendent Fry. This report recommended that both the campground and the picnic area should not be enlarged beyond their current size. Fry had the master plan modified accordingly.[29]

Three years later, the Park Service produced a Development Concept Plan for Cades Cove. This plan, among the first of its kind produced by the newly organized Denver Service Center, proposed introducing a mass transit system to alleviate crowding in Cades Cove. According to the plan, buses would replace cars on the loop road during periods of peak use and at such times the Park Service would operate a fleet of buses divided into two groups. "Tour A" buses would take 72 minutes to go around the loop, making stops at many of the main exhibits, and "Tour B" buses would take just 55 minutes, making fewer stops. At any given stop visitors would be able to linger and catch a later bus. In order to handle peak visitation (an estimated 2,700 visitors within a 4-hour period) the system would require eighteen 50-passenger buses or twelve 80-passenger buses. Whenever the buses were operating, all visitors would park their cars in a parking area at the start of the loop. The mass transit system's great advantage was that it would remove bumper-to-bumper traffic along the snaking loop road and solve parking problems at all the exhibits along the way.[30]

Although bumper-to-bumper traffic had negative environmental consequences — air pollution, harassment of wildlife — the Park Service's primary concern about traffic congestion was that it diminished the visitors' enjoyment. For the peak-season visitor, traffic backups were practically inevitable on the Loop Road. People stopped frequently to view deer, wild turkey, and other animals commonly seen from the road. While bear sightings were not as common here, a bear jam on the narrow one-lane road could be quite severe, turning an anticipated one-hour pleasure drive into a four-hour ordeal.[31] Visitor vehicle flow also tended to bottleneck at the Cable Mill exhibit, where a jammed parking lot and crowds of people milling outside their cars often spoiled the area's ambiance.

Nevertheless, park staff resisted the mass transit idea because they did not think most visitors wanted it. Superintendent Ellis decided to set aside the Development Concept Plan pending further study. The Park Service contracted with a research team at Pennsylvania State University to develop a "visitor vehicle flow model" that would more accurately predict how visitors would move from exhibit to exhibit around Cades Cove using a shuttle system.[32] By the time this study was completed in 1976, Park Service enthusiasm for mass transit had waned. Discussion of mass transit was revived in 2000; indeed, planners began to look at mass transit systems that would cover the entire park and its gateway communities.[33] However, a mass transit system specific to Cades Cove still faced major stumbling blocks. These included the cost of rolling stock and the problem of parking at the point of embarkation.[34]

Ecological Concerns

Even as the agricultural use program became increasingly problematic, the Park Service remained firmly committed to managing Cades Cove as an open-field landscape. It designated the valley as a historic area when it developed management zones in the 1960s and it carried this plan into the wilderness recommendation to Congress in 1974. It moved ahead with nominating Cades Cove as a historic district for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, achieving that extra level of protection for the area in 1977. Finally, it reaffirmed longstanding objectives for Cades Cove in the GMP, approved in 1982. Agricultural use permits, the GMP stated, helped to preserve "the open, pastoral appearance of the land without attempting to reproduce on a large scale the characteristic features of pioneer agriculture that existed when the park was established."[35] The objectives were to maintain scenic views and a suitable foreground for historic structures.

Meanwhile, the Park Service grew more sensitive to the agricultural use program's effects on natural systems. The effects were not confined to Cades Cove; stream pollution, for example, flowed downstream to lower Abrams Creek. From 1972 to 1974, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service measured water temperatures and turbidity levels and made surveys of aquatic fauna in Abrams Creek in and below Cades Cove. The results confirmed that cattle grazing was causing significant impairment of resources. Cow manure and fertilizer runoff caused nutrient loading of Abrams Creek. Elevated nitrates and phosphates in turn caused eutrophication and algal blooms in parts of the creek below Cades Cove.[36] The park administration responded to these findings by reducing the number of cattle grazed under special use permits. In 1976, one of two remaining cattle grazing permits was cancelled and 855 head of cattle were removed, leaving 434 head of cattle in the valley. It also took steps to restore water quality by reducing the silt load in Abrams Creek. With the help of the Youth Conservation Corps and lessees, the park installed numerous check dams along 1,350 yards of the creek where it flowed through pasture, cleared debris from about four miles of the creek bed, added about a mile of fencing to keep cattle out of the creek, and seeded and mulched about an acre and a half of severely eroded stream banks.[37]

In 1977, the Uplands Field Research Laboratory began monitoring stream conditions in Cades Cove. By comparing survey results in 1977 with those of 1972-74, NPS scientists found that stream rehabilitation efforts and the reduction in numbers of cattle were producing the desired results. Turbidity had declined while stream biomass had increased. Yet there still appeared to be a trend toward reduction of faunal diversity as stresses from unnatural nutrient loads tended to favor pollution-tolerant species.[38]

The agricultural use program also influenced terrestrial wildlife, the scientists noted. The availability of food in the fields led to greater abundance of certain species including groundhogs and white-tailed deer. Since the white-tailed deer were mobile animals and usually bedded in the surrounding forest, the increase in herd size impacted forest vegetation beyond Cades Cove itself. Scientists suspected that agricultural management of Cades Cove modified populations of other wildlife species in the area as well, including wild turkey, skunk, raccoon, fox, and perhaps wild boar.[39]

Research biologist Peter White, botanist with the Uplands Field Research Laboratory, brought attention to rare and endangered plants in Cades Cove. Due to the limestone base and poorly drained surface of Cades Cove, it was home to a number of plant species found nowhere else in the park. Its limestone sinkholes, filled part of the year by water, were unique habitats. Beginning in 1977, White led vegetation sur-

vey teams in inventorying and monitoring 70 one-tenth hectare vegetation plots in Cades Cove. On White's recommendation, certain wetland areas were taken out of hay production to protect rare plants.[40]

In 1979, the Uplands Field Research Laboratory science team produced a white paper on the impacts of agriculture in Cades Cove. More specifically, it sought to illuminate conflicts between two "management systems," one supportive of natural resources and the other of historic resources. The authors pointed out that modern agricultural fields in Cades Cove bore scant resemblance to the farm landscape of the 1930s, but they acknowledged that the primary goal of the agricultural use program was to maintain open views, not a historic landscape. They described the various impacts of current management on natural systems in and around Cades Cove. They briefly discussed four alternatives to current management starting with the most radical measure of allowing natural succession to occur throughout the area. Under this scenario, natural conditions would eventually be restored but Cades Cove would lose its views, an outcome "not in keeping with the plans for the historic district" and probably not politically acceptable. The second alternative was to phase out agricultural use but continue vista clearing by mechanical means. The third alternative was to continue agricultural leases under more restrictive terms (such as no cattle). The fourth alternative was to make no significant changes in the agricultural leases but focus on mitigation efforts. The authors ended by stating there was probably no alternative that would maintain the open landscape and completely eliminate human impacts on natural systems. At best, the park could fashion "a delicate compromise among several sets of resources and the two conflicting managerial systems."[41]

For the near term the park administration chose the fourth alternative and continued to work with the last two remaining lessees, Kermit Caughron and Hugh Myers, to make their farming operations maximally beneficial for vista clearance while mitigating their impacts on the environment. But the policy seemed increasingly outdated. To Bob Miller, who joined the park staff in 1989, the reluctance to try something new came from Superintendent Pope. "Randy Pope was a landscape architect," Miller explains. The agricultural use policy "was fine for him because it maintained the kind of golf course experience and he was satisfied with that. He thought people liked that." When the grass was not mown people complained. "Cades Cove was supposedly looking sort of historic," Miller says, "but Abrams Creek downstream was looking like a feedlot from cattle impacts."[42]

Superintendent Wade brought a fresh perspective and determined that the cattle must go. Without cattle grazing, she realized, it would be difficult or impossible to find operators who would grow hay and haul it out of Cades Cove to market, so the whole agricultural use program would have to be scrapped. In 1994, she announced that the park would not seek other operators to take over these two leases when Caughron and Myers were gone. The Caughron lease continued until Caughron, the last resident farmer of Cades Cove, died in 1999. The Myers lease was renewed each year until 2004, although Myers no longer lived on the land.[43]

As the agricultural use program began to sunset, the park administration experimented with alternatives such as controlled burning and mowing. In 1995, the park began to develop sources of native grass seed. In 2004, the first year without any agricultural use in the valley, it experimented with planting native grass seed on an untilled two-acre plot in an area of former cow pasture. The following year, the park moved from a two-year to a three-year rotational burn/mow plan for all open fields inside the perimeter of the Loop Road.[44]

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, natural and cultural resource managers seemed to be more or less in harmony about Cades Cove's future. Park staff in both disciplines bent their efforts to maintain the integrity of natural and cultural resources while accommodating the public's desire for scenic vistas. With agricultural use of the cove now a thing of the past, the park searched for a management strategy that would allow it to manipulate vegetation on a broad scale; protect wildlife, rare plants, and the ecology of Abrams Creek; and facilitate the movement of large numbers of visitors around the valley — all at an affordable cost. Cultural resource specialists conceded that the Park Service simply lacked the necessary funding to recreate a more authentic historical scene in which the valley floor was filled with small fields, orchards, woodlots, and fence rows. Finding a workable management strategy, explained Dianne Flaugh, "is about what we can realistically accomplish. There is a lot of balancing not just between cultural and natural resources but how to accommodate the heavy visitation. We just don't need to create a situation that makes it more difficult to manage Cades Cove than it already is."[45]

[1] Arno B. Cammerer to C. B. Andrews, December 12, 1934, File 650-01, Box 1135, CCF 1933-1949, RG 79, NA II.

[2] Arno B. Cammerer to David C. Chapman, January 28, 1935 and December 4, 1935, File 17, Box XI, Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association Collection, GRSM; *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1935*, 192.

[3] W. H. Camp to H. C. Bryant, June 1, 1937, File 1-4, Box I, Stupka Collection, GRSM.

[4] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *General Management Plan, Great Smoky Mountains National Park/North Carolina-Tennessee*, 27.

[5] Dianne Flaugh, interview by Theodore Catton, April 25, 2007.

[6] The 1937 memo is cited in Arno B. Cammerer to Arthur E. Demaray et al., September 8, 1940, File 601 Part 6, Box 1099, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II. Agitation for the artificial lake is described in Robert Sterling Yard's, "Will the States Control Great Smoky?" *National Parks Bulletin* 13, no. 63 (June 1937): 15. On succession in Cades Cove, see Cammerer to William P. Wharton, November 8, 1934, File 650-01, Box 1135, and J. R. Eakin to Dr. Russell et al., August 9, 1940, File 601 Part 6, Box 1099, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II. Also see Young, "False, cheap, and degraded," 175.

[7] Victor H. Cahalane to Dr. Russell, May 31, 1940, and Clifford C. Presnall to Dr. Russell, July 5, 1940, File 601 Part 6, Box 1099, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[8] J. R. Eakin to Dr. Russell, et al., August 9, 1940, File 601 Part 6, Box 1099, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[9] Thomas C. Vint to The Director, October 21, 1940, File 601 Part 6, Box 1099, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[10] Arno B. Cammerer to Arthur E. Demaray, et al., September 8, 1940, File 601 Part 6, Box 1099, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[11] Harold O. Edwards to Superintendent, November 8, 1941, File 601 Part 6, Box 1099, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[12] Oliver B. Taylor to Regional Director, no date, File 600-03, Box 1098, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[13] Oliver B. Taylor to Regional Director, no date, File 600-03, Box 1098, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[14] Oliver B. Taylor to Regional Director, no date, File 600-03, Box 1098, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[15] "Preservation and Development," no date, File 600-03, Box 1098, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[16] A. E. Demaray to Regional Director, September 27, 1949, Box XVI, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[17] A. Randolph Shields, "Cades Cove in Great Smoky Mountains National Park," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 24, no. 2 (1965): 117.

[18] Shields, "Cades Cove in Great Smoky Mountains National Park," 118.

[19] Management Improvement Committee, "Report of a Study of the Development and Management of the Cades Cove Area in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park," December 20, 1954, Box XVI, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[20] Park Naturalist to the Superintendent, January 15, 1957, Box XVI, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[21] Superintendent to Regional Director, December 11, 1958, File L 3015, Box 1848, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[22] Superintendent to Regional Director, December 11, 1958, File L 3015, Box 1848, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[23] Regional Director to Director, April 3, 1959, File L 3015, Box 1848, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[24] Quoted in Superintendent to Chief, EODC, June 8, 1962, Box XVI, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[25] Superintendent to Chief, EODC, March 2, 1962, File 10, Box I, Master Plans Wilderness, GRSM: Superintendent to Chief, EODC, June 8, 1962, Box XVI, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[26] William O. Douglas, "The People of Cades Cove," *National Geographic Magazine* 122 (July 1962): 60-95.

[27] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Cades Cove," printed pamphlet, no publication date, copy in Natural Resources Library, U.S. Department of the Interior. Library copy bears a stamp dated October 11, 1966.

[28] Park Ranger to Superintendent, July 15, 1976, Box XVI, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[29] Cades Cove Study Team to Superintendent, January 30, 1969, File 9, Box VII, Interpretive Division Collection, GRSM; Superintendent to Larry Neilson, Chairman, Cades Cove Study Committee, Box III, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[30] National Park Service, *Development Concept Plan Cades Cove, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina/Tennessee* (Denver: Denver Service Center, 1972), 5.

[31] Bob Miller, interview by Theodore Catton, April 17, 2007.

[32] Hugh A Devine, Jr., F. Yates Borden, and Brian J. Turner, "A Simulation Study of the Cades Cove Visitor Vehicle Flow," *National Park Service Occasional Paper* No. 4 (1976): 1-4.

[33] I. F. Truett et al., *Strategic Plan for Coordinating Rural Intelligent Transportation System (ITS) Transit Development in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park*. Report prepared for Federal Transit Administration, U.S. Department of Transportation. (Oak Ridge, Tennessee: Center for Transportation Analysis, Oak Ridge National Laboratory, 2002).

[34] Miller interview.

[35] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *General Management Plan, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina/Tennessee* (Denver: Denver Service Center, 1982), 27.

[36] Susan Power Bratton, Raymond C. Matthews, Jr., and Peter S. White, "Agricultural Area Impacts Within a Natural Area: Cades Cove, a Case History," *Environmental Management* 4, no. 5 (September 1980): 439.

[37] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1976, GRSM.

[38] Bratton et al., "Agricultural Area Impacts Within a Natural Area," 441.

[39] Bratton et al., "Agricultural Area Impacts Within a Natural Area," 442.

[40] Research Biologist to Staff Park Specialist, October 24, 1980, and Staff Park Specialist to Superintendent, December 10, 1980, Box XVI, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[41] Bratton et al., "Agricultural Area Impacts Within a Natural Area," 445-47. Also see the draft white paper in File 19, Box 11, Ed Trout Collection, GRSM.

[42] Miller interview.

[43] Miller interview; Karen P. Wade to Richard Westmacott, October 12, 1994, File H30, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM; Bob Miller to Joel Ossoff, December 16, 2002, Hugh Myers Lease File, Bob Miller's Office Files, GRSM; Young, "False, Cheap, and Degraded," 183.

[44] Superintendent's Annual Report for 2004, GRSM.

[45] Flaugh interview.

Chapter Eighteen

The Legacy of Dispossession

The making of Great Smoky Mountains National Park resulted in the largest displacement of resident people from their homes in national park history. Only the making of Shenandoah National Park rivaled it. The exact number of dispossessed can never be known; estimates have run as high as 6,000 to 7,000 people. Historian Margaret Brown has estimated that 5,665 people were made to leave the area. She based her estimate on her count of 1,133 separate small farms purchased in the area multiplied by an average of five people per farm unit. She compiled her tally of farms from records of land transfers to the federal government in the park archives and records of land purchases by the North Carolina Park Commission in the state archives.[1]

The exodus, which lasted from the late 1920s to the early 1940s, was seared into local memory. Stories were handed down from generation to generation, oral traditions formed, and certain myths developed. One myth that formed in park circles was the claim that the government never actually resorted to condemnation to acquire any part of the national park. This was false. Another myth held that the making of the park somehow contributed to the chestnut blight that invaded the area in the late 1920s. This appeared to be based on superstition. By and large, however, oral traditions fairly depicted the historical experience while keeping its memory alive. The legacy of dispossession complicated the national park's position in many ways.

That so many people had given up their homes to make a park added force to local people's demands for access to specific park lands, such as to cemetery plots where kin were buried. Further, it added potency to people's demands that the story of their families' travails in the early twentieth century deserved to be told at least as much as the older story of frontier settlement. The dispossessed and their descendants succeeded in influencing the Park Service's interpretive program and management strategy in Cades Cove during the 1970s and 1980s, and a similar contest played out over the disposition of Elkmont cabins during the 1990s and first decade of the twenty-first century.

Exodus

Mark Hannah, a longtime park ranger in Cataloochee, was born and raised in the area before it became a park. In a 1982 interview he remembered when his community of Little Cataloochee was first informed about the impending campaign to move people out and make a national park. "Somebody told them at the church house. We couldn't hardly believe it!" The preacher, Pat Davis, told the congregation that they would not be living together in Little Cataloochee for much longer but would soon be scattered all over the nation. "We didn't think much of the idea….It was all we talked about for weeks."[2]

When the land purchasing agents came to the area feelings ran even higher. A former Little Cataloochee resident named Jarvis Caldwell remembered, "Once I thought they would have a shootout with some of the Park officials appraisin' their land and stuff. But they got 'em kind of settled down. Uncle Hiram Caldwell, my Daddy, and a few of them just out-talked the others not to have no murders…just to go on do the best they could. They was some got up pretty high, and they was ready to fight or die, they was."[3]

The park's founders sincerely hoped that the process of dispossession would not be too painful and that it would not leave a bitter legacy. When the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission convened in Washington in April 1925, its members agreed that the problem of acquiring so many mountain farms "would require much tact and patience to avoid making the settlers in the area enemies of the park."[4] David C. Chapman, the leading force in the park movement in Tennessee, publicly maintained that the state would never use the power of eminent domain. "We have consulted a great many mountain people and all we have talked with want to sell," he wrote a concerned citizen in 1927.[5] These men managed to convince themselves and a large number of their fellow citizens that the making of the park would actually give many mountain farmers a chance to improve their lives. A myth was born that all of the park's land base was secured without resort to condemnation.

Longtime ranger **Glenn Cardwell's** family was displaced twice in the process of establishment of the park. Though he mourned the loss of community experienced by the displaced, he recognized that this loss was necessary for the greater good.

In fact, the Tennessee and North Carolina park commissions and the federal government all made use of the power of eminent domain, most often as a threat when reluctant sellers would not agree to terms, and sometimes as a legal proceeding. The most notorious condemnation case involved the Cades Cove landowner John Oliver. Seeing that a condemnation suit was imminent, Oliver approached his neighbors to contribute to a legal defense fund so that he could hire a lawyer and challenge the park commission in Blount County Circuit Court. The Oliver case became a test of the state's power of eminent domain under the Tennessee legislature's act of 1927 to establish Great Smoky Mountains National Park. At issue was whether one sovereign, the state of Tennessee, could use the power of eminent domain to secure land for conveyance to another sovereign, the United States. The suit was brought in the circuit court in 1929 where the judge originally ruled in Oliver's favor. The case went to the Tennessee Supreme Court on appeal and was finally remanded to the Blount County Circuit Court where a new decision was reached in 1932, upholding the state's power.[6]

Despite efforts by the park campaign to play fair with landowners and acquire their land without too much rancor, many landowners felt betrayed, abused, or victimized by what happened to them. Residents of Cades Cove felt they had been duped in the early stages of the campaign into believing that they would be allowed to stay in their homes after the park was established. Carlos C. Campbell and other park boosters repeatedly made that promise, only to desert that position after the Tennessee legislature passed a final park bill in 1927.[7] Residents of Little Cataloochee long remembered the bullying, strong-arm tactics of the land purchasing agent who worked in their area, as well as the intimidating actions of Ranger John T. Needham who burned down many buildings.[8]

As Durwood Dunn observes in his history of the Cades Cove community, "the real tragedy" was that this exodus happened to coincide with the Great Depression. With the agricultural market in collapse and a quarter of the working population out of jobs, loss of home and community was devastating. "A more hostile and unwelcome environment for newcomers could scarcely be imagined," Dunn writes of the cove families. "In this their greatest hour of need, they could no longer rely upon a supportive traditional community for assistance."[9] These dire circumstances held true for hundreds of mountain farm families from Cades Cove to Cataloochee, from Greenbrier to Smokemont.

Mark Hannah was one of the very few who was able to return and make his home in the Smokies after it became a park. After leaving Little Cataloochee in the 1930s, Hannah worked as a Haywood County fire warden, then for the North Carolina Forest Service. In 1941 he was appointed fire warden for Little Cataloochee, and in 1943, was promoted to ranger, a position he held for some three decades. Thus, he raised a family where he himself was raised. Although serving as a park ranger fulfilled his ambition of returning to Cataloochee, it was not without mixed emotions. It was his job to burn down most of the houses and barns that dotted the valley — a project that grieved him at the time and that he criticized later, thinking the area should have been managed similarly to Cades Cove.[10]

Leasing to Residents

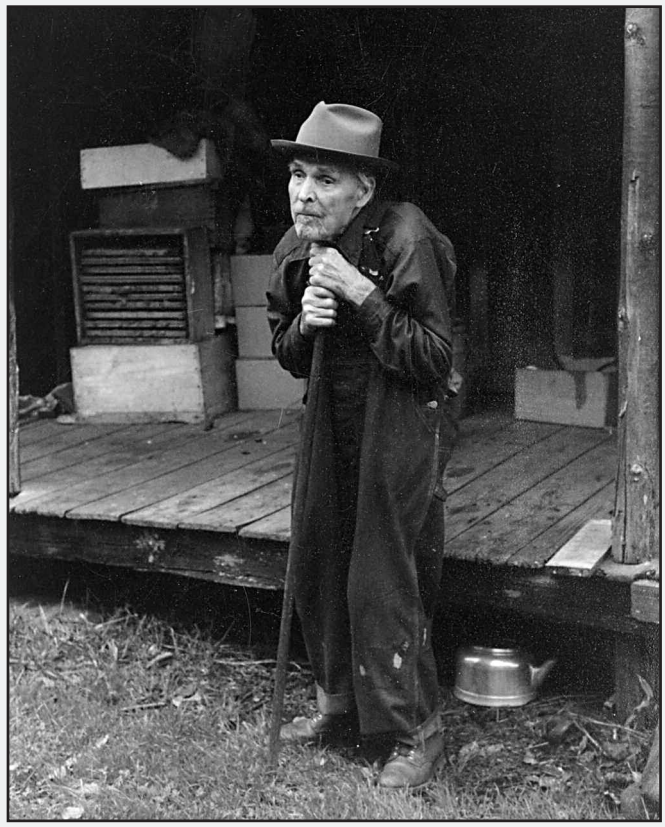
In the Act of February 16, 1928, Congress provided that lands acquired for Great Smoky Mountains National Park could be leased back to their original owners. Under the law, the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to grant leases to persons, churches, or schools who had possessed an interest in the land prior to the park's establishment. The intent behind this legislation was mainly humanitarian. As Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur explained to Verne

Rhoades, executive secretary of the North Carolina Park Commission, "It was contemplated to cover those who have, or whose ancestors have, occupied the premises for many years, and primarily the aged."[11]

Despite the humanitarian motive behind the leases, the lease terms were restrictive and made life more difficult for the people who stayed. Under the law, leases could extend no more than two years. According to the Department of the Interior's policy, a lease was to cover the minimum amount of land necessary to sustain the lessee, and no land was to be cleared or planted in crops that was not already in cultivation. Furthermore, the lease did not confer the privilege to hunt, dig medicinal roots and herbs, or engage in any business on the leasehold other than farming. No use of timber was permitted other than the cutting of dead and down timber for firewood.[12]

The leases gave the government broad control over each property. A lease could not be sublet to another party without written permission from the Secretary of the Interior. Lessees were required to keep buildings and premises in a clean and sanitary condition, to keep fences in good repair, and to prevent fires and assist with fire suppression in the vicinity. Government officers had the right to enter the premises at all times, and to build roads, trails, and other improvements as long as they did not damage or destroy buildings or crops. If the lessee breached any provision of the lease, the Secretary of the Interior could declare the lease void and the lessee had no right of appeal.[13]

The onset of the Great Depression created new circumstances that complicated the leasing policy. With unemployment running as high as 25 percent, there was a general movement of population back to the land. In the Smokies, many recently vacated farms were reoccupied by people down on their luck. Often the occupants were not the original owners but still had some other possessory interest in the property. Sometimes the occupants were relatives of the original owners. Sometimes they were former tenants or hired hands, or indeed, complete strangers to the property who claimed a relationship to the former owners. Other cases involved former residents who had returned to the area but were not living in the same house or on the same tract as they did before. Still another situation involved former owners who returned with a number of relatives in tow; while the former owner occupied the main house, the relatives were residing in makeshift quarters nearby. In nearly all cases involving former landowners, the Park Service decided to interpret the law liberally and give them leases. For those occupants who had never owned lands in the park, however, the Park Service insisted they must leave after their next harvest.[14]



Lem Ownby, a blind beekeeper and teller of old tales, was the last surviving lifetime leaseholder in the park. He died in 1984.

The leasing policy was also complicated by the Tennessee state law of 1927 that granted the state the power of eminent domain for acquiring lands for Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The state law delimited an area where landowners would not be subject to eminent domain. This area covered the communities of Cherokee Orchard and Elkmont — both of which contained tracts considered vital by the Park Service. In order to get various landowners in this area to sell, the Tennessee park commission granted lifetime leases for some of the tracts it purchased. Recognizing these encumbrances would be hard to eliminate, Congress passed a law on February 4, 1932, that authorized the Secretary of the Interior to grant lifetime leases on lands acquired for Great Smoky Mountains National Park.[15]

The leases (both short term and lifetime) were not too widely used. Most people left. Part of the mountain farmer's independent spirit was tied up with his status as a land owner, and when he no longer owned his own home he generally did not want to stay on the land. David Chapman estimated that some 80 to 90 percent of the small landowners in the park area were gone by July 1933. Chapman also ventured a guess that at least 75 percent of the people who had moved away had improved their circumstances. Of course, Chapman was deeply interested in presenting the rosiest pic-

ture possible, but he was also in a position to hear many stories about how individual families fared through the transition. He heard stories of people who had taken the government check and put the entire amount into a down payment on a more substantial farm, only to lose the new farm when the bottom fell out of the agricultural market. He heard stories of others who had cashed their check and immediately squandered it all on an automobile and a good-times spree. But alongside the numerous hard-luck stories were many success stories. Some people moved out to communities surrounding the park and prospered; others moved to different states such as Georgia, Virginia, and even distant Idaho.[16]

Glenn Cardwell, a retired ranger-naturalist at Great Smoky Mountains who was born in the Greenbrier section of the park in 1930, remembers the process by which his family sold out and leased from the government in the 1930s and early 1940s. The original Cardwell place was several miles up the drainage on a tributary creek. The year Glenn was born, his father sold the place to the Tennessee park commission and the family moved to a place down the valley that was still within the authorized boundary of the park. In 1939, the Tennessee park commission and the Park Service approached the Cardwell family a second time to acquire this lower farm. Glenn's father sold the property but elected to stay on under a lease. According to the terms of his lease, he paid the government one dollar per year for the privilege of growing crops on eleven acres of bottomland. The government designated where he could farm, and he was not allowed to till or plant or run livestock on the hillsides. He was allowed to pasture a few animals on land belonging to his former neighbor, who had sold out and left. Later, in 1943, the senior Cardwell bought some empty buildings for salvage lumber that the Park Service had planned to eliminate. At the same time he acquired a small parcel of land outside the park at Emmett's Cove, and over the next two years he and his sons dismantled the buildings one board at a time, removed and straightened the nails, and rebuilt a barn, crib, and smokehouse at the new place in Emmett's Cove. After six years of leasing from the Park Service, the Cardwell family moved out of the park to Emmett's Cove.[17]

When interviewed for this history, Glenn Cardwell had only positive things to say about his experience as a young member of a displaced family. "How did it effect me? Well all of a sudden it seemed I had inherited a big back yard," he remarked. Not only was it a place for recreation, it gave him employment. In the 1950s, Cardwell got a job as a park warden. He worked as a part-time warden, school teacher, and guidance counselor for many years until he became a full-time ranger-naturalist in 1961. Cardwell is philosophical about what the making of the park did to area residents like himself, recognizing that his own loss of community was necessary for the greater good of the state and the nation. Although the community in Greenbrier was physically broken up, he points out, community ties were not completely torn asunder. For years, old neighbors returned for the Greenbrier Homecoming Day. Held on the last Sunday in May, the gathering began with the decorating of cemetery graves, then continued with a morning worship, and concluded with an afternoon banquet.[18] For Cardwell, the annual homecoming was not just a reunion of old friends but an affirmation of sense of place.

Mark Hannah's family was another one that stayed, leasing from the Park Service for a few years as Glenn Cardwell's family did. For Hannah, the leasing policy did not seem so benign; if anything, it added insult to injury. "People moved out when the park began to apply their rules to them. They couldn't make a livin'. They kept cuttin' us down all the time, just have that field for a little while, then have this one…cuttin' down all the time and lettin' it go back to forest."[19]

Lem Ownby was the last surviving lifetime leaseholder in the park. He died in 1984. After his passing, park historian Ed Trout evaluated the property and determined it was not eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. The park then made plans to remove the cabin, which was located in the Elkmont Campground area and posed a safety concern. Superintendent Cook arranged a meeting between park staff and Herbert Ownby, estate executor and family representative. In Cook's summary of the meeting, he stated that the family had some sentiment for the cabin's restoration, but that it had agreed "removal was probably necessary." The final decision on the cabin was passed up the line to Director William Penn Mott, Jr., who concurred in the historical evaluation and approved its removal. Still, Mott gently admonished the park administration for emphasizing the property's health and safety hazards at the expense of its cultural values.[20]

Cemeteries

People could be uprooted, homes could be burned down, but cemeteries could not be relocated to make way for a national park. Cultural values prevented it.[21] Cemeteries were sacred sites lying within an area that the government wanted to revert to wilderness. They were a potent reminder that the Smokies had once been occupied by thousands of mountain farms. People whose kinfolk were buried inside the park formed associations to demand that the government maintain the cemeteries and not simply allow wilderness to reclaim these areas. Indeed, with continued access to these

sites at stake as well, cemeteries became a flashpoint in the contest over park wilderness designation. In the 1990s, property rights advocates took up the cause, accusing the Park Service of attempting to obliterate "the sacred burial areas of mountain people" and deny rightful access to family members, especially the elderly.[22]

The government first addressed the issue of cemeteries in the Smokies as early as 1929. Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur informed Verne Rhoades of the North Carolina Park Commission, "it will be the policy of the National Park Service to maintain all cemeteries within the park area with the same care at least as that given to them now, excepting, of course, such care and attention as individuals are personally giving to the graves of their departed kinsfolk or friends."[23] However, after the park administration was established in 1931, the Park Service was not as proactive as Wilbur's statement suggested it would be. Rather, it encouraged individuals and church congregations to do the upkeep while park maintenance forces did very little to assist them. During the 1940s and 50s, most cemetery maintenance was accomplished by volunteer effort under special use permits. Over the years, the effectiveness of this volunteer system declined as dispossessed families moved away and church congregations aged, dwindled, and disbanded.[24]

Resentment over the cemeteries' neglect gradually spread, and in 1960 people in North Carolina came together to request their congressman, Roy A. Taylor, to get the Park Service to start taking care of them.[25] Taylor addressed a letter to Director Wirth suggesting that the Park Service must assume maintenance of the cemeteries and establish a plan and budget for the job. He noted that some of the deeds affecting a transfer of land title to the government included provisions for upkeep of cemeteries and the government was failing to live up to its contractual obligations.[26] Two months later, Taylor asked Wirth directly about the Smokies cemeteries at a hearing before the House Subcommittee on National Parks. Pressed by the congressman, Wirth agreed that the Park Service should maintain them. Taylor followed up on the hearing with a phone call to the director. Wirth said the subject had taken him by surprise and that he had probably said too much on it, but that he would do what he said. Wirth immediately called Superintendent Overly and told him to start a cemetery maintenance program. In the following months, the park went to work clearing and grading secondary roads and trails to various cemeteries, repairing fences and clearing brush around the cemeteries, straightening headstones, and mowing grass.[27]

That year, the Park Service promulgated a new policy on cemetery maintenance in national parks. The Park Service committed itself to maintaining all cemeteries within park boundaries except those reserved to the original owner. It would permit ingress and egress by relatives and friends of those buried in the cemeteries and would permit burials of relatives in family plots. Access roads and trails would not be developed or improved, but they would be maintained to their current standards.[28]

Wilderness designation and wilderness management were potentially in conflict with the cemetery maintenance and access policy. To allay such concerns, in 1978 the Park Service began providing boat transportation across Fontana Lake for former residents of the area and relatives of people who were buried in north shore cemeteries. The program began with just two scheduled trips in the first year. Responding to pressure from the North Shore Cemetery Association, the Park Service gradually expanded the number of trips to twelve in one year by 1985, excluding trips for maintenance crews. Starting in 1981, the Park Service contracted with Guest Services, Inc. at Fontana Village to provide this service.[29]

The North Shore Cemetery Association became vociferous in its demands for access. In 1983, the association filed suit in U.S. District Court against TVA, the Department of the Interior, the State of North Carolina, and Swain County, seeking free access to the cemeteries and a lowering of Fontana Lake to allow rehabilitation and use of the submerged Route 288 for cemetery access. The Court ruled that TVA had never promised to provide access and dismissed the suit.[30]

While access to remote cemeteries remained an issue, another concern arose in the late 1980s that focused mainly on the more accessible cemeteries in the park. Many cemeteries, especially those associated with churches in Cades Cove, showed signs of abuse from heavy visitation. Problems included littering, vandalism, rutted paths, and trampling.[31]

Concerns about cemetery maintenance eventually led to a Cemetery Survey Project, initiated in 1994. Previously, the park officially listed 130 cemeteries. Through archeological investigation, more than 40 additional cemeteries were identified and all cemeteries were recorded in a database.[32]

Stereotypes and Revisionist History

Although former residents of the Smokies were dispossessed of their lands they still had their heritage. Many clung to their heritage all the more passionately because of the experience of dispossession. As the Park Service developed a mountain culture program for preserving this heritage, former residents looked on with mixed emotions. Some people enthusiastically cooperated with the park by donating items of material culture which they or their ancestors had made.

Local people — not necessarily former residents of the park — also participated in the mountain culture program as presenters of living history. Other people were dubious about the Park Service's ability to interpret their heritage fairly and accurately, especially when so many visitors came to the Smokies with preconceived notions about "hillbillies." Sometimes local people's criticism of Park Service interpretation offered a valuable corrective; in other instances it was off the mark. In any case, the local population's depth of knowledge about the place, its engagement with the past, and its sensitivity to negative stereotypes added another layer of complexity to the Park Service's evolving presentation of the human story at Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

In 1966, Jerry Glenn Cunningham, an attorney in Maryville and grandson of Andrew W. Shields, Jr., who was a prominent resident of Cades Cove in the 1920s, wrote to Superintendent Fry asking that the park not tear down the Shields house in Cades Cove. Cunningham wrote on behalf of a concerned group of relatives and friends who had once lived in the cove. Trying to give them all a voice, Cunningham explained that they had been watching for years as the ample houses and farms in which their parents and grandparents had lived were torn down so that only crude log cabins remained. "Cades Cove brings only feelings of despair, sadness, and animosity to the hearts of those people who lived there," Cunningham wrote. "These fine folks do not resent the fact that their property was taken to create a National Park, but rather they resent the manner in which a way of life is being exploited and misrepresented to the uninformed non-native tourist." Few of the surviving log cabins in Cades Cove were even occupied in the 1920s, Cunningham related, while practically all of the fine homes, barns, churches, and schoolhouses that were in use then had been ravaged or removed. "A way of life gone by, and which is now history, is being wronged, slandered, libeled, and misrepresented in order to present to naive tourists a picture of 'mountain life' as some pseudo-expert probably interprets it."[33]

The Shields house was probably the finest house in Cades Cove, Cunningham continued, and it ought to be preserved as a memorial to the finer homes in the community. Built at the end of the nineteenth century by his grandfather, great uncle, and great grandfather, the house had once had nine rooms, two staircases, and weatherboard siding. Its interior walls were finished with white-pine, tongue-and-groove paneling. At one time this home had running water and telephone service. The house was "by no means a mud chinked mud calamity which tourists believe all Cades Cove residents lived in when the park took over."

What these Shields family descendants wanted was for the Park Service to tell a different story to the public, a story that would reflect the progressive spirit of the Cades Cove community. "Is not history progress?" Cunningham demanded. "It is because of the sturdy people that the area is what it is today. We owe them their share of recognition as intelligent farmers and community minded men and women and not as ignorant hillbillies living in abject poverty with one hand on a hog eye rifle and the other on a jug of moonshine….People can see log cabin America on Daniel Boone on television. Why build such pig pen cabins where they never existed and only a fine home stood?"

Such strong sentiments pushed the Park Service to modify its interpretation of mountain culture. From an earlier focus on the pre-Civil War era, it shifted to an emphasis on the period 1890-1920. It also tried to present a more nuanced history, highlighting differences between Cades Cove and Cataloochee, for example, and showing how the culture changed rather than how it remained static. In its telling of the Cades Cove story, the Park Service was influenced by two historical works, both written by descendants of Cades Cove settlers. The first was Randolph Shields' history of Cades Cove. Randolph Shields grew up in Cades Cove, went away to college, and returned to the area to teach biology at Maryville College, where he also devoted numerous summers to working in the park as an interpreter. His straightforward and factual history appeared first in an article in *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* in 1965 and then in picture-book format in *The Cades Cove Story* in 1977. The second historical work was Durwood Dunn's book, *Cades Cove: The Life and Death of a Southern Appalachian Community 1818-1937*, published by the University of Tennessee Press in 1988. (Park interpreters read Dunn's work in its earlier form as a doctoral dissertation nearly a decade before that.) Now a professor of history at Tennessee Wesleyan University, Dunn is descended from the Oliver family on his mother's side and from early park ranger Charles S. Dunn on his father's side. His family lineage allowed him access to the Oliver family papers, which provided a trove of material on daily life in Cades Cove. Dunn related the story that Cunningham and his associates so desired to be told, debunking the portrait of Cades Cove as an isolated, primitive place. In Dunn's revisionist history, Cades Cove was intimately tied to the outside world despite its cloistered geography. Park Service interpreters found the book insightful, noting, however, that the Oliver family was hardly typical of mountain farm families in the Smokies.[34]

Dunn's book on Cades Cove had a wide influence not just on Park Service interpreters but on scholars and students of Appalachian studies. It became the University of Tennessee Press's bestseller and was adopted for classroom

Passenger train service to Elkmont brought families to the Smokies to enjoy the out-of-doors. The Wonderland Club and summer cottages in the area, however, became a flash point that pitted inholders against park rangers.

use in colleges across the region. At the University of North Carolina, for example, Dr. David Whisnant used this book for his basic text in an American Studies course titled "Hillbilly Highway: Appalachia and America." Midway through the semester, students were directed to go to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park webpage where they were to read the Park Service's "Cultural History" on Cades Cove and compare it with what they had learned from "Dunn's book and the rest of this course."[35] One could infer from the course assignment that the Park Service version of Cades Cove history contrasted in some way with the Dunn text. The piece on Cades Cove has since been removed from the park's webpage. Revisionist history is a welcome development, but it sometimes takes on the flavor of political correctness. As writers, interpreters, educators, and students all learned to think and communicate about Appalachian mountain culture in more anthropological terms, revisionist history ran the risk of becoming a sanitized history.

Debacle over Elkmont

Nowhere did the legacy of dispossession arouse more passions than in the debacle over Elkmont in the 1990s. The complicated historical background on the Elkmont leasehold can be sketched briefly since the story has already been told elsewhere, notably in a report prepared by John Morrell in 1976. Of most significance here is how the legacy of dispossession affected the Park Service's plan for Elkmont after the lease was finally terminated in 1992.

Elkmont, it will be recalled, was a resort community that began as a private hunting club on land leased from the Little River Lumber Company. By the time of the park campaign, Elkmont consisted of a large number of cottages in two clusters, one associated with the Appalachian Club and the other associated with the Wonderland Club. The latter included the Wonderland Club Hotel. Since this summer colony was located within the area exempted from the state's power of eminent domain (under the Tennessee state law of 1927), the cottage owners agreed to sell to the Tennessee park commission only on condition that each member would receive a lifetime lease together with half the appraised value of the property. The lease provisions were combined into two agreements, one for each club. The Tennessee park commission presented the Appalachian Club lease agreement to the Park Service in April 1930 and it presented the equivalent instrument for the Wonderland Club on March 1931. Under authority of the Act of Congress of February 4, 1932, the secretary of the interior granted lifetime leases to the stakeholders when the property was deeded to the United States.[36]

In 1950, the two clubs jointly approached the Park Service with a request to have electric power lines extended from Sugarlands to Elkmont. The Park Service was not opposed (the development would put Elkmont Ranger Station and Elkmont Campground on the grid as well) but the Sevier County Electric System balked at making this investment when so many of the lifetime leases would soon expire. This led to an agreement by which all lease holders would exchange their lifetime leases for a single 20-year lease, thereby ensuring that the public utility could amortize its investment. The instrument was drawn up accordingly, but it had to be modified as not all of the lease holders would agree to it. In the end only two-thirds of the lifetime leases were surren-

dered for a 20-year lease to expire December 31, 1971.[37]

Master plans in the 1950s and 1960s called for eventual elimination of the Elkmont enclave and development of a picnic area in its place. But this was not to be. As the expiration of the lease approached, club members formed the Elkmont Preservation Committee and lobbied for an extension of their privileges. The Park Service was forced to accept a compromise. In a new agreement completed in July 1972, the lease was renewed for a 20-year period ending December 31, 1992, and in exchange the Wonderland Hotel was renovated and opened to the general public. Once again, all lifetime leases were supposed to be surrendered but some slipped through the cracks. Four of these were converted to 30-year leases terminating in 2001.[38]

No one was more dismayed over the new agreement than John Morrell, the longtime park staff specialist who had retired only a few years before. He thought the deal reeked of special privilege, calling it "a slap in the face" to the mountain farmers who had to give up their homes for the park. "My father told me years ago that the government would get the poor out easily enough, but that the rich would always be here," he told the *Sevier County Observer*, "and I now believe him." Moreover, he felt disgusted by the Elkmont Preservation Committee's claim that the summer colony was once part of the mountain culture. To call the two clusters of summer cottages "Elkmont," in Morrell's view, was a self-serving usurpation of the name once given to the former logging camp. To call the place historical was a perversion of historic preservation.[39]

As criticism of the agreement mounted, the Park Service decided to submit the agreement to public review and comment under the National Environmental Policy Act. On the basis of public comments received through the formal NEPA process, the Park Service negotiated an amendment of the agreement with the Elkmont Preservation Committee. This did two things. It retracted language in the 1972 agreement that purported to recognize historical significance in the Wonderland Hotel, and it annulled outstanding lifetime leases — with the further stipulation that all buildings would be vacated within 60 days after the termination of the leases and all buildings would be removed by the Park Service within two years of being vacated. The Elkmont Preservation Committee signed the agreement in 1980, and the spirit of the agreement was carried into the GMP in 1982.[40]

The 1980 agreement did not stop club members from attempting to secure yet another 20-year renewal of their lease. In 1985, club members voted on a resolution for a special assessment of $1,000 per cottage per year for three years to raise money for a "war chest" with which to pursue that goal. In the first year it raised $60,000. Two years later, Joseph P. Congleton, attorney for the Elkmont Preservation Committee, wrote a "confidential" letter to Superintendent Pope in which he made a surprising offer. In exchange for another 20-year lease, the Elkmont Preservation Committee would donate $770,000 toward the construction of a new Oconaluftee Visitor Center. Pope rejected this offer and his superiors supported him in that decision. Viewing the offer as unseemly at best, Pope did not disclose it to the public. (Four years later the offer was leaked to environmentalists who in turn made it known to Senator Jim Sasser and Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan. Environmentalists characterized it as a bribe.)[41]

At a meeting of club members held in January 1992, the Elkmont Preservation Committee advised that an extension of the current lease did not appear achievable. The committee asked club members if they wanted to liquidate the "war chest" that had been established for this fight. Club members equivocated. After the meeting, an ad hoc group of the more determined individuals formed to carry on the fight. Although the ad hoc group was not officially appointed, it was invited to use what was left in the "war chest." Given little or no oversight, however, the ad hoc group tapped into a different account, one that was earmarked for maintenance of the Wonderland Hotel. The latter account derived from income taken in by the Wonderland Hotel for rooms rented to the general public. Although the account was managed by the Wonderland Club, it was not clear whether the money belonged to the club or the government since it was obligated for building maintenance. When club president Vernon Moore disclosed all of this to Pope in December 1992, Moore said he thought the ad hoc group had expended about $38,000 in the course of the year — roughly half the money in this account. Pope requested a legal opinion and an audit, but the matter apparently blew over.[42]

The ad hoc group was headed by Don Podrebarac, a retired businessman from Ohio who had bought into the Wonderland Club a mere five years earlier. He and his family lived in their leased home at Elkmont year round. (Podrebarac was not the only newcomer to Elkmont. The *Knoxville News-Sentinel* learned that a number of people with no personal relationship to original club members had bought lease rights in Elkmont, paying up to $10,000 for them.) Podrebarac and his associates came up with an alternative to a lease extension that would preserve the Elkmont cabins. Their idea was to convert them into visitor accommodations run by a concession. It might be a for-profit concession under contract to the Park Service or a non-profit operation handled by a trust. They presented their concession idea to the superintendent and Secretary Lujan but got nowhere with either of them.[43]

Finally Podrebarac's group consulted with a law firm in Boston. This firm came up with the most outrageous plan of all. This firm's so-called "workable strategy" started from the premise that the Elkmont buildings would likely be determined eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, creating an enormous maintenance liability for the Park Service if they were ever vacated. "Therefore," these Boston attorneys suggested, "by pushing for historic designation and convincing the Park Service that, even if displaced, the Elkmont residents would force the Park Service to toe the line to the letter of the law, we would put the Great Smokey [sic] Mountains National Park in the position of having to spend millions of dollars that it does not have." At the opportune moment, when the Park Service was awakening to its predicament, the clubs would offer to relieve the Park Service of its financial responsibility in return for "favorable terms of continued use." As absurd as this strategy was — it applied the logic of extortion to a situation in which that logic had no force — the Boston law firm recommended four actions that were actually consequential. First, it recommended that the Elkmont Preservation Committee work with the Tennessee Historical Commission to advance the timetable on getting a historical study done. Second, it should inform the Park Service of its intention to seek a court injunction to force timely preparation of a historical study. Third, it should wage a public relations campaign to shift the focus from the club members to the historic resource, while highlighting the Park Service's intention to destroy the site. Fourth, it should lobby political figures in Washington and Tennessee who would be able to influence the Department of the Interior at the highest levels.[44]

As time ran out on the leases it was already evident that the battle was shifting to the issue of whether Elkmont should be preserved on its historical merits. Politicians, looking for middle ground, put their support behind the preservation of empty cabins as opposed to leased cabins. At the request of Senator Sasser and others, the Park Service contracted with a consulting firm to conduct a cultural resource assessment. The cabins had barely been vacated when the firm released its report, which found the property eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.[45]

This finding dismayed park staff and environmentalists who had been working for years to end the leases, tear down the buildings, and allow Elkmont to revert to wilderness – all of which was spelled out in the GMP. Indeed, park historian Ed Trout had evaluated the property during the GMP process and found that it had no historical significance. But the standards for evaluating historic properties had changed since the late 1970s, many more Elkmont cabins had aged past the magic 50-year mark in the interim, and by the 1990s there was much more interest in preserving cultural resources associated with the historical themes of tourism and conservation than had been the case around the time of the GMP's completion. In any case, park officials pointed out that the Elkmont cabins could be listed on the National Register and then torn down as called for in the GMP. Under the National Historic Preservation Act, listing on the register did not preclude destruction of the historic property if there were compelling reasons to take that action.[46]

In October 1993, Pope announced that the Park Service had determined that the Elkmont buildings were historically significant and that the Tennessee Historical Commission concurred. Following this controversial announcement there was still a good deal more disagreement within the Park Service about how many buildings ought to be listed. Park staff pushed for a smaller number while the regional office and the Washington Office called for more. In March 1994, the regional director submitted a National Register nomination through the Tennessee Historical Commission to the National Register Board in Washington. The historic district nomination called for preservation of 36 buildings out of 67 that were considered significant, with another 25 buildings considered non-contributing.[47]

That winter of 1993-94, Pope retired and Karen Wade came in as the new superintendent. Taking her cue from the GMP as well as from senior park staff who had been involved with the Elkmont story for years, Wade thought the management direction was clear. "The position of the Park is to phase out the Elkmont enclave and remove all the structures, as was done with the +6,600 other occupied tracts of land acquired for the establishment of Great Smoky Mountains National Park," she announced.[48] Giving some background on the park's position to Director Kennedy, she added: "Park managers had been under pressure from local people for 60 years to eliminate the preferential treatment being accorded to the lessees at Elkmont."[49]

In addition to taking a principled stand on the longstanding matter of privilege, Wade laid new emphasis on the natural values found in the Elkmont area. The enclave was located in a floodplain of the Little River where the soil was deep and rich. This alluvial corridor was high in biological diversity and represented an ecotype that was one of the most biologically productive in the park. This ecotype composed less than one percent of the park's land area. Given the park's strong legislative mandates to protect biological diversity, Wade argued, it was crucial to return this area to a natural state.[50]

By her second year in the park, however, Wade was running into problems over Elkmont. Public opinion was changing. A group called Friends of Elkmont formed to stop the

demolition. The Tennessee Historical Commission began to have doubts about the park's plan. After the park notified the commission of its intent to proceed with removal of the buildings, the state historic preservation officer responded with a request for more information. In particular, he wanted to know if the Park Service had given due consideration to the idea of making the cabins available for public use.[51]

The park proposed a compromise plan in which three buildings would be preserved for telling the Elkmont story. The state historic preservation officer (SHPO) rejected this proposal. The park submitted five alternatives and the SHPO rejected all of these, too. After more difficult communications, the SHPO formally notified the superintendent that his office was terminating the consultation process. By this time, some four years had elapsed since Pope's announcement that the buildings had historical significance and there was mounting concern about the physical deterioration of the buildings. In July 1998, the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation signaled that this impasse between the park and the SHPO must be resolved. The Park Service responded that it would re-examine its alternatives. As a result of the re-study, the park came back with another compromise plan in which 17 cabins plus the clubhouse would be preserved. It sent this proposal to the SHPO and the Advisory Council in October 1999.[52]

Superintendent Tollefson entered on duty on September 24, 2000, faced with taking this new plan for Elkmont to the next level. The Advisory Council had determined that the park plan would constitute a new action and therefore would require compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, that is, public involvement in a new planning process. Tollefson launched the Section 106 process the next month. It was decided to develop a GMP amendment and environmental assessment as part of the process.[53]

Seven years into this process it appeared to be nearing a final resolution. The draft GMP amendment and environmental impact statement described six alternatives, ranging from a "no action" alternative that would not amend the GMP and therefore give no protection to the historic buildings, allowing the Park Service to remove them, to one that called for a maximum level of protection for the cultural resources in the Elkmont enclave. The plan was cast as an effort to achieve balance between natural and cultural values in this area of the park. As more buildings were preserved, proportionally less protection would be afforded to the natural environment. This was especially the case for those alternatives involving adaptive re-use of cabins for visitor accommodations, as that would involve associated impacts of heavy visitor use.[54]

The preferred alternative closely resembled the compromise plan that the park had proposed in October 1999. Under this alternative the park would retain 16 historic buildings plus the clubhouse. Fifteen of the buildings were in a compact row known as Daisy Town, which represented the first portion of the community to be developed. One building in the area known as Society Hill would be retained for its association with David C. Chapman. The Appalachian Clubhouse would be restored on the exterior and rehabilitated on the interior for day use under special permit. All other buildings would be removed, although chimneys and other landscape features would be left. Sensitive plant community types would be actively restored.[55]

After years of rancor and divisiveness over the disposition of Elkmont, the public and the park staff seemed to be approaching a consensus about the appropriateness of this alternative. By preserving a representative portion of the resort community, the park would retain tangible cultural resources associated with the story of nature appreciation in the early twentieth century, the campaign for the national park, and the management history of the park. The whole complex would also have benefits for resource education and visitor enjoyment.[56]

Long Memories

By the beginning of the twenty-first century all but a few former residents of the park area had passed away, but hundreds if not thousands of their descendants remained in the area. These second and third generation dispossessed still remembered the stories their elders had told. When Superintendent Ditmanson came to the park in 2004, he soon found that it was not uncommon for individuals to bring up stories about how the Park Service had not fully compensated a parent or grandparent or great uncle for a piece of property. But Ditmanson also discovered that when he talked with these individuals awhile, they would almost invariably express appreciation that the park had been created. Memories persisted, but hard feelings softened with time.[57]

When Ditmanson was selected for the superintendent position, he phoned outgoing Superintendent Mike Tollefson for pointers. Tollefson told him, "Be prepared to be embraced by the community." After three years in the park, Ditmanson could not agree more with this advice. "In many places you have a really wonderful community surrounding the park, but it is nowhere like here….Everywhere you go and you talk about the park, people just love this place. They want to work with you. Whether I'm in any one of the six counties or any one of the communities, people come up

and talk about their love of the park and support for the park."[58]

These positive feelings are not limited to those who never experienced dispossession. At public meetings, Ditmanson often begins his comments by asking if anyone in the group comes from a family who once had land in the park. Every time, two or three people raise their hands. From the perspective of a land manager, Ditmanson points out, the legacy of dispossession gives Great Smoky Mountains National Park an unusual "feel and history."[59]

[1] Brown, *The Wild East*, 97-98, 379. Bob Wightman notes that the park's database of property deeds contains 2,415 names of grantors. It is difficult to compare this figure with Brown's tally of 1,133 farms, since some deeds list multiple grantors.

[2] Quoted in Elizabeth D. Powers with Mark E. Hannah, "Cataloochee: Lost Settlement of the Smokies," typescript in Vertical Files, GRSM, 87.

[3] Quoted in Powers, "Cataloochee: Lost Settlement of the Smokies," 89.

[4] Minutes of the second meeting of the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission, April 28, 1925, File 0-32, Box 24, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[5] David C. Chapman to Roy R. Griffin, April 29, 1927, File 4, Box XV, Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association Collection, GRSM.

[6] Durwood Dunn, *Cades Cove: The Life and Death of A Southern Appalachian Community 1818-1937* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988), 249-50.

[7] Dunn, *Cades Cove*, 243.

[8] Powers, "Cataloochee: Lost Settlement of the Smokies," 97.

[9] Dunn, *Cades Cove*, 252.

[10] Powers, "Cataloochee: Lost Settlement of the Smokies," 95-97.

[11] Ray Lyman Wilbur to Verne Rhoades, May 16, 1929, File 609 Part 1, Box 308, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[12] Ray Lyman Wilbur to Verne Rhoades, May 16, 1929, File 609 Part 1, Box 308, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[13] Arno B. Cammerer to Assistant Secretary, March 10, 1931, enclosing blank lease, File 609 Part 1, Box 308, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[14] J. Ross Eakin to The Director, May 4, 1931, and Arno B. Cammerer to Eakin, June 22, 1931, File 609 Part 2, Box 308, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[15] John Morrell, "A History of the Cottages in the Vicinity of the Forest Town of Elkmont, Namely: The Appalachian Club & The Wonderland Club," 1976, Vertical Files, GRSM; *Report of the Director of the National Park Service for 1931* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931), 57-58.

[16] David C. Chapman to J. R. Eakin, July 26, 1933, File 35, Box I, Chapman Collection, GRSM; Cardwell interview.

[17] Cardwell interview.

[18] Cardwell interview.

[19] Quoted in Powers, "Cataloochee: Lost Settlement of the Smokies," 92.

[20] Edward L. Trout to Chief, Resources Management Division, January 31, 1984 [1985?], Trout to Superintendent, April 15, 1985, Superintendent to Regional Director, April 26, 1985, Superintendent to Herbert Ownby, May 9, 1985, and Director to Regional Director, July 8, 1985, Box XX, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[21] The Park Service has offered to relocate cemeteries but families have declined the offer. Note that cultural values do not necessarily prevent relocation of cemeteries that stand in the way of development projects. TVA relocated 1,047 graves from the area inundated by Fontana Lake. See Brown, *The Wild East*, 165.

[22] See Carol W. LaGrasse, "A Perception of Cultural Preservation," *Positions on Property* 2, no. 1 (January 1995), reprinted at http:prfamerica.org/positions/perceptionofculturalproperty.html <January 30, 2008>.

[23] Ray Lyman Wilbur to Verne Rhoades, May 16, 1929, File 609 Part 1, Box 308, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II.

[24] Edward L. Trout, "Cemetery Rehabilitation Study, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," Box XX, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[25] "Pioneer Cemeteries Get Government Care," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, September 25, 1961.

[26] "Taylor Seeks to Save Burial Plots in Park," *Asheville Citizen*, December 20, 1960.

[27] Roy A. Taylor to William Medford, March 3, 1961, enclosing Extracts from Minutes of Subcommittee on National Parks, Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, February 27, 1961, File A58, Box 8, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER; "Pioneer Cemeteries Get Government Care," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, September 25, 1961.

[28] Regional Director to Region One Superintendents, September 26, 1961, File A58, Box 8, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[29] A statement by Superintendent Beal on Cemetery Access and Maintenance Policy for Great Smoky Mountains National Park, dated May 11, 1979, was published as Appendix D in the GMP.

[30] Donald Paul Hodel to Jesse Helms, June 3, 1986, enclosing "Briefing Statement, North Shore Road Agreement, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," no date, Box XVIII, Park Management Collection, GRSM; Mihalic interview.

[31] Historian to Chief, Resources Management Division, May 26, 1987, Box XX, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[32] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1998, Superintendent's Annual Report for 2002, GRSM.

[33] Jerry Glenn Cunningham to Superintendent Fry, September 27, 1966, Box XVI, Park Management Collection, GRSM.

[34] Robbins interview.

[35] Dr. David Whisnant, "Hillbilly Highway: Appalachia and America," (1997) www.appalachianstudies.org <January 31, 2008>.

[36] David C. Chapman to A. B. Cammerer, April 17, 1930, Cammerer to Chapman, May 6, 1930, Chapman to Cammerer, November 8, 1930, Cammerer to Chapman, February 5, 1931, and Marguerite Preston to Cammerer, March 6, 1931, enclosing lease agreement, File 609 Part 1, Box 308, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II; Cammerer to Files, June 16, 1931, Cammerer to Chapman, June 17, 1931, and Cammerer to Chapman, July 11, 1931, File 609 Part 2, Box 308, CCF 1907-32, RG 79, NA II; Morrell, "A History of the Cottages in the Vicinity of the Former Town of Elkmont," 7.

[37] Morrell, "A History of the Cottages in the Vicinity of the Former Town of Elkmont," 9-10. Note that not all leaseholders were reaching the end of their life expectancy. This was due to the fact that many cottage owners had given a half interest in their property to their children prior to selling the property in 1930.

[38] Stewart L. Udall to Loye W. Miller, November 10, 1966, Acting Superintendent to Regional Director, June 13, 1967, and Russell E. Dickenson to Chief, Division of Resource Management and Visitor Protection, July 19, 1967, File L30 Part 1, Box 1846, CCF 1949-71, RG 79, NA II; Assistant Chief of Maintenance to Superintendent, October 10, 1969, and November 5, 1969, and Assistant Regional Director, Operations to Director, October 19, 1969, File 9, Box II, Park Management Collection, GRSM;

"Park Renews Elkmont Leases, 20 Years," *Gatlinburg Press*, October 5, 1972, Morrell, "A History of the Cottages in the Vicinity of the Former Town of Elkmont," 11-14.

[39] Dwight Stokes, "The Poor Will Be Easy To Get Out," *Sevier County Observer* 1, no. 17 [no date], copy in Box I, John Morrell Collection, GRSM.

[40] Lindsay Young to Jerry A. Eubanks, February 8, 1980, enclosing draft Agreement, and "Briefing Statement Regarding Elkmont Leases," File L3033c, Bob Wightman Files, GRSM.

[41] Vernon G. Moore to All Lessees, August 11, 1986, File 8, Box 1, J. Fred Bauman, Jr., Collection, MS 2053, Special Collections, Hoskins Library, University of Tennessee; Joseph P. Congleton to Randy Pope, June 28, 1988, and Ray Payne to Manuel Lujan, December 17, 1992, File L3033c, Bob Wightman Files, GRSM; Ray Payne to Senator Jim Sasser, March 10, 1993, File 28, Box 10, Series 5, Leroy G. Fox Collection, MS 2051, Special Collections, Hoskins Library, University of Tennessee.

[42] Staff Park Ranger to Files, December 4, 1992, and Superintendent to Regional Director, December 18, 1992, File L3033c, Bob Wightman Files, GRSM.

[43] O. T. Wright to Appalachian Club Cabin Lessees, July 15, 1992, and Buntin Podrebarac to Foster Arnett et al., June 26, 1992, File 8, Box 1, J. Fred Bauman, Jr., Collection, MS 2053, Special Collections, Hoskins Library, University of Tennessee; "Cabin Fervor," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, April 19, 1992.

[44] James P. DeMaria to Dale Mayo, June 18, 1992, enclosing "Proposal for Preservation of Elkmont Community and Wonderland Hotel, Great Smokey [sic] Mountains National Park," File 8, Box 1, J. Fred Bauman, Jr., Collection, MS 2053, Special Collections, Hoskins Library, University of Tennessee.

[45] "Sasser asks for study of cabins," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, October 8, 1991; " Questions are raised regarding preservation of Smokies hotel," *Knoxville Journal*, October 19, 1991; "Coalition formed to save Wonderland," *Knoxville Journal*, October 19, 1991; Jim Sasser to Joseph P. Congleton, June 25, 1992, File 8, Box 1, J. Fred Bauman, Jr., Collection, MS 2053, Special Collections, Hoskins Library, University of Tennessee; "No change in Elkmont cabin plan," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, December 22, 1992; "End to Private Leases Arriving in Smokies," *National Parks* 66 (March/April 1992): 19.

[46] "Elkmont buildings gain official's boost," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, October 17, 1993.

[47] "Briefing Statement, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," March 23, 1995, File H30, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[48] "Briefing Statement, Great Smoky Mountains National Park," March 23, 1995, File H30, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[49] Superintendent to Director, April 4, 1995, File H30, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[50] Paul B. Hartwig, to Herbert L. Harper (draft), April 4, 1995, File H30, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[51] David Grant Howard to Karen Wade, June 20, 1995, Wade to Howard, July 14, 1995, and Paul B. Hartwig to Herbert L. Harper (draft), April 4, 1995, File H30, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[52] Superintendent's Annual Report for1998, GRSM; "Purpose and Need for the Action," no date, File Elkmont Newsletter, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[53] Superintendent's Annual Report for 2000, GRSM; "Elkmont Historic District: General Management Plan Amendment (GMPA) and Environmental Assessment (EA)," File Elkmont Newsletter, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[54] "Elkmont Historic District, Draft Environmental Impact Statement and General Management Plan Amendment, Summary," File Executive Summary, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[55] "Elkmont Historic District, Draft Environmental Impact Statement and General Management Plan Amendment, Summary," File Executive Summary, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[56] "Cultural Resource Goal Statement," and "Visitor Education & Recreation Goal Statement," no dates, File Early Project Info TN & A 03/02, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[57] Dale Ditmanson, interview by Theodore Catton, April 18, 2007.

[58] Ditmanson interview.

[59] Ditmanson interview.

Chapter Nineteen

The Cherokee

Bordering Great Smoky Mountains National Park on the south is the Cherokee Indian Reservation, home to the Eastern Band of Cherokee. With an enrollment of about 13,400 members, this community is the largest federally-recognized tribe east of the Mississippi River. The reservation of approximately 56,000 acres is one of the biggest Indian reservations in the eastern United States. Since the inception of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the park administration and the Indian community have been joined not only by a common boundary where the park meets the reservation, but also by a common interest in tourism development. As soon as tourists began beating a path to the Smokies, this Cherokee community, ensconced in the mountain fastness of Western North Carolina, started attracting tourist attention in its own right.

The Cherokee Indian Reservation is also known by its historical name Qualla Boundary or Qualla Reservation. The Qualla were a band of Cherokee who dissented from the New Echota Treaty of 1835 and resisted removal to the West. In 1836, they entrusted their white chief, William Thomas, to negotiate an agreement with government officials whereby they obtained the right to remain in North Carolina as Thomas's wards until such time as they would become citizens of North Carolina and hold their land as private property. For the next 30 years, the Qualla lived under Thomas's dubious guardianship. During the Civil War, the Qualla gave their allegiance to the Confederacy. Thomas was appointed colonel in command of a force known as the Thomas Legion, which included four companies of Qualla infantrymen. After the Civil War, the Reconstruction government in North Carolina terminated Thomas's guardianship over the Qualla and their lands. In 1868, the Qualla became wards of the federal government, and two years later they received federal recognition as the Eastern Band of Cherokee, at which time they re-established a tribal government. In 1889, the North Carolina state legislature passed a law that gave the tribe a corporate charter and recognized its title to all lands held by grant or deed. In 1897, the state legislature amended the law by providing for a tribal structure of government. Acting under that authority, the tribe in 1925 deeded all its land to the federal government to be held in trust for the tribe. The state law as amended still forms the basis for the Cherokee Indian Reservation and the tribal government today.[1]

When Great Smoky Mountains National Park was established in the 1930s the Eastern Band of Cherokee numbered about 2,200. Most tribal members were farmers and their form of agriculture and mode of living were basically the same as those of white farmers in the area. A few tribal members worked in the lumbering industry, though jobs in this sector practically vanished in the Great Depression. Agricultural lands on the reservation were restricted to a few valleys, notably along Raven Fork and the Oconaluftee River. The principal communities on the reservation were Cherokee, Soco, and Big Cove, the latter being home to the largest number of full bloods and traditionalists on the reservation. Two other communities, Birdtown and Snowbird, were located off the reservation proper.[2] One state road existed across the Cherokee Reservation: this road ran from Bryson City through Cherokee and Smokemont to Newfound Gap. In addition, there was a railroad line that ran through Ela to Ravensford, crossing the Oconaluftee River just south of Cherokee. The state of North Carolina condemned the railroad property in 1930 with the intent of building a second state road in its place.[3] The establishment of the national park and the opening of the reservation by automobile roads set the stage for a transformation of the reservation economy by tourism during the second half of the twentieth century.

The park administration was always an interested observer and occasionally a partner in the growth of tourism on the reservation, a process marked first by the development of new highways, then by the appearance of curios shops and tourist accommodations, later by the establishment of the Oconaluftee Indian Village and Museum of the Cherokee Indian, and most recently by the opening of Harrods Casino. During the 1930s, the park and the tribe discussed a land exchange, which finally came to fruition in 1940. In the mid 1990s the tribe initiated another land exchange that involved a portion of the land involved in the earlier exchange. Though it dealt with a smaller area than the earlier land exchange, it was as contentious and protracted as the first.

The Park Service dealt with the neighboring Cherokee people on multiple levels. Sometimes the park dealt with the Cherokee people on an individual basis, as when it formulated regulations allowing tribal members to gather a peck of ramps per individual within the park for home consumption. The Park Service also addressed the Cherokee people on a government-to-government basis, and this occurred on two levels. Like most Indian communities in the twentieth century, the Cherokee were represented by their own tribal government and by the federal government, which acted in the capacity of trustee through the Secretary of the Interior, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the bureau's local agent, the superintendent of Cherokee Agency. In the early years, the Park Service communicated primarily with the BIA superintendent. Nowadays it communicates mostly with the tribal government. Starting in the 1970s, there was a gradual shift in emphasis from one to the other, culminating in a memorandum of understanding between the Eastern Band of Cherokee and the Park Service in 2006, whereby the two entities formed a Cooperative Council made of representatives from the tribe and the park staff. This new body meets annually for the purpose of identifying and implementing mutual objectives.

The Land Exchange of 1940

Superintendent Eakin opened discussions of a potential land exchange between the park and the reservation in March 1931. Eakin directed his attention primarily to the BIA superintendent of Cherokee Agency, although he received input from certain Cherokee tribal members. What he proposed at that time was to exchange a small area of bottomland along the Oconaluftee River for a large area of mountainous country at the northern tip of the Cherokee Reservation. The lands were not equivalent in acreage but they were equivalent in value according to appraisals made by the North Carolina Park Commission. By this trade the park would have acquired all of the Straight Fork and all of the Raven Fork above the junction of those two streams, which Eakin saw as potentially fine trout streams, and the tribe would have acquired potential farm land close to the town of Cherokee.[4] This land exchange never came to pass.

Eakin renewed discussions of a land exchange with the next BIA superintendent, Harold W. Foght, in December 1934. This time discussions went forward on the basis of a new condition: any land swap had to involve an equal amount of acreage on each side. The new head of BIA, Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier, insisted on it. Collier was deeply suspicious of any land deal that would diminish the Indian estate. His suspicion was well-founded, for the total extent of Indian lands in the United States had suffered disastrous decline over the preceding forty years under the failed federal policy of Indian allotment. Collier's reforms, known as the Indian New Deal, aimed at improving the conditions of Indians through revitalization of tribalism. A cornerstone of his reform program was to protect the Indians' land base, restoring allotted Indian lands to tribal status wherever possible. The Cherokee Indian Reservation had fortunately escaped the allotment process and remained in tribal ownership under federal trust; nevertheless, given the wider context of Indian affairs, Collier would not accept any diminishment of Cherokee lands. As sensible and principled as this stand was, it did narrow options for the park and the tribe in making a land exchange. As Eakin sardonically noted, Collier's acre-for-acre requirement would have the Park Service offer a trade on the basis of "one acre of valuable bottom land for one acre of wild, logged off, mountain land."[5] Eakin was still interested in exchanging land near Cherokee for land higher on the Raven Fork, but as the land values varied considerably the talks fizzled.

Eakin resumed the talks yet again in March 1936, this time under a directive from the Secretary of the Interior to get a right-of-way through the Cherokee Reservation for the Blue Ridge Parkway. Plans for the Blue Ridge Parkway called for the parkway to enter the Cherokee Reservation at Soco Gap and descend down Soco Creek to the town of Cherokee. At first the tribe had supported this proposed development: in the short run it would bring highway construction jobs to the reservation and in the long run it would bring tourists to the reservation and foster tourist trade. But when tribal members learned that the parkway would involve a right-of-way or easements nearly 1,000 feet wide, allowing only limited commercial development and no access for residents along the route while eliminating valuable farm land, they turned against it. With negotiations for the right-of-way having reached an impasse, Eakin was requested to rekindle the land exchange talks, this time holding out those bottomlands as a bargaining chip for securing tribal consent to a right-of-way for the Blue Ridge Parkway.[6] Eakin initiated these talks in March 1936 with back-to-back meetings in Gatlinburg and Cherokee. Representing the tribe's interests were Principal Chief Jarrett Blythe, Superintendent Foght, and BIA foresters Robert Marshall and W. N. Robinson.[7]

In these negotiations seven different tracts were put on the table: five in the park and two on the reservation. In the final compromise proposal, the park was to exchange three tracts totaling 1,547 acres, which the North Carolina Park Commission had acquired for a total cost of $87,833, for one tract of 1,202 acres with an appraised value of $18,030 together with the right-of-way down Soco Creek for the Blue

Ridge Parkway. The three tracts of park land were known as the Boundary Tree (884 acres), Tight Run (341 acres), and Ravensford (322 acres), the latter containing the bottomlands of most value to the tribe. The one tract that the Cherokee would give up was called the Towstring. Principal Chief Blythe warned the other negotiators that the Tribal Council would not approve the right-of-way for the parkway no matter what park lands were offered in exchange, but the BIA representatives thought he was mistaken.[8] As Blythe had predicted, however, the Tribal Council rejected the land exchange package by a narrow 6 to 5 vote.[9]

By this time, Secretary of the Interior Ickes was determined to clear the way for completion of the Blue Ridge Parkway, but he was equally determined to obtain tribal consent to the project. Looking for a way to circumvent the Tribal Council, he had a bill drawn up for Congress that called for a vote by all tribal members on whether to accept the land exchange package. Congress enacted the bill on August 19, 1937, which provided for the Tribal Council to call a referendum within 60 days. However, the Tribal Council refused to call the referendum so the land exchange deal lapsed.[10]

Secretary Ickes finally found another way to put the parkway through. A highline route was proposed that would take the parkway across the northern part of the reservation instead of down Soco Creek. The federal government would compensate the tribe $40,000 for the right-of-way, which the tribe could use to acquire the Boundary Tree Tract from the park. The state, for its part, would build a commercial highway over Soco Gap and down Soco Creek. This package held more appeal for tribal members, but there was still substantial opposition to the plan. Finally, Representative Zebulon Weaver (D-NC) drew up a bill that would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to condemn the right-of-way. The Cherokee would still receive $40,000 and an option to buy the Boundary Tree Tract. Under threat of this legislation, tribal opinion finally turned. The tribe held an election in the fall of 1939 that resulted in the ouster of two council members who had been the parkway's staunchest opponents, and in February 1940 the Tribal Council approved the package contained in the Weaver bill.[11] Congress passed the Weaver bill on June 11, 1940. The Cherokee acquired the Boundary Tree Tract in 1943, which effectively moved the park entrance one half mile farther away from the outskirts of the town of Cherokee.[12]

On the same day Congress passed the legislation, Acting Director A. E. Demaray, Superintendent Eakin, Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier, and Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Zimmerman held a conference to discuss the possibility of the tribe leasing the Ravensford Tract for farming purposes, since it was no longer included in the package covered in the act. This agricultural use would likely be a temporary arrangement until the Blue Ridge Parkway was completed. Although the Park Service and the BIA agreed to this plan in principle, their respective positions hardened in the months following. The Park Service wanted to restrict farming use to a certain area and prohibit construction of any dwellings or farm buildings. The BIA wanted to allow outright purchase of the property. Collier and Zimmerman argued that in earlier talks the Park Service had indicated that the Ravensford Tract was not essential to park purposes. Eakin strongly objected to this interpretation, as those comments had been in the context of plans that would have the Blue Ridge Parkway approach via Soco Creek. When it was decided to build the Blue Ridge Parkway along the highline route so that it would pass by the Ravensford Tract in its last mile, Eakin had deliberately taken the Ravensford Tract off the table. Drury finally submitted the matter to Ickes. The secretary supported the Park Service in its refusal to give up the Ravensford Tract, but he required the Park Service and the BIA to agree to terms for the Cherokee to lease part of the land for farming purposes. Eventually an arrangement was made for a lease of 20 acres.[13]

Tourism Development on the Cherokee Reservation

The tourism industry took root on the Cherokee Reservation following World War II. At the end of World War II the Eastern Band of Cherokee numbered 3,804 (550 families) of whom 23 percent were full blood and 43 percent were less than one-fourth Indian blood.[14] A significant number of Cherokee still spoke the Cherokee language and about 200 members did not speak English. Tribal Council meetings were generally held in the native language while minutes were recorded in English. Numerous Cherokee traditions and ceremonies were still prevalent; for example, many tribal members were skilful with bow and arrow and the blow gun, and traditional dances were held at the annual Cherokee Fair and on other occasions. Cherokee basket making remained a vigorous art form. Traditional Cherokee songs had largely given way to a style of religious singing common in the Mountain South. Most tribal members were Baptist or Methodist and religion was a strong force in the community with church services and revivals being well attended.[15]

The Eastern Band of Cherokee acquired the Boundary Tree Tract for a sum of $25,000 on August 24, 1943, and from the outset the tribe perceived that the land's main value was for tourism development. The land carried a number of restrictions including provision that the design of tourist facil-

ities would be approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, roadside advertising would be prohibited, and a master plan for development would be submitted to the Park Service for review. During the winter of 1945-46, the new superintendent of Cherokee Agency, Joe Jennings, promoted tribally-sponsored tourism development of this tract among the tribal community. The Tribal Council voted to take out a federal loan and develop a tourist enterprise, placing the tribe's Business Committee in charge of it. Revenue from the enterprise was to be used for development of other tribal enterprises or tribal functions.[16] Soon after the end of World War II, the tribe established the Boundary Tree Motor Court, an attractive building complex made of native stone, together with a restaurant and gas station.

Meanwhile, as soon as World War II ended, whites with a little investment capital moved into the area and built tourist shops along the new highway route leading to the park, establishing the town of Cherokee as the park's second gateway community. As early as 1946, critics complained that the town was inferior to Gatlinburg and, more pointedly, that the "ramshackle" tourist shops peddled a vulgar misrepresentation of Cherokee culture.[17] One noteworthy element of the tourist trade on the reservation was the practice known as "chiefing," which began about this time. Some individual Cherokee men, donning feather headdresses and other garb associated with a stereotype image of the American Indian, began standing on street corners where they posed for picture-taking tourists, receiving tips in return. Some of these "postcard chiefs," as they were called by other tribal members, were joined by Cherokee women dressed as Indian "princesses." Some of the "chiefs" and "princesses" accepted part-time employment by the shop owners, for whom they worked as janitors or clerks in the morning and evening and practiced their "chiefing" during the midday hours. "Chiefing" became a pseudo-profession, somewhat lucrative for a few individuals but humiliating for the community as a whole.[18]

With the advent of tourism on the reservation after World War II, other changes in the social and political life of the Cherokee people followed. As late as the 1930s, the Eastern Band of Cherokee had lived in relative isolation. Cherokee children attended a BIA school, and only the school and the BIA agency had electricity. After World War II, an influx of whites from outside the region came to live on or near the reservation and make money from the flow of tourists. Even as they took the initiative in developing motels and tourist shops, these white colonists generally showed a friendly disposition and concern toward their Cherokee neighbors, which contrasted with the racial prejudice toward the Cherokee shown by the local white population previously. Unfortunately, as welcome as the new racial attitudes were, the white newcomers were also partly responsible for constructing an "imaginary Cherokee image" for the tourist trade that undercut Cherokee cultural identity. As the whites opened their tourist shops, they sought to supply a perceived tourist demand for stereotypical Indian trinkets that borrowed mainly from Plains Indians imagery and showed little respect for authentic Cherokee culture.[19]

The next major development in the tourism economy on the Cherokee Reservation was the formation of the Cherokee Historical Association in 1948. Spearheaded by the regional booster organization, Western North Carolina Association Communities, the mission of the Cherokee Historical Association was to develop an outdoor pageant based on the Cherokee story. It was to be a musical production featuring the history of Cherokee-white relations from the De Soto expedition to the Trail of Tears and the establishment of the Qualla Boundary and ending with the return of Cherokee veterans of World War II. The production was to be modeled on the successful drama *The Lost Colony*, about the ill-fated English settlement on Roanoke Island on North Carolina's Outer Banks. A prospectus for the play production stated its economic purpose: "It will attract many of the visitors to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park who otherwise may not come into North Carolina, and it will induce them to stay longer."[20]

The Cherokee Historical Association was incorporated with financial backing from eleven Western North Carolina counties and the support of the Cherokee Tribal Council and the BIA Cherokee Agency in 1948. Following a fundraising campaign, the association built an outdoor theater in Cherokee in 1949 and produced the outdoor drama — only the third of its kind in the nation — the following year. The first performance of *Unto These Hills* occurred on July 1, 1950. Over the years, the cast included both tribal members and drama students from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Despite its success, the drama proved to be wearisome to the tribe. Through repetition year after year it created a grossly simplified version of Cherokee history that elevated certain historical inaccuracies to the level of myth. As such, it was only marginally less undermining of Cherokee cultural identity than the "imaginary Cherokee image" concocted by the tourist shops.[21]

With the success of the outdoor pageant, the Cherokee Historical Association soon branched into other endeavors. In 1952, it purchased the Museum of the Cherokee Indian. The museum featured a collection of Cherokee artifacts that had been originally acquired by Burnham S. Colburn of Biltmore Forest between about 1915 and 1935. Colburn transferred the collection to Samuel E. Beck in 1945, who

immediately returned it to the Cherokee Reservation. From 1948 to 1958, the collection of artifacts was displayed each summer in a log building at the junction of U.S. Highways 441 and 19. In the winter of 1958 this building burned down but the artifacts were spared since they were in storage for the off-season. The Cherokee Historical Association then opened a temporary museum in its administration building while it developed plans for a much larger museum. During the 1970s, the museum project gathered support from the State of North Carolina and the Eastern Band of Cherokee. The new museum, which opened in 1976, was built at a cost of nearly $1.5 million. It had a 15-member board of directors, with five members appointed by the Cherokee Historical Association, five members appointed by the Tribal Council, and five members appointed by the other ten.[22]

By 1976, the Cherokee Historical Association had also developed a third visitor attraction centering on Cherokee history and culture, the Oconaluftee Indian Village. This replica of a mid-eighteenth century village featured dwellings and a seven-sided council lodge. Influenced by the burgeoning interest in living history interpretation, the village employed Cherokee interpreters who wore period dress and performed native arts and crafts. Some tourists made an effort to see all three attractions: the outdoor drama, the museum, and the reconstructed village.[23]

Largely through the commercial success of these three tourist enterprises, the Cherokee Historical Association assumed a position of great influence in the Cherokee community by the 1970s. According to a recent study of the Qualla Cherokee by Laurence Armand French, the Cherokee Historical Association was so successful that it became "recognized as a secondary control institution second only to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Cherokee Agency." French observes that the organization's status was based not only on its position in the tourism-based economy but also as "cultural purveyors of the Eastern Cherokees," an ironic mantle. French points out that the Cherokee Historical Association actually benefited from the existence of the tourist shops with their crass exploitation of the stereotype American Indian. "By claiming to represent the authentic Cherokee cultural heritage, the Cherokee Historical Association made a clear distinction between the mythical Cherokee and that of the vulgar street image presented by the tourist shops," French writes. "By setting themselves above and apart from the stereotypical Indian image associated with the tourist shops, the Cherokee Historical Association gained an air of condescension and superiority, claiming to be the true purveyor of Cherokee heritage."[24]

The rise of the Cherokee Historical Association was not entirely a function of its commercial success in the tourism industry, French notes. During the 1950s, the federal government experimented with a phased withdrawal of its Indian trust responsibilities in a policy known as "Termination." The Eastern Band of Cherokee were near the top of the list for early termination of federal oversight. When the Cherokee Agency closed in the early 1950s, various BIA community services were transferred to state, regional, and county agencies. The Tribal Council formed the Community Services Committee to oversee this process; however, as the BIA withdrew, executive authority tended to transfer not to the tribal government but to the Cherokee Historical Association. Indeed, the former superintendent of Cherokee Agency, Joe Jennings, moved into the leadership of the Cherokee Historical Association. In 1964, the tribe's experiment with Termination ended with the restoration of a two-tiered, federal-tribal form of governance.[25]

Cherokee Self-Determination and the Move to Gaming

After the failure of Termination, federal Indian policy gradually swung back to the principle of Indian self-determination that had been at the heart of the Indian New Deal in the 1930s. Various federal laws and programs in the 1960s and 1970s promoted tribal self-governance. Indian activism in this era raised awareness of the need for redress in such areas as Indian health care, education, justice, land claims, water rights, and fishing rights. Among the Eastern Band of Cherokee, student activism in the early 1970s focused mainly on education and justice issues. These changing times set the stage for the gradual emergence of a more effective and assertive tribal government in the 1980s and 1990s.

As the Eastern Band of Cherokee gained a higher profile in regional affairs, the park administration responded by forging better communications and stronger ties with the tribal government. This was a gradual process. From the standpoint of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the changing relationship with the tribe was part of a larger process by which the park administration forged new partnerships or strengthened old relationships with a host of organizations, from neighboring municipalities to cooperating associations to research institutions. The park's relationship with the tribe differed from those others, however, in the fact that the tribal government re-emerged as a sovereign power within a federal-state-tribal system of divided powers. New federal laws required formal consultation with tribes on a range of matters from protecting Indian heritage and sacred sites to managing the environment. In the 1990s, "consultation" yielded to "government-to-government relations" in recognition of tribal sovereignty.

John E. Cook was perhaps the first superintendent at Great Smoky Mountains to recognize and act on this changing relationship. Cook already had a wealth of experience in tribal relations from working with the Navajo and other Southwest tribes as well as Alaska Natives. Unlike many senior officials in the Park Service in the 1980s, he understood and respected the concept of tribal sovereignty. Moreover, his own heritage as an Oklahoma Cherokee gave him an innate feeling for how to work effectively with tribal leaders of the Eastern Band of Cherokee. Preparations for the park's fiftieth anniversary celebration in 1984 presented the opportunity Cook sought to improve the park's relationship with the tribe. He hired Dawneeta Walking Stick, a daughter of the prior principal chief and a well-educated young woman with a sensitive understanding of cultural diversity, for consultation on anniversary preparations. Cook also consulted Jeff Muskrat, the BIA superintendent at Cherokee Agency. The anniversary celebrations were a big help, Cook believed, in putting the park's relationship with the tribe on a new footing.[26]

Through the 1980s and early 1990s, the park and the tribe developed more formal government-to-government relations. Park rangers stationed at Oconaluftee served in the Cherokee Volunteer Fire Department, where they received training in fighting structural fires.[27] The park and the tribe entered agreements covering water supply from the park to a tribal fish hatchery, electricity supply from the reservation to the Oconaluftee Job Corps Center, and similar matters.[28]

Relations between the park and the tribe entered a tense period in the mid to late 1990s. In August 1994, Principal Chief Jonathan "Ed" Taylor and Governor Jim Hunt signed a seven-year compact that allowed the tribe to develop a casino on the reservation. The following year, Taylor was accused of misappropriating tribal funds from the Qualla Housing Authority and after a tumultuous few months of criminal investigation culminating in Taylor's impeachment, Joyce Dugan was elected to office in Taylor's place in September 1995. Dugan, who was the first woman ever to hold the office of principal chief, proved to be a strong and capable leader. An educator by background, she had served as school superintendent on the Cherokee Reservation from 1990 to 1995. While in that office she implemented the Tribal Council's Resolution 85 by which the tribal government took over all school administration from the BIA. As school superintendent, Dugan had championed the cause of Indian self-determination, and she brought that same determination to the job of principal chief. She supported the tribe's decision to expand Cherokee's tourism by the development of a casino, both on the grounds that it was needed to revitalize the tribal community and on the principle that it was the tribe's sovereign right to choose this path of economic development. She stayed the course despite mounting opposition to the casino development from communities, church groups, and politicians in Western North Carolina and from the Park Service.[29]

Before Dugan took office, the tribe had contracted with the National Indian Gaming Commission for the preparation of a draft environmental assessment on the casino. The park received this document in 1995 just one week before the expiration of the 30-day public comment period. The park expressed concern about the increase in traffic over the Newfound Gap Road that the casino would likely bring. That winter, unusually heavy snows coupled with two federal government shutdowns caused the park to close the road for several periods totaling more than 40 days. As the road closures directly affected the amount of tourism in Cherokee, the tribe interpreted the road closures as a deliberate measure to interfere with the tribe's plans to develop a casino. On July 24, 1996, the Tribal Council passed a resolution calling for Superintendent Wade to resign. According to Dugan, the resolution was a symbolic expression of the tribe's unhappiness with the park's road maintenance policy.[30]

In an effort to head off criticism from the governors of Tennessee and North Carolina in the coming winter, Wade prepared a Maintenance and Operations Plan that outlined procedures and requirements for maintaining the Newfound Gap Road during inclement weather and submitted this plan to the two governors. Despite taking this precaution, Wade still took flak from state politicians. Senator Duncan Faircloth (R-NC) requested that language be put into the Interior Appropriations Bill that directed the park to make every effort to keep the Newfound Gap Road open throughout the winter. Faircloth asked for this insertion in the bill at the request of Principal Chief Dugan.[31]

Harrah's Cherokee Casino, a 15-story, $63 million hotel, opened in July 1997. From an economic standpoint it rapidly proved a success. In five years it became the state's second largest tourist destination (after Great Smoky Mountains National Park) attracting more than 3 million visitors per year. It attracted visitors year-round, saving Cherokee's other businesses from the winter doldrums. Besides employing hundreds of tribal members, the casino put more money into the community through a profit-sharing plan that saw per capita checks of a few thousand dollars distributed to every tribal member yearly. It also dispensed money through grants. In 2002, more than $2 million of casino revenue was transferred to the Cherokee Preservation Foundation, which made 53 separate grants. These grants went to various public service agencies, educational institutions, and community

groups. Proceeds from the casino paid for a diabetic clinic, an urgent care center, a wellness center, a youth center, a visitor center, a nursery, and land purchases, among other things.[32]

It is likely that the casino caused an increase in traffic through the park, especially during night hours, though no study was made to verify this. Dugan, who now works for the casino, stresses the fact that Tennesseans form a substantial part of the casino's business clientele and they generally drive through the park to reach the casino. Park rangers anticipated that the casino would also cause an increase in crime in the park, but this did not happen or else the up-tick was negligible. That the casino did not serve alcohol and that the whole Cherokee Reservation remained dry probably tended to reduce the casino's adverse effect in that regard.[33]

The Ravensford Land Exchange

Relations between the park and the tribe, already strained by the opening of the casino, reached a nadir the following summer. In a shocking incident, Jeremiah Locust, Sr., a well-liked though mentally troubled tribal member, shot and killed Joseph Kolodski, a park ranger. Many tribal members expressed disbelief that Locust was capable of such an act and worried that he would not receive a fair trial. Dugan, together with Vice Chief Bill Ledford and the Tribal Council, sent a letter to U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno and U.S. Attorney Mike Calloway asking that Locust be spared from the death penalty. The family of Joseph Kolodski joined with tribal leaders in this request, anxious that the trial should not become a racial issue. The U.S. Attorney's Office complied with the request, and the court sentenced Locust to life in prison without parole.[34]

Besides the park road closures, the opening of the casino, and the shocking and painful episode of the homicide, a controversial land exchange proposal formed yet another wedge issue between the park and the tribe in this period. In contrast to the land exchange negotiations of the 1930s, this time the park and the tribe reversed roles. The tribe brought political pressure on the park to make the land exchange happen. Thirteen years elapsed from when the tribe first made the proposal until the land exchange was consummated; however, it only became a major management issue in the park from 2000 to 2004.

The land at issue was a portion of the old Ravensford Tract, which embraces an area of bottomland along the Oconaluftee River and Raven Fork. In about 1991, shortly after the tribe took over administration of schools from the BIA and soon after Dugan was elected superintendent of schools, the tribe determined that it needed land for a new school complex. A study had found that Cherokee's three existing schools were either unsafe, unsuitable, or overcrowded. With no level, open land available in Cherokee, Dugan suggested that a portion of the nearby Ravensford Tract might be suitable for the construction of an elementary school, a middle school, and a high school. She observed that the school complex would be across the river and screened by trees from the park road, and furthermore, that the Park Service already hosted the Oconaluftee Job Corps Center in that vicinity. Principal Chief Taylor initiated discussions with the Park Service and the discussions continued through the years that Dugan was principal chief but without much movement.[35]

In January 2000, Director Robert Stanton and Regional Director Jerry Belson responded to pressure from Representative Charles Taylor (R-NC) and the Secretary of the Interior to move toward a resolution of this issue. Under their direction, the Park Service initiated natural and cultural resource studies and a property appraisal to determine the feasibility of a land exchange. In June, the Park Service executed an agreement with the tribe to consider a proposal to exchange 168 acres of the Ravensford Tract for an unspecified piece of land adjoining a national park unit in North Carolina. Stanton agreed to consider the tribe's proposal to build a school complex on this land, acknowledging that the new construction would require extensive clearing, grading, and excavation with potential impacts to natural systems and archeological deposits. The tribe, for its part, agreed to pay for a battery of studies to assess environmental impacts.[36]

While these numerous studies went forward over the next two years, environmental groups mounted considerable opposition to the land exchange. The bottomland contained significant natural and cultural resources. Much of the surrounding alluvial plain in the Ravensford Tract was included within the boundaries of the Oconaluftee Archeological District, which had been placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1982, although the 168 acres at issue were not within the district. Based on what existed nearby, the area almost certainly contained archeological deposits relating to prehistoric and historic Cherokee occupation. Furthermore, historical research in 2001 disclosed that the site was formerly occupied by the company town of Ravensford, which dated from the logging era in the early twentieth century. Although all standing structures on this town site had been intentionally removed during the 1930s, the 168-acre tract undoubtedly contained archeological resources with the potential to yield information pertaining to the logging era.[37] In addition, the bottomland provided critical habitat for a rare species of lichen found nowhere else in the park.[38]

The proposed land exchange reached a new level of controversy in the fall of 2002 when a planned change of park superintendents suddenly fell through allegedly over this issue. On September 25, Director Fran Mainella announced that Superintendent Mike Tollefson at Great Smoky Mountains and Superintendent Dave Mihalic at Yosemite would swap posts. Mihalic had previously served as assistant and acting superintendent at Great Smoky Mountains in the 1980s. A few days after the announcement, however, Mihalic changed his mind and decided to retire instead. In an interview with the *Washington Post*, Mihalic stated that Deputy Director Randy Jones had told him prior to the announcement that "there are some things we want you to do that haven't gotten done," including the proposed land exchange. Mihalic subsequently learned that the Bush Administration also wanted him to move ahead with the north shore road. Taking the high ground, Mihalic told the *Washington Post*, "My career has been dedicated to protecting the nation's special places and the national park idea….After being briefed on the key issues I am to tackle at the Smokies, and the conflicting priorities which I would face, I have decided that the best course of action at this time would be to retire."[39] It remains unclear whether Mihalic indeed received such a specific directive from the Park Service leadership; Jones later refuted him.[40] In any case, the *Washington Post* story received wide circulation via email.[41] Less newsworthy was Dugan's rejoinder, published by the *Washington Post* two weeks later, expressing dismay that the Eastern Band of Cherokee had not been given an opportunity to comment before the story was published. "The article portrays in a negative light our efforts to reclaim Cherokee ancestral lands for a school for our children," Dugan protested.[42]

After Mihalic's surprise announcement, Tollefson transferred to Yosemite in December 2002, while Phil Francis resumed his former position as acting superintendent. Francis continued in that post for the next year and a half until Dale Ditmanson arrived in May 2004. Meanwhile, the land exchange went forward with the tribe mustering impressive support in Congress, particularly through Representative Taylor. In 2003, Congress passed a law calling for the land exchange, and on March 24, 2004 the Park Service and the Eastern Band of Cherokee executed an agreement. By this agreement, the tribe obtained 143 acres of the Ravensford Tract, while the Blue Ridge Parkway acquired 218 acres in exchange.[43] The tribe broke ground for the school complex three years later.

[1] French, *The Qualla Cherokee: Surviving in Two Worlds*, 85-87.

[2] French, *The Qualla Cherokee: Surviving in Two Worlds*, 89-93.

[3] W. I. Lee to H. J. Spelman, March 23, 1935, and A. J. Knox to Mr. Moskey, April 3, 1935, File 610 Part 2, Box 1126, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[4] J. Ross Eakin to The Director, April 8, 1931, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, GRSM.

[5] J. R. Eakin to The Director, December 17, 1934, and Eakin to H. C. Wilburn, December 26, 1934, File 9, Box IV, Wilburn Collection, GRSM.

[6] Anne V. Mitchell, "Culture, History, and Development on the Qualla Boundary: The Eastern Cherokees and the Blue Ridge Parkway, 1935-40," *Appalachian Journal* 1996, no. 24 (Winter 1997): 151-53.

[7] T. C. Vint and J. R. Eakin, "Report on Proposed Exchange of Lands Between Great Smoky Mountains National Park and Qualla Indian Reservation," March 19, 1936, File 601, Box 1100, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[8] T. C. Vint and J. R. Eakin, "Report on Proposed Exchange of Lands Between Great Smoky Mountains National Park and Qualla Indian Reservation," March 19, 1936, File 601, Box 1100, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[9] Mitchell, "Culture, History, and Development on the Qualla Boundary," 159.

[10] Secretary of the Interior to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 7, 1937, File 610 Part 2, Box 1126, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[11] Mitchell, "Culture, History, and Development on the Qualla Boundary," 165-69.

[12] Hillory A. Tolson to Monroe M. Redden, March 14, 1947, File 601, Box 1100, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[13] A. E. Demaray to John Collier, June 13, 1940, Collier to Demaray, June 18, 1940, J. R. Eakin to Demaray, August 8, 1940, Newton B. Drury to Secretary of the Interior, October 28, 1940, Drury to Collier, November 30, 1940, Drury to Secretary of the Interior, December 5, 1940, Drury to First Assistant Secretary, February 27, 1941, Chief Ranger to Superintendent, March 21, 1941, Robert P. White to Director, March 21, 1941, and White to Director, March 31, 1941, File 610 Part 2, Box 1126, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[14] Catherine Bauer, "Problem of the Indians," *The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina* 14, no. 18 (September 28, 1946): 20.

[15] James Ridgeway to Edward L. Wright, July 18, 1947, File 040, Box 23, Series 6 – General Records Correspondence, Cherokee Indian Agency, RG 75, NASER.

[16] Bauer, "Problem of the Indians," 3-4, 20-22.

[17] Bauer, "Problem of the Indians," 3.

[18] French, *The Qualla Cherokee: Surviving in Two Worlds*, 136-47.

[19] French, *The Qualla Indian: Surviving in Two Worlds*, 133.

[20] "This Opportunity Should Not Be Missed," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, February 29, 1948.

[21] French, *The Qualla Cherokee: Surviving in Two Worlds*, 132-35. The script of *Unto the Hills* went through its first major revision in 2006. The new version removes certain inaccuracies and replaces much dialogue with interpretive dance.

[22] Duane H. King, "History of the Museum of the Cherokee Indian," *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 1 (Summer 1976): 60-64. The museum went through a major revision of exhibits in 1998.

[23] French, *The Qualla Cherokee: Surviving in Two Worlds*, 135.

[24] French, *The Qualla Cherokee: Surviving in Two Worlds*, 78.

[25] French, *The Qualla Cherokee: Surviving in Two Worlds*, 78.

[26] John E. Cook interview.

[27] Fitzgerald interview.

[28] Joyce Dugan, interview by Theodore Catton, April 13, 2007.

[29] Virginia Moore Carney, *Eastern Band Cherokee Women: Cultural Persistence in their Letters and Speeches* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 149-51; French, *The Qualla Cherokee: Surviving in Two Worlds*, 161-62; Dugan interview.

[30] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1996 and 1997, GRSM; Dugan interview.

[31] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1996 and 1997, GRSM.

[32] Rose Hooper, "Harrah's Cherokee Casino Celebrates its Fifth Year," *Sylva Herald*, November 28, 2002.

[33] Dugan interview; Fitzgerald interview.

[34] Carney, *Eastern Band of Cherokee Women*, 152-53.

[35] Dugan interview.

[36] Superintendent's Annual Report for 2001, GRSM.

[37] Paul A. Webb, with contributions by David S. Leigh and Tasha Benyshek, "Cultural and Historical Resource Investigations of the Ravensford Land Exchange Tract, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Swain County, North Carolina," Vol. 1, prepared by TRC Garrow Associates, Inc., for Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, June 2002, pp. 132-34, copy in Vertical Files, GRSM.

[38] Superintendent's Annual Report for 2005, GRSM.

[39] "Yosemite Official Rejects New Post in Smokies Park," *Washington Post*, October 4, 2002.

[40] Ditmanson interview.

[41] For example, the article is pasted into kreynolds@unca.edu to unca_forum@unca.edu, October 4, 2002, Great Smoky Mountains National Park vertical file, Special Collections, Ramsey Library, University of North Carolina, Asheville.

[42] "Good for the Cherokees; Good for the Park Service," *Washington Post*, October 21, 2002.

[43] Superintendent's Annual Report for 2004, GRSM. Taylor introduced a bill which took the form of a rider on the Interior Appropriations Bill requiring the Park Service to affect the exchange. President Bush signed the bill into law in November 2003.

Chapter Twenty

Partners Old and New

Great Smoky Mountains National Park has had a long history of collaboration with partner organizations. Given the Park Service's strong emphasis on "partnering" since the 1990s, it is easy to overlook the fact that the park's tradition of partnering began with the CCC, which was by far the most influential partner organization in national park history. The CCC, with its emphasis on putting young men to work in a healthful environment, served as an inspiring model for various other youth conservation programs in the second half of the twentieth century. These included the Student Conservation Association (SCA), Youth Conservation Corps (YCC), and Job Corps. All of these national programs were represented in Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

Toward the end of the twentieth century, two local organizations rose to pre-eminence among the park's many partners. These organizations are Great Smoky Mountains Association and Friends of Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The first was founded in 1953 for the purpose of assisting the park's educational and research functions through publishing and staff support. As the association grew it was able to provide considerable financial support to the park as well. The second was founded in 1993 practically for the sole purpose of fund raising. In the present era of retrenchment, the park turned to these two partners more and more for help in funding myriad projects and needs.

Great Smoky Mountains Association

An Act of Congress approved August 7, 1946, provided authority for Park Service field personnel to serve in nonprofit scientific and historical societies engaged in educational work in the various national parks. The law laid the foundation for park officials to form the Great Smoky Mountains Natural History Association (later renamed the Great Smoky Mountains Association) six and a half years later. Park Naturalist Arthur Stupka performed the preliminary tasks of drafting a constitution and bylaws, getting these documents approved by Washington officials, and organizing a meeting of friends of the park. At this meeting, on March 26, 1953, attendees formed the association, adopted the constitution and bylaws, and elected officers. Stupka was elected executive secretary, Landscape Architect R. A. Wilhelm was elected president, Chief Ranger Granville Liles was elected secretary, and Ida Ealy was elected treasurer and business manager. The board of trustees consisted of Stupka, Wilhelm, Liles, Ealy, Henry Lix, Edward Hummel, Robert White, and A. P. Koster. The association began with $100 operating capital, which it obtained as an interest-free loan from the Mount Rainier Natural History Association.[1]

The fledgling organization's operating expenses were minimal since it was run out of government buildings using government employees' paid time. As years passed, other park naturalists stepped up to guide the organization, and wives of park staff sometimes contributed their time as well. If this arrangement was somewhat incestuous — with park officials largely controlling an organization whose purpose was to serve the park — it was typical of national park cooperating associations in this era. In 1958, the association hired its first employee, Shirley Boykin, who served as business manager for 24 years. In 1965, it hired its second employee, a part time park librarian.[2]

For the first three decades of its existence, the Great Smoky Mountains Association served mostly as a publisher of park literature. As such it was a valuable arm of the park's interpretive program. It published everything from mimeographed pamphlets to full-color books, such as *Cades Cove Story* by Randolph Shields, and it provided partial funding for other books, including Stupka's *Trees, Shrubs, and Woody Vines of Great Smoky Mountains National Park* and *Wildflowers in Color*. By 1963, revenue from its various sales items had reached $89,271, and it had been able to contribute $24,742 to the park for purchases of goods and services relating to its educational mission.[3]

The association made a growing contribution to the living history program. It began by sponsoring a sorghum milling demonstration at Cades Cove and by hiring a miller to operate the Cable Mill at the same location. In the late 1960s, it sponsored several more living history demonstrations at Cades Cove and Oconaluftee, refurbished the Mingus Mill, and hired a miller for that facility. In the early 1970s,

Terry Maddox, executive director of Great Smoky Mountains Association, was able to boost the nonprofit's contributions to the park to over $1 million per year.

it opened the Cades Cove Country Store. With four outlets for selling publications to visitors (Sugarlands Visitor Center, Oconaluftee Visitor Center, Mingus Mill, and Cades Cove Country Store), the association began to earn significant revenue. In 1976, it grossed $444,154. The following year, the association employed no fewer than 25 people in interpretive services through the summer, effectively doubling the seasonal interpretive staff. [4]

While the association's growing financial success was a direct benefit to the park, legal counsel in the Department of the Interior thought the close connection between national parks and their cooperating associations had the potential to create conflicts of interest for officials who served in both organizations. As a result, the cooperating associations were gradually required to change their bylaws and develop their own professional staffs that were entirely distinct from park staffs. This structural change, which was instituted merely as a precaution, had the unintended consequence of making the cooperating associations more financially robust. People were put on the boards who had professional backgrounds in business, publishing, accounting — areas of expertise that the organizations needed to thrive — and the cooperating associations responded by producing much bigger revenue streams. The Great Smoky Mountains Association followed this pattern. From 1983 to 1993, annual gross sales nearly quadrupled. The association was able to contribute more widely to park needs by making equipment purchases, providing research grants, and paying for building improvements. The latter included rehabilitation of the Great Smoky Mountains Institute at Tremont, which the association rescued from oblivion after Maryville College decided not to run it anymore.[5]

As the association came to operate more like a business concern, with a greater emphasis on revenue enhancement, the park administration and the association occasionally had differences over what constituted appropriate sales items in the park. Originally the association sold books, pamphlets, and handbooks; then it added items such as postcards and film. Eventually the list of sales items in the visitor center bookstores grew to include gift cards, playing cards, jigsaw puzzles, calendars — almost any type of paper product that could display a Smoky Mountains or Appalachian motif. In addition, each store contained a selection of Appalachian music on compact disks, one of which was usually playing through overhead speakers, creating an ambient mood calculated to whet visitors' appetite for souvenirs. Finally, the association added caps and T-shirts to its line of merchandise. At the time, park officials questioned whether such items would genuinely enhance the visitor's educational experience or whether they merely pandered to people's desire to buy souvenirs. Stan Canter, chief of interpretation in the 1980s and early 1990s, tried to discourage stocking of souvenir-type items, but he was swimming against the tide. When the association asked permission to sell T-shirts and caps, Superintendent Wade had the park staff work with the association staff to develop guidelines for all such merchandise. The document delineated major themes – diversity of life, preservation of scenic beauty, and other messages that the park wanted to communicate to visitors – and association staff used those themes to create suitable products. In the late 1990s, the association commissioned a piece of art work to go on a T-shirt with the caption "A Wondrous Diversity of Life." By the turn of the century, the Park Service no longer questioned the appropriateness of selling T-shirts in visitor center bookstores. Indeed, in 2002 the association received the NPS Excellence in Interpretation award for its T-shirt advertising the elk reintroduction. The association followed up with a T-shirt conveying the message "Save the Hemlock," which it sold as a park fundraiser.[6]

A milestone in the association's growing financial strength occurred in the late 1990s. With a new film for the Sugarlands Visitor Center in development, the association's

executive director, Terry Maddox, proposed to remodel the theater so that it had stadium-style seating and a sloping ceiling for better acoustics. At the same time, the bookstore would expand into the former theater area, enlarging its floor space from about 200 to 1,200 square feet. It was a $500,000 project and the association had to take out a five-year bank loan in order to pay for it. In 1999, the park got a new theater and a new film, while the association got a big bump in bookstore sales. "It was a win situation for everyone," said Kent Cave. The association's revenue increased $600,000 in the first year after the remodel, allowing it to pay off the loan after just four years.[7]

The Great Smoky Mountains Association is among the old guard in the growing ranks of cooperating associations. In the early 1980s it was a charter member of the Conference of National Park Cooperating Associations, and in 1998 it helped that conference transform itself into a larger umbrella organization, the Association of Partners for Public Lands, which includes non-profits that serve other federal land management agencies. With the park's enormous visitation, Great Smoky Mountains Association usually places in the top six cooperating associations in terms of the amount of money it contributes to the park. (Some other associations serve a cluster of national parks or an entire region. The largest, Eastern National Parks Association, represents about 125 units of the national park system.)[8]

The Job Corps

The Job Corps was established by Act of Congress of August 20, 1964 as part of President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty. It is the nation's largest and oldest job training program for at-risk youth between the ages of 16 and 24. Students live at a Job Corps Center (JCC) where they take academic courses, learn job skills, and develop healthy strategies for living. In 2007, there were 118 centers located throughout the United States with just three of these located in or adjoining a national park. The three centers associated with national parks were Oconaluftee JCC, located in Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Great Onyx JCC, located in Mammoth Cave National Park in Kentucky, and Harper's Ferry JCC, located next to Harper's Ferry National Historical Park in West Virginia. These centers were managed by the Park Service and funded by the Department of Labor.[9]

The Job Corps was established in Great Smoky Mountains under the supervision of Superintendent Fry in 1964. Originally there were two centers with a second one located at Tremont. In 1969, the Tremont JCC was phased out and converted to an environmental learning center.[10]

For its first two decades the Oconaluftee JCC was open to men only. Superintendent Evison took special interest in the training center. He oversaw improvements in group living facilities and the educational program. With Evison's approval, students were employed not just on construction projects in the park, but they also worked on several remodeling jobs in the Cherokee community. In 1976, students helped in the rescue of a small child at the Soco Day Care Center during a tornado, and participated in the cleanup of the Soco community after the tornado. In the following year, the Office of the Secretary gave the center a commendation for achieving the highest percentage of accomplishment of all centers under the Department of the Interior's jurisdiction. Measures of performance included the number of students who received General Equivalency Diplomas, the number who obtained driver's licenses, and the number who were placed in jobs, most of which were in the building trades. During Evison's tenure, the center operated on an annual budget of from $1.2 to $1.6 million, excluding capital outlays, and it had about 200 registered students.[11]

Then the Oconaluftee JCC entered a turbulent period. Disciplinary problems mounted and numerous students had to be discharged. Superintendent Beal attributed the change to poor screening of applicants.[12] Most students came from inner city high schools and felt out of place living in a national park next to an Indian reservation. Park rangers were sometimes called to the center to investigate assaults or follow up reports of drug dealing. One student burglarized the canteen and stole a cash box. Another troubled youth burned down the classroom building. He confessed his crime to investigating rangers, his case went to district court, and he was sentenced to eight years in prison.[13]

In the fall of 1993, the Oconaluftee JCC was converted to a co-ed institution. Job Corps staff received training to prepare them for handling male and female students together. Superintendent Pope noted that the principal female trainer was a former Job Corps student who had gone on to get a doctorate and was employed by a women's organization, Women in the Community. Two dormitories were renovated and the facility was opened to female students in January 1994.[14]

The Oconaluftee JCC encountered more difficulties starting in 2005. During the 2004-05 academic year, the center served substantially fewer students than anticipated. The Park Service was supposed to refund the Department of Labor $190,367 for the "underrun," but it failed to do so. Also, information reached the Park Service's program director for Youth Programs, who has oversight of the Job Corps centers in national parks, that the Oconaluftee JCC was improperly reporting student academic performance and student attendance. The program director requested an audit

by the U.S. Department of Labor's Office of Inspector General (OIG). The OIG's audit disclosed that in addition to withholding the $190,367 underrun, the Park Service had improperly used $124,608 of the center's budget to settle an Equal Employment Opportunity claim. Furthermore, the OIG found that the center was not up to code in its fire alarm system, that the dining hall and kitchen roofs leaked, and that a ranger's firing range was located too close to the center. On the matter of student academic performance and attendance, the OIG found there had been minor infractions concerning attendance records that inflated the center's On-Board Strength, which in turn undermined the Job Corps' assessment process. In response to the OIG report, the Job Corps National Director temporarily closed the Oconaluftee JCC on March 22, 2007 based on health concerns.[15] After the closure, the future course of action for the center remained in doubt.

Other Youth Programs and Volunteers in Park

Other partner organizations included the Student Conservation Association (SCA) and the Youth Conservation Corps (YCC). The SCA was created in 1957 to provide an avenue for young people to volunteer for or serve as interns in conservation organizations. The SCA, a non-profit organization, recruits and places high school and college-aged individuals and places them in government-sponsored programs. Each year, Congress appropriates funds for the Park Service to support SCA interns and volunteers in national parks. Great Smoky Mountains National Park actively participated in the program, typically working with one or two teams of six to twelve high school students during the summer months. SCA volunteers and interns were committed to a variety of tasks that the park could not afford to do with its own professional staff. For example, SCA teams did stream restoration work on Abrams Creek to mitigate effects of cattle grazing in Cades Cove.[16]

The YCC was established in 1971 as an outlet for high school students between the ages of 15 and 18 interested in working with federal conservation agencies. Some YCC projects involved residential camps while others were run on a day basis. A YCC co-ed residential camp was established at the Tremont Environmental Education Center in the first year of the program and each year it expanded until by 1975 it had 56 enrollees and 16 supervisory staff. These young people were employed on a variety of resource management projects.[17]

In 1977, Congress added the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) to the program. The YACC ran year-round camps and enrolled people up to 24 years old. The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service was in charge of a YACC unit in Gatlinburg that performed conservation work in the park. In 1981, the park took over management of this unit. The eleven enrollees in the unit "provided a tremendous boost" to resource management activities, Superintendent Beal reported.[18]

A representative from the park participated with other government representatives in an annual recruitment process for the YCC for all of Tennessee. The park staff person served as the Designated Field Representative for Interior, while a counterpart from the Cherokee National Forest represented the Department of Agriculture. Typically some 300 applicants were selected from a pool of about four times that number, and then they were allocated to city, state, and federal agencies located around the state.[19] Even as the park stayed involved in the YCC program at that higher level, the YCC presence in the park receded in the 1980s. It was eclipsed by the growing importance of another partnership program, Volunteers in Parks.

The Volunteers in Parks Program was authorized by Congress in 1970. It provided a framework for parks to utilize volunteers in a variety of functions mainly in interpretation and resource management. While volunteers were not federal employees, they could be provided with uniforms and they did have some legal rights of employees. The program prohibited use of volunteers in positions involving law enforcement or policy decisions. Unlike the youth programs, Volunteers in Parks put no limitation on age and many program participants were retirees.[20]

This program took many years to prove itself but with each passing decade the park was able to build on its prior engagement with volunteers and by the twenty-first century there were a number of "VIPs" (Volunteers-in-Parks, otherwise known as Very Important People) who were 20-year veterans. Two superintendents appear to have given the program a critical boost: John Cook in the mid-1980s and Karen Wade in the mid-1990s. Building on Wade's initiatives, Superintendent Mike Tollefson also pushed this program vigorously. By 2004, the park had developed the largest VIP program in the Southeast Region and the third largest in the nation with an incredible 2,129 individuals on the rolls and a total of 111,935 volunteer hours logged in one year.[21]

During the 1970s, the park had between 55 and 106 volunteers on the rolls each year, divided primarily between resource management and interpretation. These volunteers were anywhere from 16 to 73 years old. Each year a number had to be dropped from the rolls for lack of interest, and coordinating the program took a lot of staff time.[22] By 1980, the Uplands Field Research Laboratory began to attract a signif-

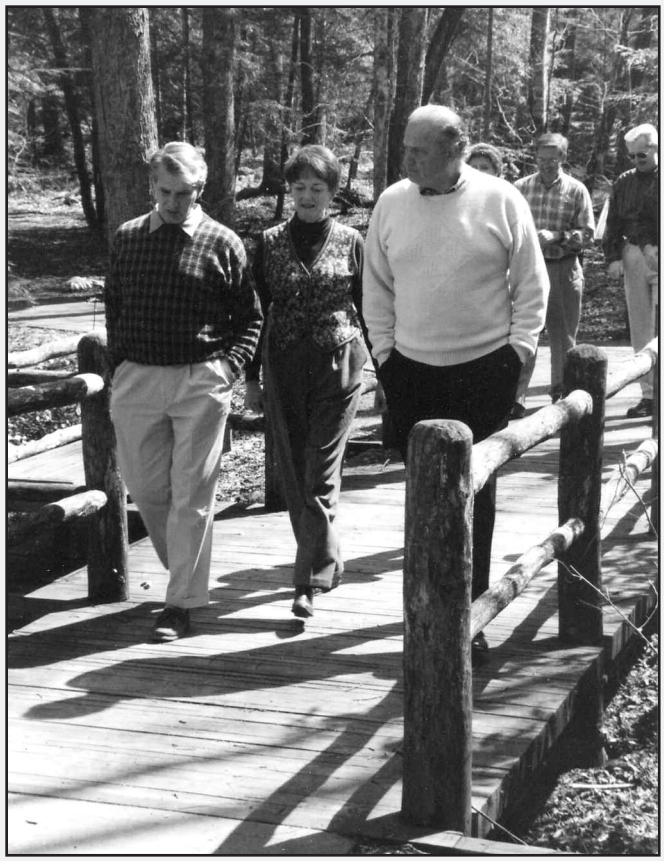
icant number of volunteers as well as college-level student interns. Following Cook's staff reorganization in 1983, the Science Division produced a brochure describing its research program and soliciting volunteers. As a result, the Science Division was able to recruit a number of highly qualified volunteers who worked on botanical studies, fisheries research, stream ecology, wild hog research, and social science research. In his annual report for 1984, Cook reported that volunteers logged a remarkable 30,060 hours at a cost of just 67 cents per hour in administrative overhead. On Cook's initiative, more volunteers were brought into the Administrative Division and the number on the rolls across the whole park organization broke two hundred.[23]

In 1995, Superintendent Wade reorganized the program, introducing new methods for recruitment and supervision of volunteers. In particular, she focused on using volunteers to patrol and monitor the backcountry. Many volunteers were recruited through outdoor clubs such as the Appalachian Trail Conservancy and Smoky Mountains Hiking Club. By partnering directly with the clubs, the park streamlined some of the work of coordination. By 1999, the park had 1,386 volunteers on the rolls, and the total number of volunteer hours came to 74,742.[24]

In recent years, VIPs have made a large contribution in several areas of park administration. In Resource Education activities, VIPs staffed information desks, performed roving interpretation, led guided walks, presented programs through the park's Outreach Program, and contributed to special projects and events. These activities accounted for roughly a third of all volunteer efforts in the park. In the area of backcountry management, VIPs participated in Adopt-A-Trail and Adopt-A-Campsite programs, served as "ridge runners" along the Appalachian Trail, and assisted in search and rescue. These activities made up roughly another third of the volunteer effort. Finally, VIPs served in administration, performed resource management activities, and even helped with visitor protection in the front country — an area that was long thought to be too entwined with law enforcement to accommodate volunteer participation. In 2004, the park implemented a VIP roadside visitor assistance program in which VIPs provided assistance to visitors in disabled vehicles and performed other non-law enforcement services. These volunteer efforts allowed commissioned ranger staff to focus on other priorities.[25]

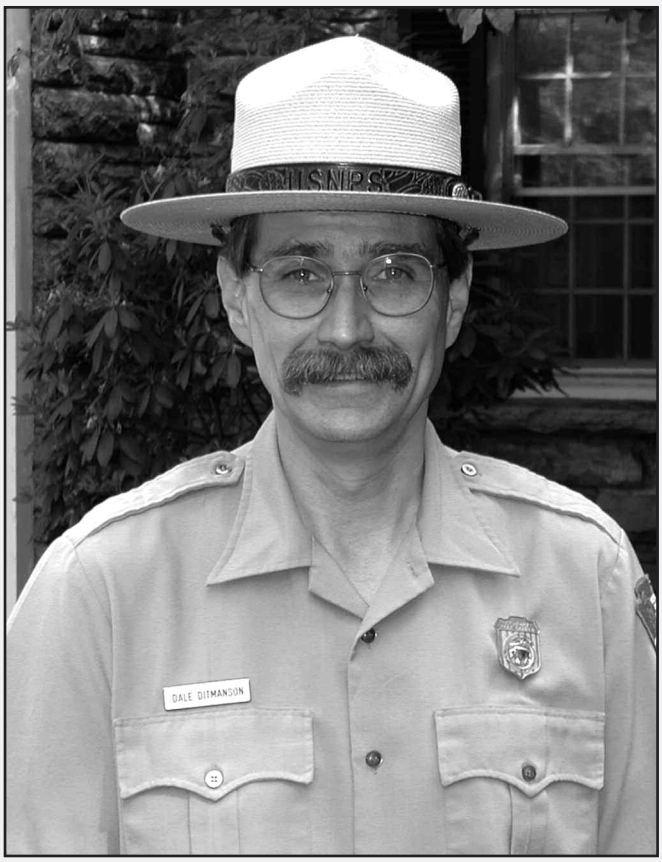
Friends of Great Smoky Mountains National Park

A few years into his tenure, Superintendent Pope considered starting a non-profit fundraising organization for the park to augment the park's operating budget. At the beginning of his tenure in 1987, the park budget stood at about $7.5 million. Despite yearly increases, by the early 1990s it was clear that the park budget was declining relative to inflation. Indeed, by 1993 the budget was just under $9 million but Pope reckoned that amount was "probably $2 million under inflation factors." Other national parks were feeling the same pinch in the early 1990s, and "friends" groups were beginning to form for the purpose of raising money outside the regular federal appropriations process. One of the first friends groups was the Yosemite Fund, established in 1985 and incorporated in 1988. Another was the Mount Rushmore Society. Pope contacted these two organizations to get information on how they had gotten started and how they were structured.[26]



From left to right, **Judge Gary Wade** of Friends of the Smokies, Park Superintendent **Karen Wade**, and **Senator Fred Thompson**. Without an entrance fee or federal funding equal to heavily-visited western parks, the Smokies leaned heavily on its partners.

In 1992, Pope started making a list of the people he wanted to be on the board of directors. The first name on his list was Lindsey Young, a wealthy attorney in Knoxville. But Young was one of the people who had a cabin lease at Elkmont, and since the Elkmont leases were to expire in December 1992 it was an inopportune time to initiate the project. Pope waited until the middle of the following year



Superintendent **Dale Ditmanson** 2004-2014 tackled many of the park's thornier issues, including the North Shore Road and Elkmont summer cottages. His successful partner projects included the construction of Oconaluftee Visitor Center, remodeling of Sugarlands Visitor Center, and establishment of the Trails Forever endowment.

and then he began making phone calls. Young was his first call, and although the former Elkmont leaseholder was somewhat reluctant he accepted the challenge.[27]

About this time, two other park enthusiasts, Gary Wade and Tom Trotter, visited the superintendent to urge that something be done to restore the historic Mt. Cammerer fire lookout. With the idea of a friends group rolling around in his mind, Pope responded: "Well, what are you guys going to do about it?" And with the superintendent's encouragement, the two men talked about raising some money to make the restoration happen. That discussion became a catalyst for the establishment of the Friends of the Great Smoky Mountains.[28] The group organized in December 1993 when 156 charter members each donated $1,000 for start-up capital. In 1995, the group funded the restoration of the Mt. Cammerer Lookout, one of its first projects.[29]

The Friends of the Great Smokies soon demonstrated strong fundraising ability. Not only did it rapidly build its membership, the organization also had some innovative ideas. With the help of Tennessee State Senator Bud Gilbert and Tennessee State Representative Bill Clabough, the state legislature passed a law on April 23, 1996 that authorized the sale of vehicle license plates showing support for the park through the Friends organization. Each set of tags cost an additional $25 and the money went to an endowment fund managed by the Friends. Some 10,000 of the new tags were sold in the first six months, and in view of its success the North Carolina state legislature passed a similar measure in July 1997.[30]

In 1998, Friends Executive Director Charles Maynard sought to bring the park's funding needs to the attention of the states' congressional delegations. He found a sympathetic ear in U.S. Senator Fred Thompson (R-TN) who spearheaded the formation of a congressional caucus to help raise the park's profile in Congress and the Park Service. Among the caucus's legislative accomplishments, it got a three-year extension of the Recreation Fee Demonstration Program, which allowed all participating parks to keep 80 percent of whatever it collected in user fees for projects in the park. With its enormous visitation, Great Smoky Mountains National Park stood to gain more than most parks from this legislation.[31]

Thanks to the Friends' lobbying efforts, Senator Thompson visited the park in March 1998 to learn firsthand about the All-Taxa Biodiversity Project. Accompanied by Superintendent Wade, Assistant Superintendent Phil Francis, Keith Langdon, and Friends executive officers Charles Maynard and Gary Wade, the senator was informed about the park's plans for an ambitious new research facility at Twin Creeks.[32] With the help of the senator, the multi-million research facility was finally included as a line item construction project in the Park Service budget in fiscal year 2003. However, when the Park Service advertised for bids, the lowest acceptable bid was $1 million over the $4 million allotment.[33] By the time Dale Ditmanson took over as superintendent in May 2004, the money had been sitting a while and was in danger of being re-programmed. So Ditmanson turned to the Friends and the Great Smoky Mountains Association for help. Eventually he arranged for a $300,000 appropriation by each organization together with a plan by which the City of Gatlinburg would extend the city sewer line to Twin Creeks under a contract that allowed the Park Service to reimburse the capital cost over a period of years. This arrangement lowered the building cost for the Park Service and probably rescued the $5 million project, demonstrating the value of these partnerships. A ground breaking ceremony for the Twin Creeks Science Center took place in 2005, and science staff began moving into the new building two years later.[34]

The Friends' contributions to the park grew year by year. It donated heavily to educational programs and projects, in-

cluding Parks as Classrooms, the new visitor orientation film for Sugarlands Visitor Center, the Great Smoky Mountains Institute at Tremont, and the Learning Center at Purchase Knob. It continued to support preservation of historic buildings with grants to restore barns in Cades Cove and repair the water wheel of Cable Mill. It funded resource management activities such as the effort to save hemlock trees from the hemlock woolly adelgid. It aided science with contributions to the All Taxa Biodiversity Inventory and the Twin Creeks Science Center.[35]

Increasingly, the Friends directed their fundraising efforts toward wealthy donors. It courted well-healed citizens of Knoxville at its Evergreen Ball, held annually starting in 2004. This black-tie affair, which featured live and silent auctions, soon became the Friends' most successful fundraiser. In one night, on January 27, 2007, the Friends raised $375,000. The Knoxville Convention Center was transformed for the gala event "into a scene straight out of the Smokies" with real evergreen trees, a simulated mountain backdrop, lighting effects that changed from dusk to twilight, and a rising full moon.[36]

The growing importance of the Friends was an indication of both strengths and weaknesses in the park's future outlook. The park's increasing reliance on "soft money" put various programs in jeopardy and forced the park to focus attention on "core operations." On the other hand, the Friends' success demonstrated that this most popular national park still had a vast reservoir of support among caring citizens, particularly local citizens. The clever packaging of the park at the Evergreen Ball in Knoxville offered both a look forward and a look back, for as Great Smoky Mountains National Park approached its 75th anniversary celebration it seemed to be coming full circle – tapping into the same grassroots pride, civic energy, and booster ingenuity that had propelled the park movement from the beginning.

[1] Act of Congress cited in 11-page overview of Great Smoky Mountains Association, January 1, 2006, provided to author by Terry Maddox; officers listed in Annual Report of Great Smoky Mountains Natural History Association for the year 1954, File A42, Box 7, Administrative Files – GRSM, RG 79, NASER.

[2] Terry Maddox, interview by Theodore Catton, April 25, 2007; overview, pp. 2-3.

[3] Overview, pp. 1-3.

[4] Overview, pp. 2-3; Chief of Interpretation to Superintendent, December 19, 1977, File H2621, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[5] Maddox interview; overview, pp. 3-5.

[6] Pope interview; Maddox interview; Karen P. Wade to Terry Maddox, October 13, 1995, enclosing "Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Scope of Sales," File A62, Headquarters Attic Administrative Files, GRSM.

[7] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1999, GRSM; Cave interview, Maddox interview; Ditmanson interview.

[8] Maddox interview.

[9] National Park Service, "Job Corps," http://www.nps.gov/youthprograms/ job-corps.htm, <February 12, 2008>.

[10] Cardwell interview.

[11] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1976, 1977, 1978, GRSM.

[12] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1979, GRSM.

[13] Fitzgerald interview.

[14] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1993, GRSM.

[15] U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Inspector General – Office of Audit, "Performance Audit of the Oconaluftee Job Corps Center for the Period July 1, 2004, through September 30, 2005," Report No. 26-07-001-01-370 (2007) http://www.oig.doi.gov/public/reports/oa/2007/26-0 <February 12, 2008>.

[16] Superintendent's Annual Report, 1973, 1989; National Park Service, "The Student Conservation Association (SCA)," http://www.nps.gov/youthprograms/sca.htm <February 12, 2008>.

[17] National Park Service, "Youth Conservation Corps," http://www.nps.gov/youthprograms/ycc.htm <February 12, 2008>; Superintendent's Annual Report, 1975.

[18] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1981, GRSM.

[19] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1976, GRSM.

[20] Everhart, *The National Park Service*, 55.

[21] Superintendent's Annual Report for 2004, GRSM.

[22] Superintendent's Annual Reports for 1973, 1974, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, GRSM.

[23] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1984, GRSM.

[24] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1999, GRSM.

[25] Superintendent's Annual Report for 2004, GRSM.

[26] Pope interview.

[27] Pope interview.

[28] Ditmanson interview.

[29] "Friends of Great Smoky Mountains National Park" (2008) http//www.friendsof greatsmokies.org <February 15, 2008>.

[30] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1996-1997, GRSM.

[31] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1998, GRSM.

[32] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1998, GRSM.

[33] Superintendent's Annual Report for 2002, GRSM.

[34] Ditmanson interview; Jim Hart and Dale Ditmanson, "From the Friends for the Park," *ShaConage: The Newsletter of Friends of Great Smoky Mountains National Park* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 2.

[35] "Friends of Great Smoky Mountains National Park" (2008) http//www.friendsof greatsmokies.org <February 15, 2008>.

[36] "Mountain Top Experience Had By All at 4th Annual Evergreen Ball," *ShaConage: The Newsletter of Friends of Great Smoky Mountains National Park* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 1.

Chapter Twenty One
Conclusion

This history ends as the park prepares for its 75th anniversary celebration in 2009. Anniversaries are useful benchmarks for taking a respite from our day-to-day affairs to consider where things stand in light of history. But anniversaries also happen along at fairly arbitrary points in time. At this writing, the park is involved in three major planning initiatives, each one aimed at resolving or providing new guidance for some very longstanding issues. The three planning initiatives address management of Cades Cove, Elkmont, and the proposed north shore road. Completion of these three plans — each one taking the form of an amendment to the General Management Plan of 1982 — will likely constitute a more meaningful benchmark in the park's history over the long run.

From our present vantage point, the 75-year history of Great Smoky Mountains National Park appears to cleave more or less into two halves: a development era lasting from the 1930s to the 1970s, and a resource management era that commenced around the time that the Upland Field Research Laboratory was founded and the General Management Plan was completed. Granted, the GMP called for some further development, such as the completion of the Foothills Parkway, the expansion of the visitor center at Oconaluftee, new visitor facilities at Deep Creek, and development of a minor road through Metcalf Bottoms. By and large, however, it set a new management direction in support of maintaining the status quo. The GMP reflected a public consensus that Great Smoky Mountains National Park had achieved an acceptable balance of developed areas and wilderness areas, of use and preservation. That consensus view was driven home in subsequent planning and development efforts such as what occurred when Elkmont was transformed from a summer cottage community into a historic district. The public would not abide yet another renewal of leases for this privileged community, but it would not insist on reclaiming the area for wilderness either. It wanted to keep the park essentially in status quo.

As development of the park receded in importance, resource management came to the fore. Formation of the Uplands Field Research Laboratory in 1975 signaled a new era in park management. The laboratory laid the foundation for a strong science program that continued into the twenty-first century. With enthusiastic commitment on the part of the science staff, strong support from the regional office, and vigorous leadership by a resource-minded superintendent, the park began to take a fresh look at nearly every aspect of resource management. The park redoubled its efforts to protect and restore native brook trout. It stepped up efforts to control wild hogs. It began mitigating cattle impacts in Cades Cove. It addressed problems of environmental degradation arising from overuse of backcountry campsites. In the following decade, the park made further strides by reintroducing certain extirpated species of wildlife, stepping up control of exotic plants, and developing a program of air quality monitoring. In the 1990s, Great Smoky Mountains was at the cutting edge of the federal government's growing commitment to biological inventory and monitoring.

In the park's development era, the Park Service was perennially in the position of trying to catch up with the park's needs for more visitor facilities. Even as new campgrounds were opened to accommodate more visitors, the numbers of campers increased and the demand for camping sites continued to exceed the supply. Planners made projections of how many people would visit Great Smoky Mountains five or ten years in the future and their projections consistently fell short of actual visitor numbers. It was not until the 1970s that the park's phenomenal growth in visitation finally began to slow down. By then, Park Service officials were so wary of underestimating these numbers that some predicted the number of yearly visits to Great Smoky Mountains would go as high as 20 million before leveling off. Instead, it appeared to level off at between 9 and 10 million.

In the resource management era, there was an analogous pattern of playing catch up. The Park Service was perennially in the position of identifying more resource management concerns than it could address at current staffing and budget levels. In this analogy, researchers took the place of planners; the Park Service was in a race to identify threats to the natural environment and mitigate or control them before the environmental consequences became severe or irreversible.

Biological inventory and monitoring constituted an effort to get a comprehensive grasp on the situation, somewhat in the same vein as master plans and visitor projections during the development era.

All recent superintendents of Great Smoky Mountains National Park agree that air pollution poses the biggest long-term threat to the park's natural resources. Acid rain deposition may cause irreversible harm to plants and aquatic life; reduced visibility may seriously impair the visitor experience. Coupled with climate change, air pollution is weakening the health of forest ecosystems. As a result, forest infestations are becoming more common and more serious. It would appear that one of the park's greatest challenges in the future will be how to manage these problems.

Appendix 1 - Laws Affecting Great Smoky Mountains National Park

United States – Act of February 21, 1925, providing for the securing of lands in the southern Appalachian Mountains and Mammoth Cave regions of Kentucky for perpetual reservation as national parks

United States – Act of May 22, 1926, providing for the establishment of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in North Carolina and Tennessee, and specifying the minimum area (150,000 acres) to be administered and protected by the National Park Service

North Carolina – Act of February 25, 1927 [authorizing $2 million bonds for land acquisition]

Tennessee – Act of April 27, 1927 [authorizing $1.5 million bond for land acquisition]

United States – Act of February 16, 1928, authorizing the leasing of lands within the Great Smoky Mountains National Park to prior occupants

North Carolina – Act of March 28, 1929, ceding to the United States exclusive jurisdiction over the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in North Carolina

Tennessee – Act of April 12, 1929, ceding to the United States exclusive jurisdiction over the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in Tennessee

United States – Act of April 19, 1930, providing for an extension of the boundary limits of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park

United States – Act of February 4, 1932, authorizing acceptance of lands tendered without cost to United States within area of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, and authorizing leases not inconsistent with purposes for which land acquired

United States – Act of July 19, 1932, authorizing the conveyance to Tennessee of certain land deeded to the United States for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and not needed therefore

United States – Act of June 15, 1934, establishing Great Smoky Mountains National Park with a minimum area (400,000 acres) within the minimum boundaries of the park

United States – Act of August 19, 1937 [50 Stat. 699], authorizing exchange of park lands (Boundary Tree, Ravensford, Tight Run tracts) for lands within Cherokee Indian Reservation for Blue Ridge Parkway

United States – Act of February 12, 1938, authorizing appropriation of $743,265.29 for acquisition of lands to complete the park

United States – Act of June 11, 1940, authorizing grant of lands from the park to the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians in connection with acquisition of right-of-way for Blue Ridge Parkway

United States – Act of April 29, 1942, accepting cession by North Carolina and Tennessee of exclusive jurisdiction over the lands embraced within Great Smoky Mountains National Park

United States – Act of February 22, 1944, authorizing acceptance of donations of land for construction of a scenic parkway (Foothills Parkway) in Tennessee

Tennessee – Act of February 22, 1945, authorizing acquisition of lands for Foothills Parkway

Tennessee – Act of March 12, 1947, authorizing conveyance of lands for Foothills Parkway, provided that no tolls be collected on section between Pigeon Forge and Gatlinburg

United States – Act of July 26, 1950, adjusting and defining boundary between the park and the Cherokee-Pisgah-Nantahala National Forests

United States – Act of July 9, 1952, amending Title 28 of USC so as to provide for two U.S. commissioners for Great Smoky Mountains National Park

United States – Act of May 16, 1958, authorizing desirable land exchanges

Tennessee – Act of March 20, 1959, authorizing acquisition by the state of rights-of-way for a new entrance to the park (Gatlinburg bypass) provided that no tolls be collected by U.S.

Tennessee – Act of March 20, 1963, authorizing cession to the U.S. of control and regulation of traffic on portions of Tennessee 71 and Tennessee 73

United States – Act of September 9, 1963, authorizing acceptance of donations of land for construction of an entrance road in North Carolina

United States – Act of August 10, 1964, authorizing acceptance of transfer of national forest lands in Cocke County, Tennessee for purposes of Foothills Parkway

United States – Act of November 4, 1969, amending act of September 9, 1963

United States – Act of March 5, 1980, providing for continued protection of historic Palmer's Chapel in the Cataloochee Valley of Great Smoky Mountains National Park

Appendix 2 - Superintendents of Great Smoky Mountains National Park

J. Ross Eakin	January 1931 to March 1945
John T. Needham (acting)	April 1945 to May 1945
Blair A. Ross	May 1945 to December 1949
Robert P. White (acting)	January 1950 to September 1951
John C. Preston	September 1951 to October 1952
Edward A. Hummel	November 1952 to May 1958
Fred J. Overly	June 1958 to June 1963
George W. Fry	November 1963 to July 1969
Keith P. Neilson	July 1969 to May 1971
Vincent Ellis	June 1971 to June 1975
Quincy Boyd Evison	June 1975 to December 1978
Merrill D Beal	December 1978 to January 1982
John E. Cook	April 1983 to August 1986
David A. Mihalic (acting)	August 1986 to January 1987
Randall R. Pope	January 1987 to December 1993
Karen Wade	July 1994 to October 1999
Phil Francis (acting)	November 1999 to September 2000
Mike Tollefson	September 2000 to December 2002
Philip Francis (acting)	January 2003 to April 2004
Dale Ditmanson	May 2004 to 2014
Pedro Ramas (acting)	January to May 2014
Cindy MacLeod (acting)	June to September 2014

Appendix 3 - Annual Visitation to Great Smoky Mountains National Park

Year	Visitors
1930	?
1931	?
1932	?
1933	?
1934	?
1935	?
1936	?
1937	?
1938	?
1939	?
1940	?
1941	1,310,010
1942	728,706
1943	383,116
1944	534,586
1945	750,690
1946	1,157,930
1947	1,204,017
1948	1,496,749
1949	1,539,641
1950	1,843,620
1951	1,945,100
1952	2,322,152
1953	2,250,772
1954	2,526,879
1955	2,581,477
1956	2,885,819
1957	2,943,732
1958	3,168,944
1959	3,162,318
1960	4,528,587
1961	4,762,108
1962	5,209,803
1963	5,258,653
1964	5,321,100
1965	5,954,900
1966	6,466,000
1967	6,710,100
1968	6,667,200
1969	6,331,100
1970	6,778,500
1971	7,179,000
1972	8,040,600
1973	7,892,100
1974	7,807,800
1975	8,541,500
1976	8,991,500
1977	9,173,600
1978	8,695,500
1979	8,019,800
1980	8,441,000
1981	8,330,900
1982	8,177,900
1983	8,435,000
1984	8,508,400
1985	9,319,300
1986	9,836,306
1987	10,209,800
1988*	8,786,147
1989	8,336,922
1990	8,151,769
1991	8,654,459
1992	8,931,690
1993	9,283,848
1994	8,618,462
1995	9,080,422
1996	9,265,670
1997	9,965,074
1998	9,989,296
1999	10,283,600
2000	10,175,816
2001	9,197,699
2002	9,316,419
2003	9,366,834
2004	9,167,044
2005	9,192,477
2006	9,289,214
2007	9,372,253
2008	9,044,010
2009	9,491,437

Index

D

H

I

J

K

L

M

N

O

P

Q

R

S

T

U

V

W

Y

Z

Park superintendents understandably eschew labeling parks as "crown jewels" or "flagships," insisting that each unit in the National Park System deserves to be valued on its own merits. Still, Great Smoky Mountains National Park is by any measure one of the superlative national parks in the United States. Arno B. Cammerer, a key player in the campaign to establish the park in the 1920s, glimpsed its future greatness and popularity when he predicted that Great Smoky Mountains would become a haven for all "those from the congested centers of population, the workers of the machines in the lofts and mills, the clerks at the desks, and the average fellow of the small towns," who, with only a few days' vacation at their disposal, would "get the recreation and inspiration that [their] more fortunate brothers now get out of a visit to the Yellowstone or Yosemite."

Theodore Catton is sole proprietor of Environmental History Workshop and associate research professor in the History Department at the University of Montana. He is the author of numerous books, articles, and reports on the national parks, including *Inhabited Wilderness: Indians, Eskimos, and National Parks in Alaska*, and *National Park, City Playground: Mount Rainier in the Twentieth Century*. In 2012 he received a Fulbright Senior Scholar award to make a comparative study of U.S. and New Zealand national parks.

Great Smoky Mountains Association
P. O. Box 130
Gatlinburg, Tennessee 37738
www.SmokiesInformation.org

ISBN 978-0-937207-78-9
Designed by Joey Heath
Editorial assistance by Julie Brown and Cyn Slaughter
Cover photo courtesy GSMNP
Printed and bound by Maple Press, York, PA
01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09

$40.00

Mountains for the Masses

A History of Management Issues in GSMNP

In every one of the more than 400 units of our National Park System, managers grapple daily with the seemingly contradictory mandates to promote recreational activities while simultaneously ensuring that those very activities do no damage to the natural and historic treasures they are charged to protect. This paradox is nowhere more evident than in Great Smoky Mountains National Park, and this volume bears witness to over 80 years of these struggles.

ITEM #400893

ISBN: 978-0-937207-78-9

Great Smoky Mountains Association
P.O.Box 130
Gatlinburg, TN 37738